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# THE HISTORY OF MANKIND

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INDIAN HOUSEHOLD: EAST BRAZIL.

(From a drawing by Maurice Rugendas.)

THE

# HISTORY OF MANKIND

BY

PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH RATZEL

TRANSLATED FROM THE SECOND GERMAN EDITION

BY

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*WITH COLOURED PLATES, MAPS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS*

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# D. THE AMERICANS

## I. THE CULTIVATED RACES OF AMERICA

### § 22. THE AMERICANS GENERALLY

America as an island-continent; its position and size; mountains and rivers; climate; useful plants and animals—Identity of the population of America—Colour and hair; shape of skulls; diseases; physical power and mental disposition; character; capacity for culture; eloquence—The languages of America; writing and sign-language, art.

THE Old and the New World, divided by the two oceans, lie over against each other like two monstrous islands; perhaps in the far north, in regions of which we know only the fringes, their delimitation may be uncertain. The intervening spaces are greatest in the south; Cape San Roque is 2000 miles from the coast of Sierra Leone, the Azores not more than 1000 from Newfoundland. In the Pacific also the dividing ocean is wider in the south and the centre than in the north, where the islands form a bridge; the width at the equator amounts to two-fifths of the earth's circumference, at Behring's Straits to 60 miles.

The area of America is only half that of the Old World. Its length is, however, greater, embracing nearly 130 degrees of latitude between its northern and southern extremities; but in breadth Asia alone exceeds it two-fold. Its climates are arranged in zones, which results in a rich variety, since in Greenland America penetrates far into the Arctic region, while its southern point is in the cold south temperate zone. Connected with this is the fact that the eastern continent is far richer in inland seas, in bays, islands, and peninsulas than America, where this kind of conformation appears only in the north. Their absence has not, however, such importance in regard to the climatic conditions as it has in Africa: the oceans lying near on either side leave little space for the formation of deserts. The deserts of America are small and abound in oases. High plateaux, an essential factor in the formation of deserts, are nowhere met with in such extent as in the eastern continent; and since all the high plateaux and lofty mountains lie to the west, a large field is offered to the play of the winds from the Atlantic, while numerous sources, fed by the snow and ice of the loftier west, send their waters in mighty river-systems eastward over the wide country.

At two points only does the sea encroach far into the American continent. The Hudson's Bay cuts into it from the north; but its icebergs render navigation difficult, and only contribute to produce cold. Up to the present time this bay has played no part in the history of the American races. More important is the other inlet which penetrates as a deep gulf opening eastward, and extending over 20 degrees of latitude, between North and South America. Owing to it the

connection between the northern and southern halves of the continent is contracted to a narrow strip of land—the isthmus near Panama is not 30 miles wide—still rendered by primeval forests additionally difficult to traverse. A strait would have been of more advantage to intercourse than this mountainous wooded isthmus. Yet it is by no means impossible to traverse. It might separate peoples, but be no boundary of races. The numerous islands, stretching in a close chain from Florida to South America, may be regarded as a second bridge. That this way was traversed even in the early times of America is shown by the distribution of the Caribs. Not without reason has the Gulf of Mexico been called the Mediterranean of America; the varied conformation which it causes in the very middle of this quarter of the earth has produced, in the promotion of intercourse and civilization, an effect similar to that found in the Mediterranean region of the Old World. Throughout the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, until the permanent settlement of North America, culture was carried hence in all directions. Smaller bays are formed by the mouths of rivers, as the River Platé, the Amazon, the St. Lawrence, which allow navigation to penetrate to the interior and afford good harbours. The Lake of Maracaibo, again, is of the nature of a bay. Such small inlets of the sea played no important part in North America in the days of the old Indians; it is rather to peninsulas like Florida, Yucatan, Alaska, that we may ascribe some influence in the development of special regions of culture.

Originally no island of the New World could compare in importance with Ceylon, Java, or Great Britain; San Domingo and Cuba only grew to historical greatness when fertilised by Europeans. The only portions of that hemisphere where islands at all abound are the American Mediterranean spoken of, and then the southern extremity, the north-west, and the north-east; and what lies to the northward belongs to the Arctic dominions of ice and snow, and is for the most part uninhabited.

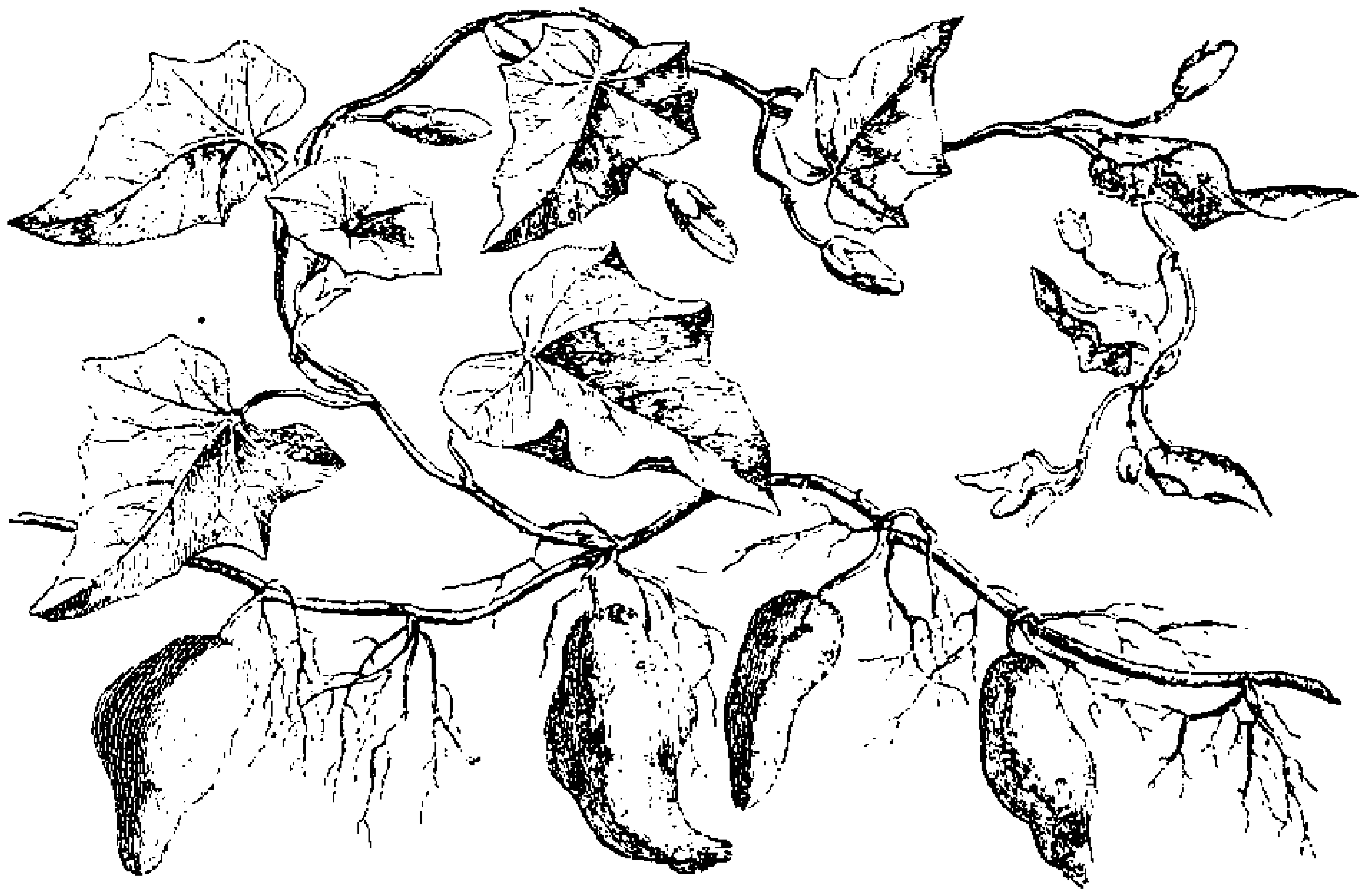
A mountain chain 10,000 miles long runs from the southern extremity to the Polar Sea through both continents and the isthmus. In its entire course it is close to the western margin, and accordingly all the other less mountainous parts lie to the east. In the extreme south of America the Cordilleras come so near to the west coast that the sea forms a region of fiords which suggested even to Cook a comparison with Norway. They run then as a narrow chain of mountains close to the west coast of temperate South America to the southern frontier of Bolivia, where appears the first of those high plateaux that are so conspicuous in the history of American civilization. Two great mountain chains run almost parallel from end to end of Peru; in the eastern ridge lie the sources of the greatest streams of South America, but their summit is often extended into broad undulating plateaus or Punas—cold, barren, comfortless regions. Beyond this inhospitable region of the Despoblado we descend to the plain between the Cordilleras of the coast and the snowy Andes on the east. From 7000 to 10,000 feet high and less than 200 miles broad, it is a microcosm of mountains and hills, plains and valleys, lakes and rivers. Thus are formed the high plateaux of Lake Titicaca, of Cuzco, Quito, Bogotà, on which independently developed civilizations once made head for a while against invading Europeans. Those who maintained them are even to the present day the predominating element, though in another dress. On a reduced scale these formations recur as far as Mexico.

In Central America it seems as though the plain had been washed away by the sea. It is a continuation of the western margin, and displays in the elevated districts of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, miniature pictures of the high levels of Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Columbia, and Mexico. Yucatan, the mysterious theatre of the Maya civilization, with its fifty-four sites of ruins, is a dry country poor in watercourses, and for the most part hilly. The northern portion of the narrow region is formed by Mexico, which reproduces the mighty elevations of South America. Here also the Pacific slope is much steeper than the Atlantic, for which reason traffic favours the latter rather than the former. The high valley of Anahuac in which, amid small salt lakes and marshes, Mexico lies at a height of 7600 feet above the sea, extends northward over a large area.

Going from east to west in North America the ascent begins at the Mississippi, at first low and easy, then getting steeper until at the foot of the mountains an average of 6000 feet is reached. Mountain walls now appear with summits of 14,000 feet and upwards, behind which again we find a broad elevated tract at 6000 to 8000 feet extending to the Pacific Ocean, where it terminates with a second row of peaks which has in part pushed forward into the sea in the form of chains of islands. Compared with their mass, which occupies a sixth part of the continent, the height of the mountain chains is insignificant, but in western North America, between 35° and 50° of N. latitude, we find the character of a high plateau very well marked. North of this the two mountain ranges come together from east and west, and from British Columbia onward the chain character of the Cordillera is very decidedly marked. The secondary mountains of the east like the Alleghanies, with summits 6500 feet high, and low passes cutting through them, were important for the aborigines as hunting-grounds, and were little inhabited in the interior. Agriculture, which supported a denser population, seems to have been confined to the clearings of the river valleys. The eastern mountains were not hindrances to the spread of population or points of support for civilization.

The interior of Brazil is a tableland covered with hills, separated from the sea by a fringe of mountains and sinking gradually north and south to the lowlands. The vapours of the Atlantic do not reach this inner country; where running water does not pierce it and fertilise it, it is Savannah, *campo* in Brazil. A greater variety of plant-forms than in Africa results, as might be expected, from the manifold composition of the soil. The elevations of the ground as far as the interior of British Guiana are gradually replaced by rows of mountains until they finally reach in Roraima heights of nearly 3000 feet above the plain. The prairies and plains of interior North America and the Savannahs or *Llanos* of Venezuela and Guiana, correspond to an abrupt alternation of drought and moisture, the effects of which are further aided by the level character of the ground; mountain chains and forests keep off the moisture of the sea. These grass plains are never devoid of trees, but their trees are of low, dwarfed, and stunted growth; the *llanos* in the dry season resemble a thinly sown field of corn. In the district of the lower Amazon, however, the Savannahs are studded with evergreen trees, and the growth of trees extends with the greatest luxuriance in the Hylæa, the mightiest primeval forest district of the tropics. In the south follow the Pampas beyond the central Parana—these are really "treeless pastures," but in a wider sense the term is used for the whole steppe between the Andes of Chili and the sea.

The great feature in the simple conformation of America recurs in the river system. The Amazon is the largest stream on the earth. In the river Plate and in the Orinoco waterways are opened reaching from the sea almost to the spurs of the Cordilleras. On the Orinoco vessels can sail with the trade wind as far as the height of San Fernando, while on the Amazon the tides ascend 600 miles from the mouth, and Tabatinga, more than 3000 miles from the mouth, is only 250 feet above the sea. Navigable tributaries on the north side form in addition a perfect network of routes for traffic. In North America navigable ways penetrate from the south by the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio, by the St. Lawrence from the east, by the Columbia River and Yukon from the north-west, by the Saskatchewan and Athabasca from the north, far into the continent. If the Indians with their wretched craft made little use of these facilities, the hydrographic conditions played all the more important part in the conquest and the



Sweet potato (*Batatas edulis*)—one-fourth real size.

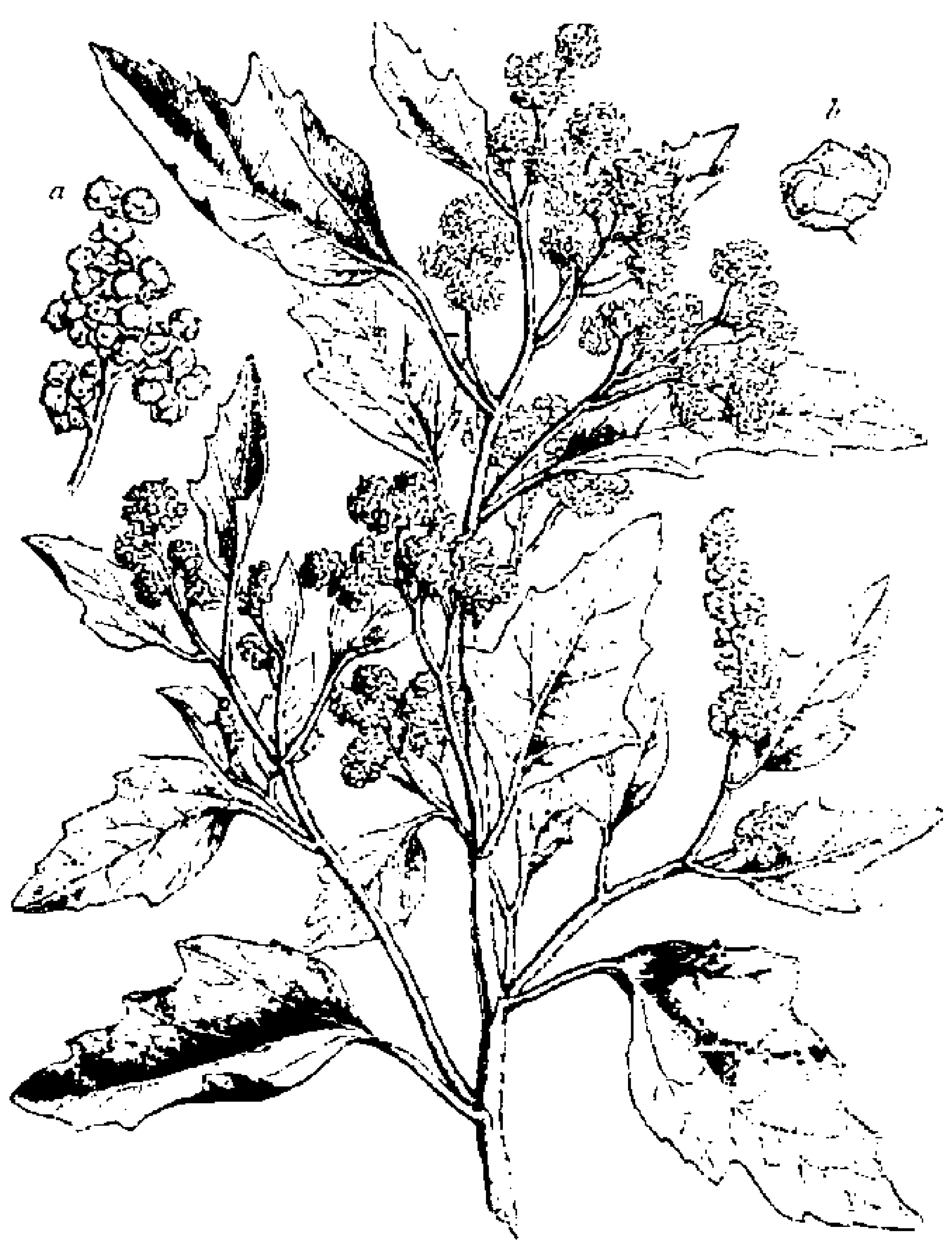
discovery. The five great lakes of Canada present the largest connected surface of fresh water on the face of the earth.

The climate of America used in the last century to pass for inordinately cold and damp, and the highly premature question, whether it were not detrimental to the development of American humanity, long formed a standing subject of discussion. America embraces very hot and dry regions; but in the north the Arctic climate penetrates so far into the continent that even Labrador, in the latitude of England, is an inhospitable polar country. Cold winters and hot summers characterise the larger part of North America. The southern half of California on the Pacific coast is an Italy-like oasis; but as we proceed inland, with the rising ground the driest portions of the continent soon come into view. It is only to the east of longitude 98° W. that agriculture is practicable without artificial irrigation, and that forests or even groves of any extent are found.

In Mexico, too, and as far as Patagonia, the western region is the driest. Westward of the tributaries of the River Plate we come into a district the steppe-like character of which quite reminds us of that about the sources of the western tributaries of the Mississippi. The Pampas may be called the prairies

of South America; the wormwood flats of the north are reproduced in the Chañar steppe at the foot of the Andes, and the desert of Atacama in the Salinas and the Campo del Arenal. But the genuine prairies are the Pampas which from Cordoba to Patagonia, between 29° and 40° S. latitude, cover a soft soil free from shingle—one of the most monotonous grass-steppes in the world. Further southward comes the Patagonian steppe with its rough stony soil.

Between the tropics lies a highly-favoured region of the world. The manifold configuration of the ground offers a rich variety, and above the eternal midsummer of the Amazon and Orinoco lowlands, eternal spring is gorgeous on the lovely middle slopes of the Cordilleras. It is just the regions of the ancient civilization of America which share this good fortune; Mexico, Bogotà, Quito, have perpetually a temperature of early summer, while in Quito the difference between summer and winter is not more than 3°. Near Cuzco the spring is permanent, at least in some charming oases.



*Chenopodium quinoa*—one-third natural size. (*a*) Fruit-spike—natural size; (*b*) single fruit—magnified.

Flora and fauna are richly developed, but have supplied fewer cultivable plants and domestic animals than has the Old World. Maize, potatoes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, cacao, *maté*, are all we can name as having acquired importance for mankind; while of animals hardly any can be picked out. Turkeys, the cochineal insect, guinea-pigs, stand at most on the same level as vanilla. The later acquisition for medicine of Peruvian bark and *curare* gives reason to hope that many another valuable product may yet spread from those countries over the world. One can point to a long list of plants of which the settlers have learnt from the Indians, and which have become useful and often indispensable to them, grain-bearing grasses among them—the *zizania* or water-rice of America, and the floating *glyceria;* then the *echinochloa*, cultivated in Mexico like millet, the *Euchlaena luxurians*, closely akin to maize, growing wild in Guatemala, and bearing there the name *teosinte*, "the maize of the gods." Species of *milium* and *panicum* with edible grains occur in South America. If we add the *quinoa*, the Peruvian grain-bearing plant which holds a position like our buckwheat, we have a whole list of meal-producing plants, among which, however, only maize in its numerous varieties was generally cultivated in the tropical and temperate regions of north and south. Not until the introduction of domestic animals from Europe

was the great wealth of nutritious grasses utilised. Among many races of ancient America, and above all among the more civilized, vegetable diet prevailed over flesh food. To the great wealth of tropical America in palms corresponds in some measure the abundance of useful articles which are produced from them. Even bamboo hardly fulfils so many uses as the *carnahuba* palm of Brazil (*Copernicia cerifera*), which lasts through the worst and longest droughts, remaining always green and juicy. Its root has medicinal properties similar to those of sarsaparilla, and from the stem fine strong fibres can be drawn. Its wood can be worked for poles, beams, laths, palings, musical instruments, pipes, and pails. The young leaves, when fresh, afford a nutritious food; the tree further furnishes wine, vinegar, sugar, and a gum, resembling sago, which in times of famine has often been the sole sustenance of the Indians. Besides this, flour, and a whitish fluid like the milk in the coco-nut, have been obtained from it. The soft fibrous substance in the interior of the leaves and stalk is a substitute for cork. The fruit has a flesh of agreeable flavour, the oily kernels are roasted, ground, and used as coffee. From the dried leaves are made hats, mats, baskets, and brooms, and a kind of wax for candles is also obtained from it. Wax is furnished also by the slender *Ceroxylon andicola*, one of the handsomest of trees with its 200 to 250 feet of height. The Tagua palm gives vegetable ivory—with caoutchouc and Peruvian bark one of the few natural products of South America which have made their way to any large extent into trade. The fan-like leaves of the Brazilian king palm (*Oreodoxa regia*), nearly forty feet in length, find a use in various directions. The Mariba palm has edible fruit; the juicy sweet flesh in which its seeds are covered is a great delicacy with the Indians, and a *maximiliana* covered with ripe fruit is not likely to remain long unspared by travellers. Two or three palms in the north of South America furnish cooling drinks such as the Caribs especially love. The Macusi Indians knead the orange-tinted porridge-like pulp of the *mauritia* into a dough which they tie up in the leaves of the mariba palm and take in water. From the dark violet roots of the *turu* palm also, the Indians and Negroes of Guiana brew a cooling drink by the addition of water. In consideration of the many uses to which palms, otherwise of no value, can be put in the way of building, timber roofing material, and so on, the more intelligent among even the Indians long since began to take care

Water rice (*Zizania aquatica*)—one-fourth natural size.

of them and plant them, especially the coco-palm and, on the Mosquito coast, the *supar* palm.

The primeval forest of South and Central America contains edible fruits in abundance—guava, the *ochuba* resembling the winter cherry, *curupa* and *chulupa*, mammee, *chirimoya*, avogado pear, cashew nut, *ciruela*, pine apples, *grenadillas*, the fruits of a passion flower, solanums of all kinds, from the cherry tomato to the pungent chilies which furnish the so-called Cayenne pepper, the indispensable seasoning of all Indian foods. Almost all have spread far beyond the confines of America. North America has a whole list of nut trees, including walnut and hickory. The nut tree of Colombia rivals the walnuts of Europe and America. Many leguminous trees furnish edible seed. There are mulberries in North America and on the plateau of Bogota. In higher situations, and in the most southerly parts of South America, there is also an abundance of berries, even in Colombia species of *rubus*. In North America the fruits of two kinds of chestnuts are eaten; there also edible nuts are borne by two species of hazel, and in the south by some witch hazels. Sweet acorns are gathered from the live oaks; in the west the *piñon* has edible oily kernels; the wild papaw or melon tree (*Papaya vulgaris*) furnishes fruit like melons; species of wild plum are widely distributed. In North America various species of the vine grow wild, some very productive and of well-flavoured fruit which are now cultivated in Europe.

Even the far west of North America, and again, in spite of their steppe-character, the plains of South America, are by no means destitute of edible fruits. In the region of the Rocky Mountains and the Great Basin there are plums, cherries, raspberries, blackberries, currants, and gooseberries. In California meal made from the fruit of the *manzanita*-bush is an important article in the economy of the Indians. Schmiedel mentions bread made from the seed of a leguminous plant as being eaten by the Indians of the Pampas. In New Mexico and West Texas there are two species of mulberry and several of vine. Under the name of *panoche* the Indians of California know a saccharine substance of the nature of manna, which is exuded by aphides on the leaves of the reed; and also the sweetish juice of the sugar-pine (*P. Lambertiana*), which, however, tastes more of turpentine than of sugar. The well-flavoured sugar of the sugar-maple is to the present day of importance for the settlers in the east of North America. Besides the numerous conifers, rich in balsam and resin, we may mention the wax-berry, from the berries of which a wax-like substance is obtained by boiling. For a black dye the North Americans employ the seed of the sunflower and the bark of the willow, and for red the roots of *savoyenne* and buffalo-berry. For fishing-lines they use the bast of the maple, the red cedar, or the stalks—as thick as a finger—of a giant oar-weed. Of medicinal herbs there is no lack.

Yuccas and agaves furnish fibrous materials. In old Mexico paper was prepared from the fibres of the maguey and the bast of the india-rubber tree. At the present day the fibre of the sisal agave of Yucatan is in demand. In the highlands of South America similar materials were afforded by *fourcroya* and the *bromeliaceæ*. Caoutchouc is obtained from various trees and creepers; the dried juice of the *Mimosops balata* is used by the Indians of Guiana to smear their arrows; when fresh they drink it like milk; the fruit is equally appreciated by men and monkeys, and the wood, under the name of *bolori*, is one of the favourite building timbers of Venezuela. The resin of the *mani* serves for stiffening bow-

strings. In the Colombian lowlands all the huts consist of bamboo, which grows in quantities near the Cauca. The flesh of many species of cucumber is eaten, while others provide calabashes, but the favourite kind, called *totuma*, is made from the hollowed-out fruit of the *Crescentia*. The South American Indians paint themselves with annatto from the *uruku* (*Bixa orellana*) and the *genipaba* (*Genipa americana*). Nowhere is nature so well adapted for the hunting and forest life as in America, and in North America at least full justice has been done to her wealth. It would require a book to recount all the materials used by the Indians. Only a few examples need here be given. The Canadian refreshes himself by chewing the sapwood of the poplar called "La sèvre"; the juice has a pleasant sweetish taste like water-melons, and acts as a restorative. When snow covers the prairie this is often the only food for horses obtainable in the absence of fodder. The Wintuns of California often fill their stomachs in winter with the sweet bark of the yellow pine. On the upper Saskatchewan, when hunting and fishing fail, the Indian scrapes a lichen, *gyrophora*, and boils it into a nutritious jelly. Among the Yuma tribes the roots of the *mescal* (*Agave deserti*) are roasted and eaten for the sake of their flavour. The stone-pine affords nuts; the *opuntia* and another cactus, the *pitahaya*, sweet fruits; the locust-tree sweet pods and, in its seed when crushed, a nutritious meal; *amole* (yucca) edible fruit and tough fibre; palmetto, in its leaf-buds, a substitute for cabbage; the young leaves of *Agave americana*, when cooked, a savoury dish. Leaves of certain *ericaceæ* furnish tea, and the arbutus is mixed with tobacco. Of edible fungi 108 kinds are reckoned in North Carolina alone. The so-called "Indian bread" is a fungus attaining a weight of 30 lbs. The tomato is everywhere employed. Vanilla first attained importance through Europeans; but cacao was used and valued in earlier times. The coca of Peru (*Erythroxylon coca*) was known even into Central America as *nayo;* each leaf was separately detached from the stalk with the thumb-nail, and dried in earthen pots over the fire.

Imported plants have become widely distributed, in some degree even those which white settlers did not cultivate. Thus bread-fruit grows wild in some of the West Indian islands, where the indolent and contented negroes require hardly anything further for their sustenance. The cultivation of sugar and cotton in plantations has hardly brought any advantage to the individual Indian, since he lacks capital and organising power; but in Mexico and Central America coffee-planting, which requires only hard work and the hoe, has had a more favourable effect; and the same may be said of tobacco. On the other hand, the Indian has nowhere adapted himself to such forms of cultivation as those of the vine or the olive; nor indeed have the Indians, even when settled for generations, taken to agriculture in the European style as it is carried on in the temperate districts of North America, the Tierras Frias of the Mexican and South American highlands, or on the River Plate, so readily as to cattle-breeding, which has turned them and the half-breeds on the Llanos and Pampas into distinctly pastoral nomads, under the name of *llaneros* and *gauchos*, and races of horsemen.

The old Americans utilised their fauna most extensively for hunting purposes. Bison, moose (*Cervus canadensis*), and a smaller stag (*C. virginianus*), hare in North America; wild boar, agouti, roe, guanaco in South America, besides racoon and opossum, monkeys, ant-bears, and armadillos often provided food in abundance. The bison, from its massive bulk, was the principal game from

Ohio to the Rocky Mountains. To the Indian of the Pampas the guanaco is of the greatest use—he covers his *toldo* with the skin of the full-grown animal; from the young he cuts his cloak and shoes; he makes thread of the sinews; and from the remarkably tough hide about the neck he gets thongs for his lassos, his bolas, and his bridle. Tropical South America was on the whole less favourably furnished, but the least rich of all were the West Indian Islands, where large game first appeared when European animals began to run wild. Of birds fit for the chase the principal are the South American ostrich (*Rhea americana*) and the curassows of the Andean regions. The wild turkey is now common only in the south of North America, the *tetraonidæ*, grouse, capercailzie, black-cock, hazel hen, attain their highest develpopment in North America. The American "partridge," a species of quail, is smaller than the European, but is excellent eating. The prairie hen is about the same size. One of the most abundant game birds is the migratory pigeon, appearing every spring in great cloud-like flocks. As may be expected in so well-watered a country, there is no lack of marsh and water birds. In South America too the flesh of innumerable parrots is a universally popular viand.

The absence of all the larger domestic animals must have materially hindered the free course of agriculture, trade, and commerce. The larger part of the population found employment in agriculture, and whatever could not be transported by water had to go on the backs of men. Llamas could not render much service, and for more extended practical employment, the tapir was not to be thought of. Possibly the "rabbit" was kept as a domestic animal in the *casas grandes*. Attempts to tame buffalo, elk, reindeer, wapiti, were not crowned with success. Even at the present day the greater part of the population of Chili prefers guanaco coverings to woollen; and unluckily the wild sheep of the Rocky Mountains has no wool. In the north, fur-bearing animals, beaver, sable, ermine, badger, skunk, otter, are looked to for clothing purposes, and even smaller beasts, as squirrel and musk-rat. Fifty years ago, the winter bag of a fur-hunter in the central Missouri region would comprise 1000 to 1500 musk-rat skins. It can hardly be doubted that the Indian dog of the North sprang from some native species of wolf; and Nehring ascribes a North American origin to the dog of the Incas. In eastern South America a breed similar to one of the European was fattened for eating. The long-haired dogs of the Haidas were shorn every year, and their hair woven into coverings with cedar-bast and the fibre of wild hemp. The turkey is one of the few animals of the New World which has been domesticated from of old. In Mexico tame ducks were periodically plucked; and in the time of Diaz their feathers were an important article of trade. *Quezal* feathers were at once objects of sanctity, ornament, and currency. Cochineal insects and bees were reared by the old Mexicans. The grubs of flies were in demand as delicacies about the salt lakes of North America and Mexico; in Central and South America, certain caterpillars living in the *bombax* and the *maguey* aloe.

Both divisions of America are rich in *amphibia*. The frog plays a great part in local mythology. Edible fishes abound in the east and south, but are scarce in the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific regions. The north-west shows the greatest abundance; in that quarter, even before the arrival of Europeans, the sea-fishery was extensive. On the Yukon, Fraser, Columbia, and smaller rivers of

the north-west, the salmon fisheries attain great importance, and the tribes in those regions are among the most dependent on fishing of whom we have any knowledge. Their most important species are salmon, trout, herring, torsk, smelt, and halibut. The coast of South America is also rich in fish, but hitherto the native fishery has not attained to importance, the only fishermen being the *cholos* or half-breeds, and the Italians. The shell-fish, which abound in the rivers and lakes of North America, are much used for food by the Indians and occasionally by the negroes; but they have no value for white men. These, however, profit by the wealth of the Atlantic coast in oysters, with which no European country can compare. The vast shell-heaps in all coast districts show that oysters and other molluscs were from early times a popular article of diet.

The wild beasts of South America are with few exceptions shy of man, only attacking him when irritated or wounded. In North America the panther occurs so far north as 55°. Lynxes are found of small size. The most ponderous animal of South America, the tapir, is at worst dangerous to plantations in the lower valleys. The bear of the Andes is among the smallest of his species. On the other hand, the grizzly (*Ursus ferox*) of the Sierra Nevada and the coast ranges is rightly reckoned as the strongest and most dangerous of American beasts of prey, and the black bear in a less degree. Several kinds of wolves are dangerous to the herds. The sly fox of the Eastern States (*Vulpes fulva*) is like ours, but rather smaller. The crocodile occurs in great numbers from Cape Hatteras to the River Plate. Less dreaded is the *jacare* or alligator of South America. North America possesses four kinds of rattlesnakes and one mocassin-snake. Among fifty South American species Prince Max of Wied reports five that are poisonous. The tropical zone contains, besides brilliant beetles and fire-flies, mischievous and troublesome insects in plenty; while Europe has imported its own ancient domestic vermin.

Rightly understood, the New World has to supply the key to the greatest problems of anthropology and ethnology. The reason for its decisive importance is to be found in its isolated position. If we can succeed in proving that the races of America in essentials resemble those of the Old World, the question of the unity or multiplicity of the human species is solved in favour of unity. And if we can further succeed in bringing the stock of culture possessed by the Americans into relation with the development of culture in the Old World, the question of unity or multiplicity is again solved, for the latter, in the same sense. Polynesia also affords interesting examples of the way in which, under isolating influences, individual elements of civilization among a "natural" race undergo a special development; but it shows us neither the persistency of a single racial type under all climates of both hemispheres, such as we find it (apart from the present extension of the white races) in America and nowhere else; nor yet all the stages of culture, from the Fuegian, on a level with the Tasmanian, up to the wealthy Incas of Peru. But even apart from these great problems of the science of race, nowhere else on earth do we get a more enthralling insight into what man, under the influence of progress and retrogression, checks and aids to development, is capable of becoming.

If we must needs incline to the view that the culture of America, the East, from an ethnographic point of view, has arisen on the basis common to all

development, if we may at the same time venture to hope, by comparison with the civilization of the Old World, to throw light upon periods of human history that have long gone by, the first thing that we have to require is that we be clear about the unity of the American race. It is not a matter of indifference whether the mixture with Polynesian and Asiatic populations in North-west America can enlighten us as to the immediate origin of a great part of the population of America, or whether it has created merely a zone where independent civilizations have come in contact on the shores of Behring's Sea. But it is absolutely imperative to compare the antiquity of this American stock with that of the other races, and not to overlook the rich store of important discoveries which research into the antiquities of America has already brought to light.

The unity of the human race in America was early asserted. On the other hand, numerous attempts have been made to establish a variety of races. Neither side has succeeded in arriving at a universally accepted result. Meanwhile Blumenbach's old view, that all Americans with the exception of the Eskimo form a single main race, seems to be the point to which all opinions constantly swing back. The Indians of Mexico bear a general similarity to those of Canada, Florida, Peru, Brazil. They have the same dark copper colour, straight smooth hair, scanty beard, stalwart body, almond-shaped eyes with the outer angles slanting up towards the temples, prominent cheek-bones, and a kind of gentle expression in the mouth which forms a strong contrast to the harsh and stern glance of the eye. From Cape Horn to the St. Lawrence the universal resemblance in the features of the natives astonishes us at the first glance. In spite of the wonderful variety in the languages, we seem to feel intuitively that all have the same origin. The same features occur in North and South America. Even if the most recent inquiry cannot establish this unity in the shape of the skulls, the attempt to find a more profound separation of races possesses at the present day only an historical interest.

The unity of the American peoples may be based either on community of descent or on long isolation and consequent assimilation. Formerly the general tendency was to emphasise the first and simpler possibility. The Asiatic stock had migrated across the bridge of islands in Behring's Strait, and filled the vast territory with its descendants, who had at the same time succeeded in preserving their special characteristics alike in the Arctic Circle and under the Equator. It further seemed right not to throw this migration too far back in time, seeing that variation of climate and difference in mode of life have not yet brought about the formation of new types.

The study of primeval history has broken down this theory at its base. There can be no doubt that America possessed human inhabitants as early as the age of the Drift; though the conflict as to tertiary man is as far from being settled there as it is in Europe. This not only sets back in point of time the background of the history of mankind in America. In the course of long ages the form of the Earth's surface must have changed, and with it the climate of the region; and the problems which seemed so simple are, owing to this, seriously dislocated. The most recent and comprehensive study of American discoveries is due to Brinton. In America, no less than elsewhere, the vestiges of human activity, such as wrought stones, can be traced further back than the remains of man himself. From these it appears that the east coast of North America was

inhabited during the first glacial period. A regular workshop for the manufacture of chert-flakes, which was discovered on the banks of the Mississippi in Minnesota, dates from the inter-glacial era, while numerous objects have been discovered which must belong to the period when the ice was advancing for the second time. With these discoveries in the northern parts of the continent we may connect others which have been made in Mexico and Argentina; where hunters evidently chased the long extinct beasts of the Drift Age. Brinton's conclusion, based on these facts, that the immigration of mankind did not take

Paressi girl from Upper Paraguay. (From a photograph by Dr. P. Ehrenreich.)

place from Asia by way of an ice-covered Alaska, but from Europe by an ancient bridge of land across the Atlantic, is an hypothesis needing the keenest scrutiny. The first strata in which human bones, allowing of any conclusions as to the conformation of the earliest inhabitants of America, are preserved, were laid down after the end of the Ice Age. For the present, indeed, a comparison of prehistoric skulls with those of existing Indians has led to new perplexities, and put out of date a good many premature theories.

The doctrine of two types among the Indians, at bottom a feebly-supported application of Retzius's long-exploded hypothesis of two types in the human race, has found support mainly from Topinard and Quatrefages in France. According to the latter, at least one of the elements which shared in the making up of the American races must have been short-headed; yet he is compelled to admit that in view of the mixture of types there can be no question of

assorting them by geographical territories. Virchow has shown the existence of Eskimo-like long skulls among Patagonians, from graves of the Muiscas and old Peruvians in Bogotà, and on the other hand of equally distinct short skulls from the Calchaqui shell-heaps on the coast of Brazil, of Pamperos from the mounds of North America, from Chili, Central Brazil, and the Carib districts.

"Grey Eagle," an Apache. (From a photograph.)

He comes to the conclusion that from the point of view of anthropological classification there is no real unity among the aboriginal population of America. An alleged peculiarity in Peruvian skulls, the so-called Inca-bone, is found in 6·08 per cent of all Peruvian skulls; still more frequently—up to 6·81 per cent—among the inhabitants of the Gila valley, and has been found all over America—in some 3·86 per cent of skulls.

The typical "Red Skin" or American skull cannot therefore be sustained. In every large burying-ground all lengths and shapes are represented. The

only law which up to now can be deduced with any certainty is the predominance of the medium and short-headed types.

In the colour of the skin uniformity prevails so far that the extreme dark brown of the Negro and the white of the European do not occur; a light brown, often classed as light tan-colour, may be indicated as the most frequent tint. The Indian skin has always been found to contain a large proportion of pigment. The admixture of red varies, and the scale fluctuates between ochre and copper. In the darkest tints it produces an almost glaring chocolate-brown. Among persons said to be Ojibbeways, Virchow found the skin rather yellow than red, so that it would hardly have occurred to any one to call them "red skins." The Prince of Wied uses a similar expression with regard to very fair Botocudos. One must now conceive of intermixture as universal. According to Ehrenreich the light-coloured Jurinas, who hardly differed from Southern Europeans, were at the same time the biggest and most powerful of their tribe. The more thoroughly the matter is investigated, the more local and individual variations are found; Corbusier says that the Apache-Mohaves are dark in summer, light-brown in winter; Petitot sees variations in tint between one tribe of Tinnehs and another. Foreign admixture has no doubt something to do with the fact that the Klamaths are described as lighter than the dwellers on the Columbia River and the Californians. The effect of sunlight on the skin cannot be denied. Ehrenreich observes that in the Carayas the light yellowish-brown is only preserved under the arm- and knee-bands which they wear. Still we must not over-estimate the influence of climate. The Patagonians are darker than the Indians of the Chaco and Paraguay, and the Yurucores of Bolivia are among the lightest tribes in company with the Koloshes or Thlinkeets of the north-west.

On account of its blackness and straightness, the hair has often been compared with that of the Mongoloids; but it shows some small differences. It is neither so coarse nor so straight, being sleek and even slightly wavy; and has a brownish under-tint, specially noticeable in the children. In this it most resembles the Polynesian hair; and yet no sign indicates mixed blood in an Indian so plainly as hair in strong waves or curls. Albinism is not very rare, as is shown by the frequent reports of the occurrence of very fair hair. It must not be forgotten that Im Thurn regards light yellow hair as a sign of age; but he seems to have noticed it twice only in the course of his journeys. Baldness is rare. Eyes with a blue *reflet* are not very uncommon; for example, among the Galibis and Botocudos. The beard is naturally scanty, and is removed in youths and men by pulling out. The eyebrows too are not naturally thick; the Payaguas of Paraguay even remove the eyelashes. It is among old men that some beard is most often found. The *Barbados* of the old maps, a name preserved in a group of islands, may remind us that some tribes were marked by a stronger growth; thus the Guarayos in Bolivia.

The American is on the average of middle height, from 4 ft. 11 in. to 5 ft. 11 in. In the extreme south we find a region, not confined to Tierra del Fuego, where the stature is less. But neither this shortness, which has also been alleged as a tribal characteristic among the Puris and Galibis, nor yet the often exaggerated height of the Patagonians, implies any considerable departure from the average standard. Tall individuals of 6 feet and over are not wanting in other tribes. The Jivaros, the Sioux, the Mohaves can show plenty of imposing

figures. It is not surprising if tribes living under conditions of misery produce a larger number of undersized persons. A thickset build is a frequent, if not a pervading feature. The deep chest, attributed in the case of the Punas of the Peruvian highlands to the rarity of the air, is not confined to them. The muscles of the neck and upper arm are strongly developed, the fore-arm is short, the hands and feet small, giving a look of neatness to the generally thickset figure. Even where the mixture of blood is slight, a Mestizo woman is distinguished from Germans, even from Spaniards, by her small hands and feet. The powerful development of the upper body is even more conspicuous among the races who may be styled canoe-dwellers; as among some tribes of the North-West, who pass most of their time paddling about the sea and the rivers in their narrow boats. Among the Fuegians this is frequently to be noted, while the lower parts are almost stunted.

Many races, no doubt, through mixture of blood, decidedly exceed the average height of American Indians. The Jivaros are described as fairly tall, slim, powerfully built, with but slightly prognathous faces, thin lips, small teeth, level eyes, black or rarely reddish-brown hair. Of the Newfoundlanders too it is reported that they are lighter in colour than the Micmacs on the opposite coast of Canada. Men and women of lighter tint are met with more frequently among the Haidas than in other coast tribes, with strikingly regular features and intelligent expression.

A Botocudo. (From a photograph in the Damenn Album.)

In the Indian physiognomy the distinguishing marks beside the size of the head are the breadth of the face caused by the strongly-developed cheek-bones, and the lowness of the narrow forehead. The nose is often curved; the eagle nose, almost literally so described, forms quite a tradition in the style of the Mexican and Peruvian artists. In North America the hooked nose is said to be found more often east than west of the Rockies, but in South America more often west than east of the Cordillera. Small flat noses are mentioned among tribes both in North and South America, the eyes are more or less drawn upwards at the outer angle. This Mongolic type caused the Indians in Spanish America to be designated as Chinos, and the Wintuns of California to be considered near of kin to the recently imported Chinese. Their brown or black eye is rather small, and the white of it has a tint of yellow. Their acuteness of sense has often been celebrated, often also exaggerated, though it is certain that among the hunting tribes practice in orientation and looking out for game produces its effect; this may also be the cause why their faces so often have the expression of a bird of prey. Good path-finders as they are, being officially used as scouts in the United States army, the accuracy of their maps has been exaggerated. Speaking of the Chilkat district, Dr. Krause says: "Indian reports are very untrustworthy; we have seven different Indian maps, and only one of them agrees with the real state of things as we now know it."

The most interesting facts respecting the tendency of the American races to

disease are those which display some connection with their rapid extinction. In tropical lowlands Indians get on less well than negroes and mulattos; negroes are largely represented in the Atlantic lowlands from Maryland to Argentina, even where they are not numerous in other parts. Smallpox has spread with special rapidity and with destructive effect. That simple catarrh may produce dangerous consequences cannot be doubted; in many cases an ordinary cold is a dreaded visitor. According to Im Thurn's statement insignificant chills, bruises, or wounds by which white men and negroes are scarcely disturbed are often fatal to Indians, and if this be so, one may really believe that in consequence of some general defect in their organisation they have the seed of early extinction within them. But this has been conspicuously contradicted by the more favourable fortunes of such groups of Indians as have come under the rule of well-disposed white men. Consumption, which causes fearful destruction among the Indians of Brazil, is universally known as catarrh, but can hardly have been introduced by Europeans. Perhaps, however, the white man has not imported so many diseases as used to be supposed. In the case of one disorder, bones showing traces of it are believed to have been found in graves older than the arrival of Europeans. Unequal distribution of colouring matter in the skin gives rise to the piebald colouring of the "Indios Pintos," whole tribes being often chequered in this way. In the lightest form of the disease the skin is merely covered with dark or black spots, but in more severe cases extensive patches of a lighter colour are developed: also bluish, violet, or yellowish tints appear, until the appearance is like that of the speckled negro represented later in this volume. Hence arise the white tribes described by many travellers.

The Indian seems originally not to have been lacking in a feeling of cleanliness; the tribes of Guiana who are hardly touched by civilization are unusually clean, and great lovers of the bath. Local conditions have naturally a determining effect. One would not expect very much of the tribes that dwelt towards the pole or the Indians of the plains. Even among the South American forest-dwellers there are some disgustingly dirty people.

Much has been said about their character; scholastic treatises and some papal bulls of the 16th century declared that the Indians had souls, but this did not hinder the Spaniard from asserting a special code of honour for himself as a reasonable being, with the motto "unworthy of a white-faced man." In our learned days the tendency has been to infer the incapacity of the natives for higher civilization from the character of their languages and the lack of abstract terms. Many facts, however, are opposed to this method of reasoning. Without some considerable degree of intellect, the historical position of a man like Juarez would be simply impossible, and he does not stand alone. According to Humboldt the Mexican Indian possesses a great facility of learning, a correct judgment, natural logical power with a special inclination towards subtle distinctions, but he does not possess the lively imaginative power, the passionate colouring, the fertile creative force of the southern European and some African races.

The Indian's tendency is to indolence; he is seldom seen to run, or to finish anything quickly unless driven to extremities. The decadence of the American civilizations corresponds with this mania for repose, for civilization means work. The Indian is indolent, he has no desire to enquire into things which would strike

the curious. The absence of all ambition makes it difficult to civilize him; an Indian who has once got a knife would not give anything whatever for a second. How far the fact is connected with the weakness of the sexual passion may be left undecided, but unquestionably the morality of many uncivilized tribes stands high. Stoll avers that indecent expressions are of the rarest occurrence in the present Indian language of Guatemala, while the Spanish-speaking half-breeds make use of them in an incredible degree. But here again it is impossible to form a judgment which will be universally valid; phlegmatic as the Indian may be in love, he is passionate in hatred, although he is able to conceal it for a long time. Indolence does not necessarily involve melancholy, and his boisterous merriment breaks out at times with all the force of nature. Among the Indians of the sunny regions in the southern Rocky Mountains as well as amid the gloomy primeval forests of tropical Guiana, cheerfulness prevails, but the Indian only displays himself in full liveliness among his comrades.

The Indian character in its outward expression wears the garb of reserve, over generosity no less than over opposite tendencies. Hospitality is practised towards strangers, but they are also laid under contribution both by begging and by open extortion, and gratitude often seems to be wholly stifled. The Indian is, however, honourable on many points and capable of self-control. Property is sufficiently protected by means of symbols, such as the cotton thread which South Americans draw round huts and fields, and which we may compare with the Polynesian taboo-thread, or the *fadi* rattan of the Malays. But indeed the number of persons in a tribe is so small as to make it impossible to conceal stolen property. Lying and swagger are faults frequently laid to the charge of these people; but the scouts of the North American army are celebrated for quiet fidelity in their dealings with white men. Yet the attempt to organise special Indian corps in the United States army has been given up; not that the Indians lack courage, but they have not the capacity for discipline or endurance, and, moreover, do not like to have their shock heads trimmed.

The reproach of cruelty lies upon the Indians of all regions and all degrees of civilization. Cruel to each other in tortures and ordeals, they are still more so to outsiders. The bloody human sacrifices of the Aztecs spring from the same disposition as the treatment of prisoners in vogue among the Pampas Indians. Mutilation, with a view to a lingering death, was customary everywhere, from the Apaches to the Tehuelches, and cases in which dying persons were mummified alive are frequently reported. Scalping was practised by the otherwise highly civilized Zuñis. Christian festivals often degenerated into bloodthirsty orgies of cruelty, and the custom of strangling without pity sick persons who, after receiving the sacraments, were beginning to recover, seems to have been very frequent in South America. On the other hand, idiots were treated with respect mingled with awe, as standing in close relation with a spirit. At the same time high social virtues, such as a reserved demeanour, the avoidance of direct contradiction or insulting expressions, respect for ancestral customs, are to be met with. The forest Indians have been called more gloomy than the agricultural tribes of the plains, and in this sense the Guaranis are contrasted with the open-faced Payaguas. This dual character in Indians is widespread. In every extensive district there is one stock with a bad reputation for wickedness, as the Omahas among the Missouri tribes, or the Botocudos in East Brazil. For the dying out

of the Indian, Indians themselves are in part responsible; thus the Micmacs who came over from Cape Breton hastened the extermination which the whites had begun, of the Beothuks or "Red Indians."

From the data afforded by the missions, the agricultural "reservations" in the United States, and the political development of states where Indians are numerous, their capacity for education cannot be denied; but for the majority of them it has its limits. The obstacle is not weakness of memory, but the charm of freedom from restraint, the instinct of nomadism as it has been called, and also the power of habit. Comparison of Indians with negroes shows that the most discouraging quality of the Indian is the lack of imitative power so powerful in the negro. The Indians hold stubbornly to their beliefs, and even among those who have been baptised many heathen customs are current. But if once they are converted, and securely attached to Christianity, they provide the material of splendid fanatics. In the Jesuit state of Paraguay, in Ecuador, and under the leadership of their spiritual pastors in the armies that fought for independence against Spain, as well as in the subsequent civil conflicts, they sealed their faith with their blood.

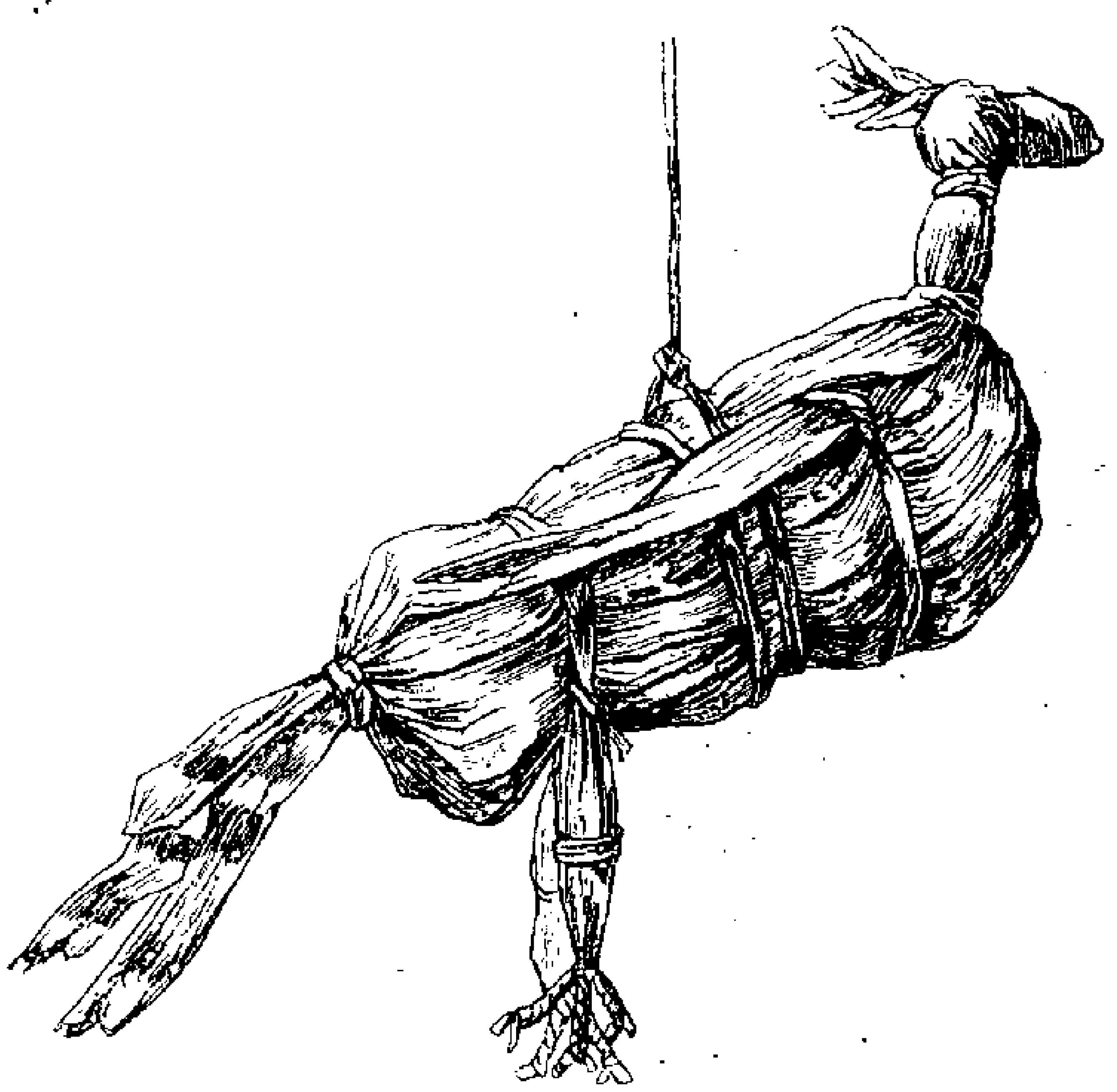


Figure made by Bakairis out of maize husks, intended to represent Harpy eagle—one-tenth real size. (After v. d. Steinen.)

Formerly, in considering the manifestations of mental power among Indians, it was usual to lay much stress on their eloquence. Dodge has noted their peculiar artificial style as being imitated from the stilted eloquence of the Quakers and the missionaries, which, owing to ignorance of the language, revolved upon a few words and phrases. There is none of the pomp of language ascribed by the sensation-loving journalists of North America to "Big Cloud" or "Spotted Tail." In their assemblies they speak quietly and with moderation. There is copious play of gesture and feature, thus described in the case of the Chonos by Coppinger: "Great joy:—showing the closed teeth, a clucking tone of voice, and up-and-down movement of the body; vehemence:—clucking tone and saliva frothing between the lips; sorrow or anger:—the upper lip drawn tight, somewhat showing the front teeth, and the lower jaw protruded." The hand held on the head is equivalent to an oath, as also is touching the weapons or the necklace. Rubbing noses or faces takes the place of kissing; a loud, long, sustained breath indicates mourning among Californian tribes. Greeting with long speeches is appropriate to dignified introduction, but so also is the South American practice of receiving a guest lying in your hammock. Very many of the usages customary at greeting in South America may be

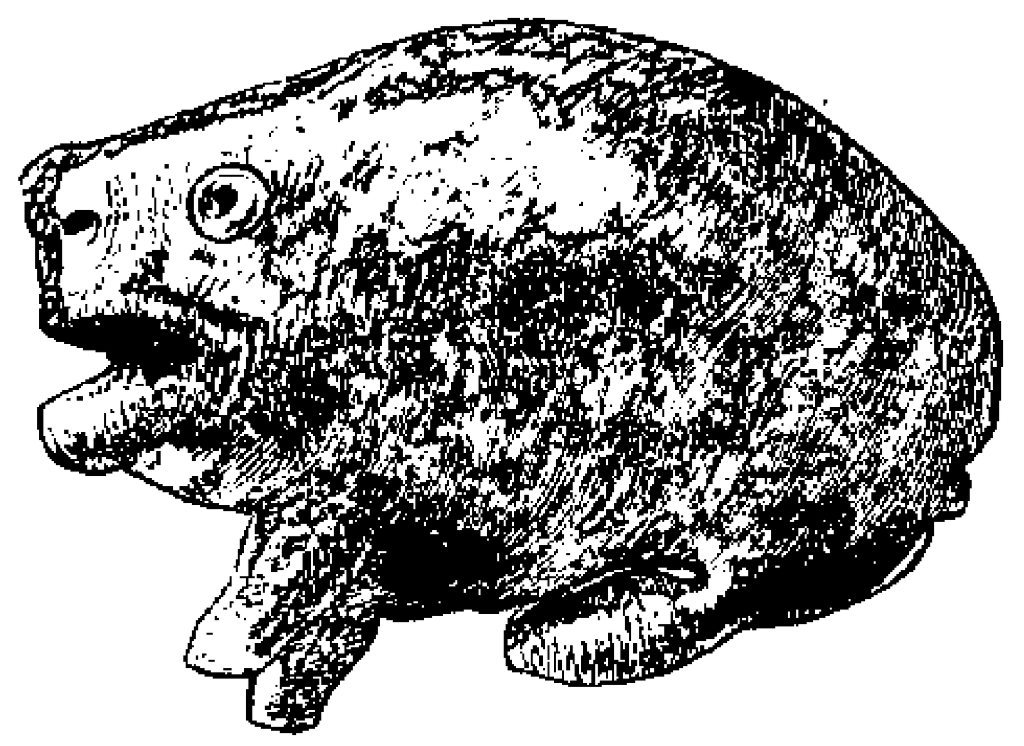
referred to the fear of the evil eye or of ghosts, as when people enter a friendly village with war-cries, in order not to be mistaken for interloping spectres.

The mode of reckoning time in use among these races is not quite clear. The solar year was known at least within the limits of Mexican and Peruvian civilization, and even the Zuñis know that their year begins five days after the time when the shadow falls at a certain angle towards the *mesa*. We may even suspect further traces of this when we find among many North American tribes the custom of reckoning not by years but by winters, and a division made into cold and warm months. Of the Nootkas, Sproat says that they reckon thirteen months and begin their reckoning at or about November. The names of the months are taken from the fishery—the spawning of the fish, the ripening of the berries, and so on; several appellations for one month are often found, and differences between one tribe and another are frequent. In the temperate region of South America, on the west coast, where there is an island climate and the seasons are not sharply marked off, the spring tides of the equinox serve to divide summer from winter. In tropical regions the stars are called in to distinguish, as in Guiana where the Pleiads, *Auein*, announce the dry season.

They are capable of counting beyond ten, but the decimal system is at the base of their reckoning. Certain numbers—four, seven, twelve—were sacred with many tribes; the basis of measurement is generally the span; the breadth of the thumb laid flat counts as the smallest measure, the distance between thumb and elbow as the largest. Among the tribes of the North-West we sometimes find a scale of measurement tattooed on one arm; the Mayas and Aztecs used as their standard the foot, taking precedence of their other bodily measurements. They had no power of accurately indicating longer distances, and even the Central American civilized races had no standard of weight.

The American languages have always caused great astonishment from their large number. In recent times it has been thought necessary to distinguish some hundred languages and groups of languages; but even if the progress of inquiry up to now allows us to anticipate some identifications in the future, the abundance of languages in America must remain astonishing; their number may equal those of Europe and Asia combined. Of these we find that in the east and interior of North and South America the areas are predominantly large, in the west small. What is now Texas, and the district of Oregon and Columbia, formerly comprised numerous families of languages. In South America only the Quichua, at present within Peruvian territory, and next to it the Moxo, Guarani, and Carib languages, had a wide distribution; probably there is a larger group of languages in the south also; Central America seems to contain several families of languages. Dialectic differentiation has been carried to a high pitch; isolating and varying causes have had free course and have been checked only in a small degree by the counteraction of conservative and assimilating forces. The continent seems to have been constantly inhabited by a crowd of small races cut off from each other by jealous and surly exclusiveness. Even though in Mexico, Central America, and Peru the *conquistadores* came upon abundance of civilization, and in North America artificial mounds, copper mines, and other things point to a civilization that has disappeared, we have only exceptional cases before

us, says Whitney. American philologists regard it as proved that tribal groups which have split up in quite recent times speak languages in which what is common is already almost overgrown by what is different. The bi-lingualism of the Carib tribes, whose women speak Arawak and the men Carib, cannot but have an altering effect upon the whole body of the language. According to Ehrenreich the Carayas have a female language distinguished from the male dialect only by its archaic forms, so that here the fission must have arisen within the race and cannot be explained by the capture of wives. Besides this we have mixtures of language into which hitherto very slight inquiry has been made, as when in the Takilman of North-west America the names for parts of the human body remind us of the Kalapuian dialects. Whitney nevertheless considers it possible that all American languages have arisen from one original tongue and then have parted off. All are based upon an agglutinative system; pronouns, adverbs, even substantives, are all taken into the verb and conjugated with it, so that monstrous compounds of more than a dozen different elements roll from the tongue. With defective differentiation, luxuriance of the verbal idea, fusion of the pronoun with the noun, the Indian languages are rich in expressions for particular relations, but the grammatical forms, number and gender, are almost universally neglected. The pronouns again are developed and often decide the character of the word to which they belong, whether, for instance, it be verb or substantive, much as in the case of our "I love" and "my love"; and on this account the American languages have been comprehensively called "pronominal" languages. Brinton would distinguish agglutination from multiple synthesis, by which a large number of abbreviated roots are stuck together, but the same races that rejoice in the formation of gigantic terms use single letters as complete words, nay, are even able to indicate whole groups of ideas and frames of mind by single vowels.



Mehinacu wax-figure, representing a (?) capybara—one-half real size. (After v. d. Steinen.)

In the power of distinguishing colours the Americans, so far as one can perceive from their employment of them in art, are not behind Europeans. They have expressions for blends of colour in feathers, rocks, or soil, which we have not. In other directions acquaintance with nature favours a copious vocabulary. The custom of giving to the numerals classifying affixes, which show whether the objects to be counted are round, long, or flat, whether they have been counted already or are now being counted for the first time, adds to the bewildering tendency to variation. Prefixes to noun and verb not only supply manifold ways of imparting reflexive, reciprocal, and middle senses, but also serve to state the outward form of the object affected by the action. Reduplication is applied even to particles, and express actions or conditions of that which is denoted by the simple form. In the Maklak language a hundred prefixes are employed, alone or combined, to imply iteration, frequency, duration, or causation.

Brinton observes that while many expressions can only with difficulty be translated from European languages into an American dialect, the Indians have

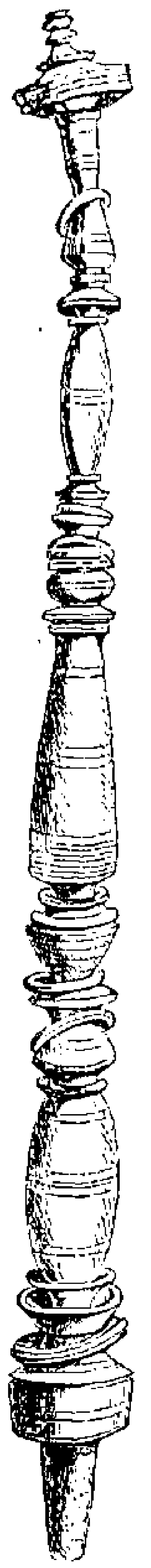
on the other hand framed languages which allow them to express many conceptions more clearly and neatly than we can do. The synthetic formation of sentences can be alternated with the analytic, which is a sign of wealth rather than of poverty. Brinton explains the lack of abstract terms by the fact that they were not wanted.

Musical instruments of the Yuris of Brazil—one-eighth real size (Munich Museum.)

The piling up of empty abstractions is, he thinks, a dubious advantage, and one that the American dialects would easily overtake.

Not only did America develop a hieroglyphic writing in the regions where some culture prevailed, her natural races made more progress than did the negroes in striking out a primitive system of writing. Picture-writing is widely diffused throughout America, and appears often to fall but a little short of attaining to the hieroglyphic stage. The relation between the two is obscure; they are often found engraved upon conspicuous cliffs and rock walls, possibly they may in some cases

indicate roads or mark property. Among the Pemirs in the south-west of North America they even appear to be the objects of veneration; there are characters engraved upon a *piedra pintada* in Venezuela which remind us of the rectangular hieroglyphics of the Mayas. Professor Ernst of Caracas believes that he can recognise survivals of Indian picture-writing in the marks used for branding cattle; knot-writing, which was once highly developed in ancient Peru, has remained in use for important messages both in north and south. The language of signs has been brought to a wonderful perfection varying from one tribe to another; the sign for "chief" is made by extending the index finger of the right hand, lowering it vertically, and then raising it quickly in a straight line to the height of the head, or else the speaker holding his right hand high lifts the index finger, turns it round in a circle, and brings it down to the ground. In this connection we may also consider the signalling by means of drums. Like the African races, the Jivaros impart information by their *tunduli*, which is heard from house to house, from mountain to mountain; information is conveyed over a wide region in the shortest possible time by means of a special drum tap. Intelligence is also sent in an incredibly short time by reliefs of runners.



Dancing-staff with rings from north-west America. (Frankfort City Museum.)

Of pictorial art we may here just mention that more fantastic conventionalising of forms is to be found nowhere else among mankind, otherwise we may generally assert that the Indians have scarcely even reached the point of faithfully reproducing the body either of men or animals, and herein they are sharply distinguished from the Eskimo. On the other hand, an impulse towards artistic representation is so intimately woven into the life of many apparently barbarous tribes that their existence may be said in a higher degree than ours to be made endurable by art. Beautiful evidences of this have been brought in great plenty from Central Brazil by K. von den Steinen.

Music and dancing are, as usual, nearly connected with the religious and political life. The Tupis found in the conclusion of the harvest and of the salmon fishery, in every full moon, in return from war, a pretext for the festivals that have been described in such lively fashion by Hans Staden. The ordering of dances is frequently the chief's business, and the musician often holds prominent place, as among the Carib tribes. Most of their songs have a monotonous dragging character, interrupted at most by loud shouts and yells. Among the Zuñis the chief dancers at religious functions are at the same time people of influence. In the *gauvacan*, the favourite dance of the Oyampis, men and women form a circle, stamp heavily twice, go forward, let go, embrace each other in couples, and whirl swiftly round in time with the reed-flute. The *bambuko* is nothing but a constant pursuit of the lady; she retires, turns round, at the same time modestly lowering her eyes, lets her arm hang loosely down, hardly raises her foot from the ground, persistently retreats before the charge of her partner, until she at last languidly surrenders and is led away in triumph. If this dance is not an imported fandango, it merely shows what a favourite business all the world over

is this story of seeking and winning. Besides this the Indians of Guiana who have remained untouched by Spanish and Portuguese influence, like to dance

6. Mehinacu masks—one-fourth to one-fifth real size. (After v. d. Steinen.)

love stories. Head and body are ornamented for the dance, and in North-west America and the interior of South America masks are specially worn. At the Maraka dances (see p. 29) the Rukuyenns in South America wear a garment made

of strips of skin and cotton covering the breast and body, others carry on their back a wooden fish with holes, in which are stuck great bunches of feathers falling like birds' tails. At the dances which precede the Maraka tortures, executed by men and women before the fire to the tune of love songs and war songs, the young people stand round a hole covered with a large piece of bark, stamp upon it all in time with their right leg, and at each step produce a short note from a little reed trumpet. Special instruments are used to summon council meetings, among the Coroados a cow-horn, among the Botocudos a trumpet made from the skin stripped off the tail of the armadillo, among the Cranes trumpets of gourd, among the Mundrucus reed pipes, among the Miranhas and other tribes north-east of the Amazon wooden drums. Among the Americans of the north-west, hollow wood blocks are used for drums and shells for castanets, pipes with a hole, and rattles in the shape of birds or seals also occur. The orchestra of the Goajiros is composed of drums, reed pipes, and the *maraka*, an instrument like a bassoon provided with a calabash to give resonance. In New Mexico only flutes and pipes are found. The Araucanians are said formerly to have made their flutes from the shin bones of slain enemies. A kind of harmonica resembling the *marimba*, made of twenty pieces of bamboo between twenty little strips of wood fastened with strings to a rafter, may be an importation from Africa. The Guayqueres Indians and their half-breeds go quite foolish over the sounds of this instrument, which they play with great dexterity.

Gambling amounts to a passion; the Haidas play odd or even with little sticks, and the player who can win his adversary's bundle of forty or fifty sticks receives a considerable stake, culminating even in the right to enslave the other party. The dice play of the Wintuns called *ha* has been described by Powers: two acorns are split lengthwise and dotted with black and white on the outer side, these dice are shaken in the hand and thrown into a broad shallow basket prettily woven. The Hare Indians have a game like the Italian *morra* in which it has to be guessed in which hand the player holds some object; the Algonquins also know this game. Or else sticks painted in red rings are wrapped in grass and the number of rings has to be guessed. A third game consists in driving a wooden ball between two pins into a hole; a favourite game with the Californians, Mandans, and others is to throw rings and catch them on sticks. Peculiar to the Yavapais is a game with forty cards made from the entrails of a horse; this is obviously an imitation. The Queen Charlotte's Islanders are said to exceed all others in the rage for play. Trials of strength, such as wrestling and finger pulling are customary, and children practise archery at straw figures of beasts and fishes. Among the Chinooks a ball is struck with sticks having rings on their ends. Women have their own games; among the Chinooks, again, for instance, they play with beavers' teeth marked like dice.

The healing art forms one of the priests' functions; we need only note here that various baths play a part in popular therapeutics. Among the Thlinkeets, every house is provided with a hut fitted as a vapour bath; while other tribes affect a common bath-house in the middle of the village. The Nootkas bathe in the open. Even where superfluous cleanliness does not distinguish either dwellings or clothing, a morning cold bath is customary, especially among the tribes to the west of North America. Simples seem to be less in vogue than is commonly supposed. Bleeding, *massage*, suction applied to the seat of the

disorder, are far more usual forms of treatment. Reciprocal kneading of the abdomen with the feet as a remedy for an over-loaded stomach is said to be the treatment in use among Arawaks and Botocudos. The Jivaros induce vomiting almost every morning by the aid of a feather, on the ground that food not digested during the night is injurious; and the same practice is found among Carayas and many North American tribes.

In no other portion of the earth did the invasion of Europeans produce such far-reaching alterations, mostly for the worse, as it did in America. This might be regarded as damaging evidence of the moral and intellectual position of the Indians, for they are doubtless the beaten party. But this evidence is neither decisive nor sufficient by itself. The tribes which melted away most rapidly were not the poor and timid: in California the Wintuns have survived, while prouder and wealthier nations have gone under. The power of resisting extermination which marks so many of the lower orders of the animal world often makes it easier for them to respond to a change of conditions. No man can now calculate how many millions of Indians have fallen victims to civilization. Even where the white man was at first received in friendly wise, his advance was marked with blood. The Indian population, outside the more civilized regions, never having been very dense, the number of victims was doubtless not so great as, reckoning by a European standard, has been believed; but even if the Indian population of North America has remained stationary for the last 300 years, this alone betokens a mighty loss. The fact that in the eastern states, which were for the most part brought under Anglo-Saxon civilization, the number of Indians as ascertained by the first accurate census was only a tenth of that in the west where Spaniards first colonized shows how the Indian disappeared before the higher type of civilization. Nor is the decrease only in North America, as we cannot doubt when we find in Minas Geraes the Tupis reduced to a few families, and 8000 free Indians in all. Elsewhere in South America, especially since the decay of missions subsequently to the war of independence, reports declare almost unanimously that the number of Indians is reduced; and thereby cultivation has gone decidedly backward in Venezuela, Guiana, and the lowlands of the Amazon.

It was once believed that the white man poisoned the air, spreading the germs of infection, which made it fatal even to approach him. Nor indeed is any microscope needed; every year thousands succumb to spirits, smallpox, and leprosy; and the pitiless hunting-down of outlawed tribes is even yet not wholly a matter of history. But the damage done to the Indians is not absolutely or universally due to strong drink and smallpox; economic causes are equally at the bottom of it. Different conditions arise when the European immigrant comes in contact with hunting or fishing nomad Indians and when he lights upon settled cultivators. In the first case, conflicts are bound to arise at once; every settler in the hunting-grounds disturbs the profits. What the agriculturist or cattle-breeder obtains by the sweat of his brow is welcome booty to the nomads; thousands of roaming Indians on the frontier of Texas and Mexico live exclusively by plunder. It is then no wonder if, in the destitute cultivated oases of the western Rockies, the wild Indian is an outlaw. With this state of things, the question of race has in the first instance little to do; lawful and lawless gains come into conflict, and the struggle of races is mainly a struggle

for land. In Mexico, and in Central and South America, locally too in the United States, we find agricultural Indians who stand in quite a different position towards Europeans. In Mexico again are Indian villages quite as flourishing as those of white men could be. Here the white immigrant can only buy land of the Indian and outdo him in industry; but he usually prefers to take up his quarters as a trader, and so every Mexican village has its Spaniard, as every Polish village its Jew. If it be said that the Indian has a better chance here, it must be pointed out that the wild Indian, the *Indio bravo*, lives here in the same hostility to the less energetic settled population as he does in the United States. Here, too, there are plundering and roving tribes, tribes that are growing poor, persecuted, or dying out. But in Canada the Indians and the half-breeds, or *Bois brûlés*, are indispensable helpers in turning to account the wealth of fur-bearing animals in which Canada rivals Siberia. As hunters and trappers they pervade the dominion in thousands, being paid, clothed, and fed by the whites. Here the two races have need of each other, and in spite of unfavourable climatic conditions there is no talk of the Indian dying out in Canada. It is only in agricultural districts of the North-West that a tendency to limit their area is, significantly enough, beginning to show itself.

Newfoundland woman. (From a photograph in Pruner Bey's Collection, Munich.)

But even where a kinder notion of racial difference has prevailed, social difference is clearly marked. Between the "unjustifiable luxury" of great cities in America, and the wretched vegetative existence of many Indian tribes in their neighbourhood, an uncompromising contrast is apparent. Here, too, the white man and the half-caste have forced the Indian back into the roughest and least fertile regions, till in Peru and Mexico the Indian village, from its poor, but healthier height, menaces with its rapidly-growing population the fertile

malarious plantations of the plain. The Botocudos were certainly never forest-wanderers before, the white men took away the arable clearings. The social contrast is further widened by the predilection of the scum of the population for associating with the lower stratum of the Indians. To the Indian the clergy are as a rule the sole representatives of the better classes; and in Latin America they are becoming increasingly Indianised. Absorption by mixture of blood goes hand in hand with forcible displacement. What is everywhere observed in the conflicts between stronger and weaker races is taking place on a great scale in America; fighting, losses, dissolution, absorption. In this melting-pot whole races of men will be fused together, nor need any signs of reaction deceive us. History will be the judge of the opinion that the level of culture can remain undisturbed while the blood of the more civilized race is mingling with that of its inferior, and will contradict it. In most of the South and Central American States the half-breeds are more numerous than the members of the pure races; out of 25 millions fully 12 are of mixed blood, *mestizos*, *mulattos*, *sambos*, *chonos*, and so on, while of negroes in America a fourth at most are of pure blood. When once they are in the majority, these bastard races will have a great start of those of pure blood, and in most parts of Central and South America they will be the people of the future.

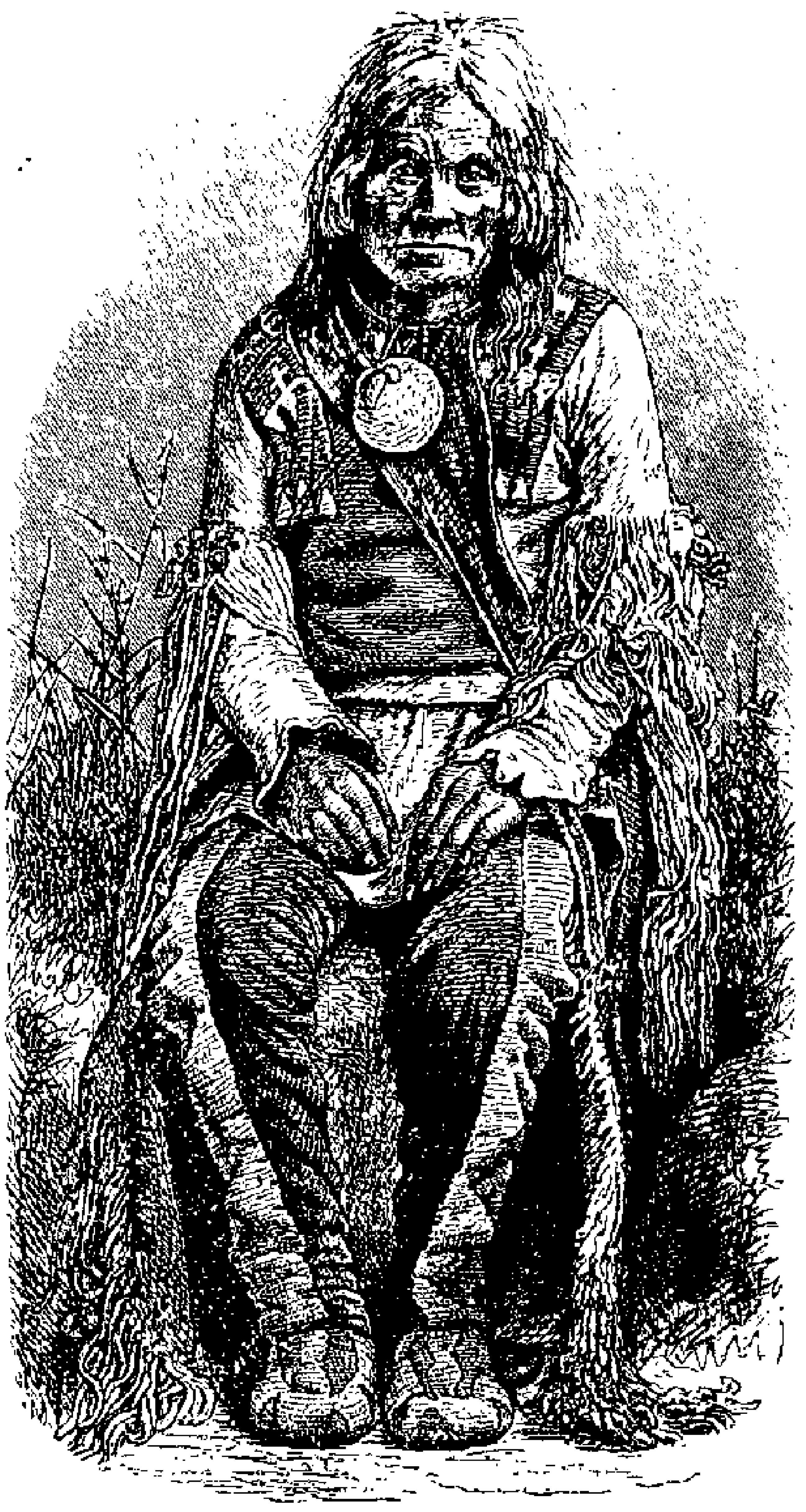
Negroes in America having, as slaves, dwelt more in contiguity with the white men, their position has not as a rule been favourable to crossing with Indians; so that Negro and Indian half-breeds, known as *zambos*, *cafusos*, or *mamelucos*, are less prominent than the mulattos. They are of all shades, from the copper of the Indian to the black of the Negro, and the more negro they have in them, the crisper is their hair. They are not scarce in places where fugitive slaves have been able to make common cause with Indians in maintaining their freedom. The bush-negroes of Guiana, so long ago as 1760, obtained recognition from the colony of Surinam as an independent people.

## § 23. THE FOREST AND PRAIRIE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

Subdivision and grouping—Ornament: tattooing and painting; beads; dress—Weapons: the bow; the tomahawk; introduction of fire-arms—Working in stone; metals; pottery; glass-work; wicker and leather work; division of labour—Fishing and hunting—Agriculture—Food and drink: tobacco—Dwellings and fortifications; mounds.

In the inhabitants of the forests and prairies of North America we meet the typical redskins of the north, the "real" Indians clad in romantic halo. More than anywhere else we are compelled to look back to the past if we would get an unalloyed idea of what they are. The immigration of Europeans has not only driven back the original inhabitants of broad territories into regions of quite different character to those where they first dwelt; it has also been the means of bringing to them other weapons and tools, other domestic animals and plants. Its most important gift was the horse; to this numerous tribes owe the power of adapting themselves to the condition of life on the plains, and the postponement of the extinction that threatened them. It is owing to the horse

that we can now distinguish two groups among the North Americans—the forest and mountain tribes who linger on in the old mode of existence, and the mounted inhabitants of the prairie. In older times one would perhaps have contrasted with the forest-dwellers another group, namely the agriculturists, who, however, were never sharply separated from the true hunting tribes. At the present day it is just these nobler tribes, those who like the Iroquois had to stand in the first line to meet the advancing storm of Europeans, who are the most scattered and annihilated. The settled Indians of the present time have acquired European culture.


Indian of a Missouri tribe. (From a photograph.)

The poverty-stricken tribes who inhabit the icy north as far as the southern frontier of the Esquimaux belong for the most part to the group of the Athabascas or Tinnehs; other tribes also lay claim to the name Ojibbeway. Only the main stock dwell in the north; individual branches have advanced south to Arizona, where we find in the Apaches a race of horsemen standing externally in glaring contrast to their northern kinsmen, but in language belonging undoubtedly to them. Other tribes of Arizona must be assigned to the Athabasca group, such as the Chiribahuas, Ariquipas, Coyoteros, Navajos as well as the Jicarillos, and Mescaleros in New Mexico, the Hupas in California, and the Janos in Chihuahua. In the far north we find the Loucheux on the Lower Mackenzie, the Kenais, Kuchins, Atnahs, and others in Alaska, the Ojibbeways, Sarsis, etc., in British North America. The district of the Athabascas is separated from the Algonquins by a line running from the mouth of the Churchill river in Hudson's Bay to the mouth of the Fraser river in the Pacific. The individual tribes have no political connection, and their members are a powerful race but of low intelligence.

The Algonquins are another widely-scattered group. Their settlements were on the Atlantic coast from Cape Fear to Cape Hatteras, and northwards to Hudson's Bay and far towards Labrador. To them belonged the Ottawas and Ojibbeways in the neighbourhood of the great lakes, the Abenakis, with many subdivisions south of the St. Lawrence; the Algonquins in the stricter sense in the New England states, the Lenapes on the Delaware, and the Mohicans on the Upper Hudson. The most southerly tribes, the Nantikokas in Maryland and

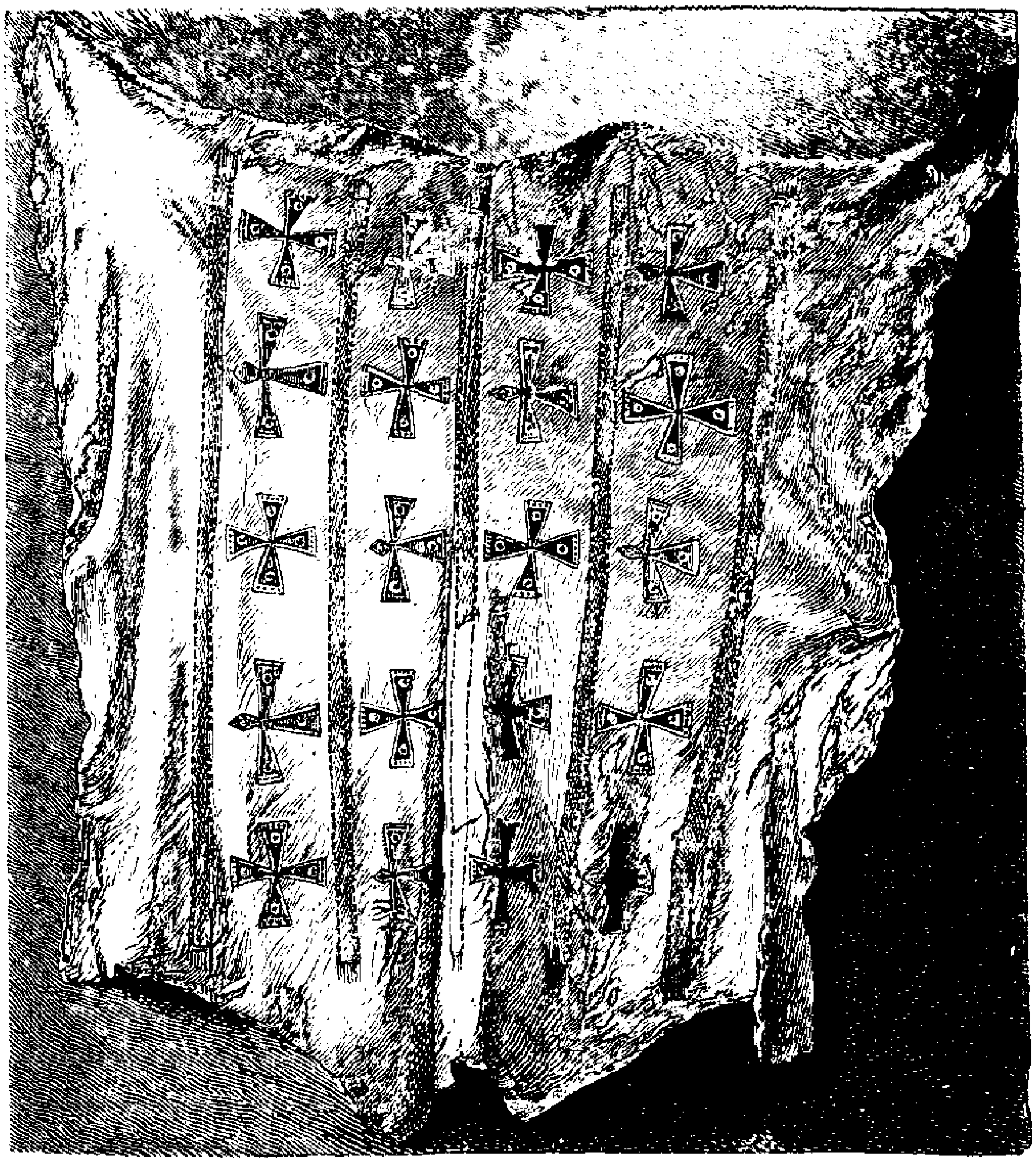
others speak dialects that have undergone modification. But other members of the Algonquin group were driven westwards. The Arapahoes took up their abode on the Upper Kansas river, the Cheyennes on the Upper Arkansas, the Blackfeet above the head-waters of the Missouri. The most northerly tribes to be mentioned are the Crees on the south coast of Hudson's Bay and the Sacoffies in Labrador. Of these races only a part was able to stand its ground in its own abode, but decrease or annihilation was not exclusively the work of the whites. When the first Europeans landed they found the warlike Iroquois engaged in an uninterrupted war of extermination with their neighbours the Algonquins. These bold conquerors inhabited the present state of New York and both banks of the St. Lawrence about Montreal and Quebec. In this group of tribes resided the higher culture and statesmanship achieved by North American Indians. The five nations of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Oneidas, and Cayugas to whom the Tuscaroras were afterwards added, were united in a permanent league about the middle of the fifteenth century by Hiawatha, a chief of the Onondagas. Other Iroquois, as the Hurons and Wyandotes, took up a position hostile to the league, while the so-called neutral nation west of Niagara maintained a prudent intermediary place. In language, not only the Susquehannocs on the Lower Susquehanna, but also the valiant and at present highly cultivated Cherokees, who have now a strong admixture of white blood, are allied to the Iroquois.

In the south-east of the United States numerous tribes are lumped together as Chahta-Muskokis. The practice of erecting earth mounds existed among them even in historical times, so that they may have been the ancient highly cultivated race of mound-builders in the Ohio valley, all the more so that their migration legends point to the north-west. To them belong the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Muskokis, Appalachians, the Seminoles in Florida, and several others. Scattered among them lived isolated fragments of an elder population, as the Natchez, Catawbas, and Tonicas.

Most of these tribes have either continued to occupy their old abodes as insignificant fragments, or have migrated west to the prairies. We may hope that the Indian territory will remain permanently secured to them. The Pawnee tribes were, as the chart shows, scattered irregularly over the region between the middle Missouri and the Gulf of Mexico; the Dakotahs or Sioux dwelt, and to a great extent still dwell, between the Arkansas and the Saskatchewan. Besides the stock that gave its name to the group, the Dakotahs comprise the Assiniboines, the Mandans, Osages, Winnebagoes and others. The Kioways are an isolated branch which has developed, on the upper Arkansas and in the great American desert, into a race of genuine mounted brigands.

Another group connected by language is formed by the Yumas of the Colorado valley in Arizona, on the Californian peninsula, and on the east shore of the Gulf of California. The tribes who are considered as the builders in ancient times of the numerous ruined towns, known as *pueblos*, in Arizona, New Mexico and the neighbouring districts are classed together as Pueblo Indians. But the most important branch of the western Indians, to which belong a great part of the dwellers in the Rocky Mountains, and which extends far towards Central America, is the group of the Ute-Aztecs, falling into three main divisions. The northern or Shoshone branch embraces the Utahs in the territory of that name, the Shoshones or Snake Indians from New Mexico as far as the south of Oregon,

the Comanches in north Texas, the Moquis. The tribes of the second group, the Indians of Sonora, are distributed in northern Mexico and Arizona; to these belong the Cahitas, Coras, Papayos, Pimas. To the third or Nahuatl group belonged the civilized Aztecs, the Tlascaltecs, and various other Mexican tribes, as well as the Pigiles in Soconusco and Guatemala, and the Nicaraos in Nicaragua. Thus in the course of history the powerful stock of the Ute-Aztecs has spread from the northern frontier of the United States to the Central American Isthmus.



Dakotah skin-cloak. (Stockholm Ethnographical Collection.)

It is the advantage of a classification from the point of view of language that it allows a rapid survey of relationships and migrations, but it makes it necessary to leave out of account the resemblance which a similar mode of life, the constraint of circumstances or the interchange of the means of civilization, disseminates over races of the most various nature. We must therefore now look at the ethnological properties of the North American.

The dressing of the hair, as among all straight-haired races, is as a rule very simple, though exceptions occur, such as that which has given to one tribe the name of "*Cheveux relevés*." Head coverings and perukes are preferred to modes of dressing the hair, even where the ideal is not sought in bestowing a shine as of a black mirror upon the lank wisps. Among tribes of the North-West, as the

Wintuns, we find it usual to bind the hair periodically into a single mass by means of a paste made of clay and *mezquite* gum, possibly also with a view to more thorough cleansing. In many cases warriors were enjoined to shave the head, leaving only a scalp lock, others plait the hair into tufts, perhaps in imitation of the European fashion, while the Mandans used to tie up false hair with their own in long bags, but in general long loose hair was regarded as an ornament, and for this reason it was cut short as a sign of mourning or a mark of servitude. Head coverings are as little in fashion as feather ornaments are frequent: hunters and warriors of the same tribe are distinguished by eagle's, owl's, or raven's feathers. Among the Mandans wooden knives in the hair show that the wearer has stabbed an enemy, while sticks with studs of brass indicate the number of bullet wounds that he has received.

Tattooing was practised originally perhaps throughout the continent, and that principally as punctured tattooing executed by the aid of sharp bones, fish bones, thorns, or a bundle of needles, with soot rubbed in. Champlain gives a picture of an Iroquois fully tattooed, but as in Polynesia the custom has long tended to disappear. We hear of animal figures among the Pomos and of trees covering the whole body, or feather-like designs on cheeks among the Karoks and Patawats of California. In many cases the design covers half the body and more, as among the Mohaves, a Yuma tribe, who, with their rich tattooing, are unique among their painted neighbours. The marks appear at first sight to have only a personal interest, but among many tribes of Northern California only the women tattooed their faces, and the lines and points depicted on chin or cheeks were tribal marks. Very few marks were sufficient, ornamental lines in which tattooing easily runs riot were avoided, and only a simple tribal sign was adhered to. In California this consisted of lines from the lower lip to the chin. The only tribe known in California in which men are tattooed are the Mattoals; these have a round blue spot in the middle of the forehead. The tattooing of the Hidatsas in Dakotah, broad transverse stripes on the right side of the body, the right arm, and the right leg, must be credited with a religious or secret society meaning. The Hupa Indians draw ten lines crosswise on the inner side of their left forearm, and use them in measuring the strings of shell money.

What has been taken for "scar-tattooing" is for the most part only the traces of blood-letting, which is practised with extraordinary frequency. The Indians slash the whole body in the most ruthless way, not only as a cure for rheumatism and congestions, but also in order to improve their strength and endurance, and thus the mass of scars received in sportive fights and self-torturings among warlike tribes resulted in a sort of irregular cicatrization.

Painting, as giving less pain and less trouble, has in many cases replaced tattooing, though among the Tinnehs the two go together. The Hualpais of Arizona smear themselves with the blood of animals slain in hunting. For painting the face red and yellow ochre or chalk with soot and black lead are most usual; at the present time colours for the purpose can be bought in the shops. Vegetable juices are less employed in North than in South America. Painting serves to express the most various emotions, and is universally worn at the dances. The Dakotahs paint their face from the eyes to the chin when going to war; the Upsarokas or Crows paint only the forehead. This is faithfully represented in the picture-writing of the Indians, or upon painted clothes and

blankets. Mourning is indicated by painting the face black with charcoal. In South California and among the Northern Sioux the Indian girls paint their faces red when they have lovers.

Deformation of the skull was widely spread throughout America, but the practice seems to have been especially strong in the North-West. The alleged wearing down of the teeth to the edge of the gum found in skulls taken from mounds in Missouri looks like mutilation. Contrivances for deforming the skull were adopted very soon after birth. The most usual practice consisted of laying the child in a trough upon which a piece of bark with a cushion was fastened by string and tied tightly across the forehead, or else the child was fastened upon a board having a smaller one attached to it at an angle. Among the Choctaws and Chinooks the deformation was only applied to the male sex, among other tribes to both. Perhaps the name *Têtes-de-boule* formerly applied to one tribe on the St. Lawrence refers to this. Artificial pressing back of the forehead seems to have been usual among the ancient Cubans. A kind of distortion described as "three-lobed" may probably be traced to the practice in vogue both in South and North America of carrying heavy loads by a band passing round the forehead. Finally skulls have been found in North American graves having the vertex bored through. This may be either trephining as in European skulls of the neolithic period, or perforation for extracting the brain and hanging up the skull as an amulet, or the result of scalping.

A woman of the Kioway tribe. (From a photograph.)

Pearls and beads are in use as ornament; in the form of money and *wampum* they attain a higher importance. Pearls from sea shells have often been discovered by hundreds in the mounds and on the altars associated with them, and the conquerors of Florida saw splendid masses of pearl ornaments. Many pearls are also prepared artificially with infinite labour from the inner parts of certain shells; smaller sea shells, such as *marginella*, *natica*, *oliva*, are perforated and serve at once as ornament or as money. Fossil shells and snail shells are also frequently worn, and perforated splinters of river shells are general. The most valuable beads are prepared from the *columella* of large snail shells and especially from *strombus*. Disc-shaped fragments of shell of circular outline have various designs scratched or clipped in them; plain lacustrine snail shells also have been found in graves, the commonest being those of *pyrula* and *cassis*. In Californian graves the principal objects found consist similarly of beads, the material of which is almost invariably shells, usually *Venus mercenaria*. There also we find the rod-shaped beads made of shell, the boring of which without metal has not yet been explained.

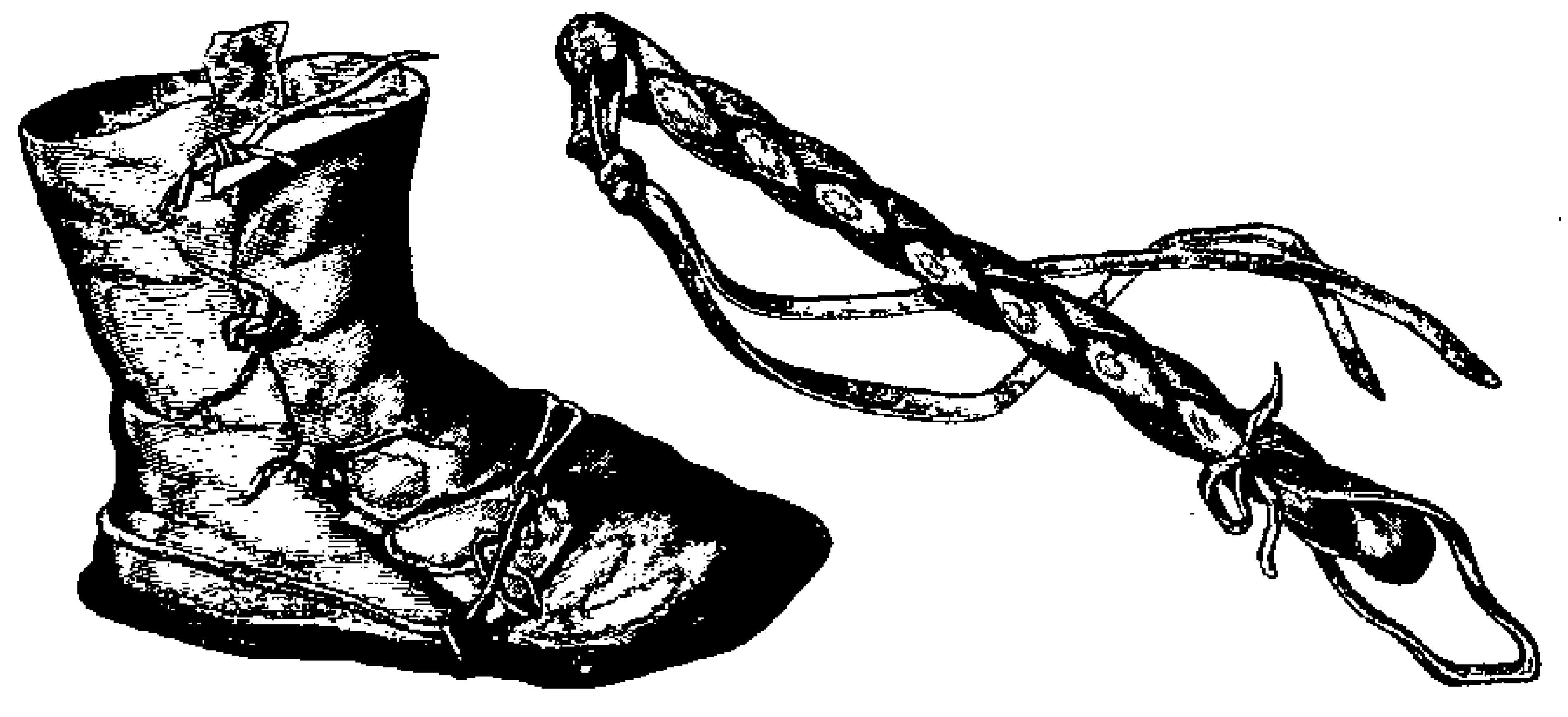
Hardly conceivable either is the manufacture with stone implements of tiny, regularly perforated beads, probably from the shell of *Olivella biplicata*. Since many tribes of North America ate river shell-fish, and the shells were also employed for the purpose of burying with the body, river pearls were doubtless also in use; beads of enamel and glass are said to be always of European origin. The modern Indians of California took up no element of white civilization more quickly than coins, which they used to thread on strings to the value of forty or fifty dollars. In any case there was a great traffic in ornamental objects of all kinds. Galena has been often found in large quantities in the mounds, and even on the altars of the sacrificial hillocks, but to all appearance metallic lead was not manufactured. Mica, which occurs in the east of North America in large pieces and of admirable purity, was worked into ornaments, and, it is said, employed in large fragments for mirrors. In the graves of Ohio discs have been found a yard in length, and skeletons were entirely covered with plates of mica. The Shoshones and Bannocks of Idaho to this day use wapiti teeth as currency, an eye-tooth, which is the trophy most in demand, being valued at 25 cents.

A Dakotah. (From a photograph.)

Throughout North America the climate demands pretty complete clothing. Bison and other hides afforded the most convenient cloaks, and served, if made from white animals, as marks of rank. Even sixty years ago they were superseded among the Osages of the middle Missouri by woollen blankets, which were presented in quantities to the peaceful Indians by the United States government.

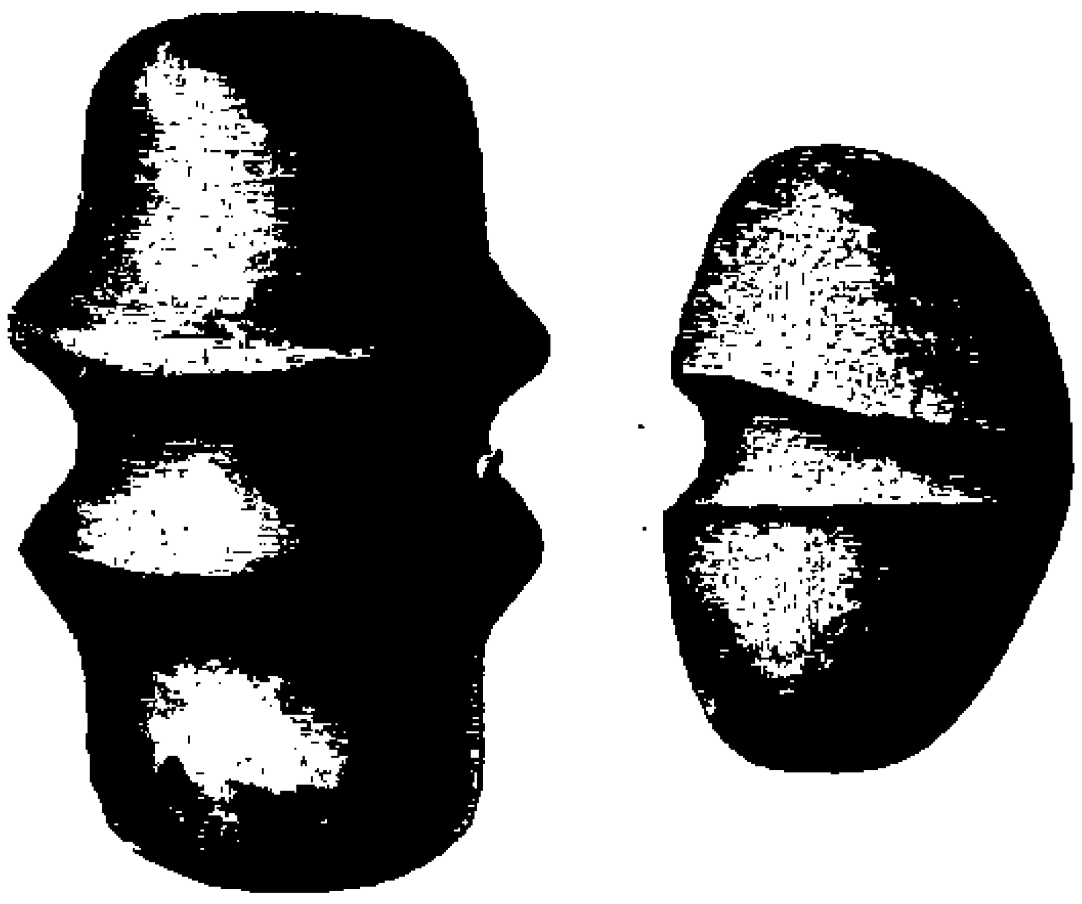
so that the woollen blanket is at the present day a portion of the Indian national costume. It is, however, like the poncho of the South Americans, only a transition to jacket and trousers. In the reports of the United States Indian Commissioners we may read that more and more people are exchanging the blanket for the clothing of civilization. The original North American clothing, as shown in the cut on page 28, appears, both from its material and from the occurrence of trousers and boots, to be a modification of that worn by the northern races. Among the Tinnehs both men and women wear trousers with boots at the end of them like the Esquimaux. Waistcoats, trousers, and gaiters were made of untanned hide rendered supple ; mocassins are shoes of buck-skin made of fresh hide dried on the feet. Some tribes wore them more pointed, some broader, and the position of the seam varied so that conclusions as to the tribe of the wearer could be drawn from the footprints. Among some Virginian tribes a bunch of moss formed a simple protection to decency, but, as a rule, clothing was more complete in the east and south than in the west, although among one tribe related to the Hurons the men used to go about in summer stripped to their mocassins. Among the Wintuns of California the old women are often clad merely in a grass rope flung two or three times round the hips,

Necklace of human fingers, as used by Apache sorcerers. (Washington National Museum.)



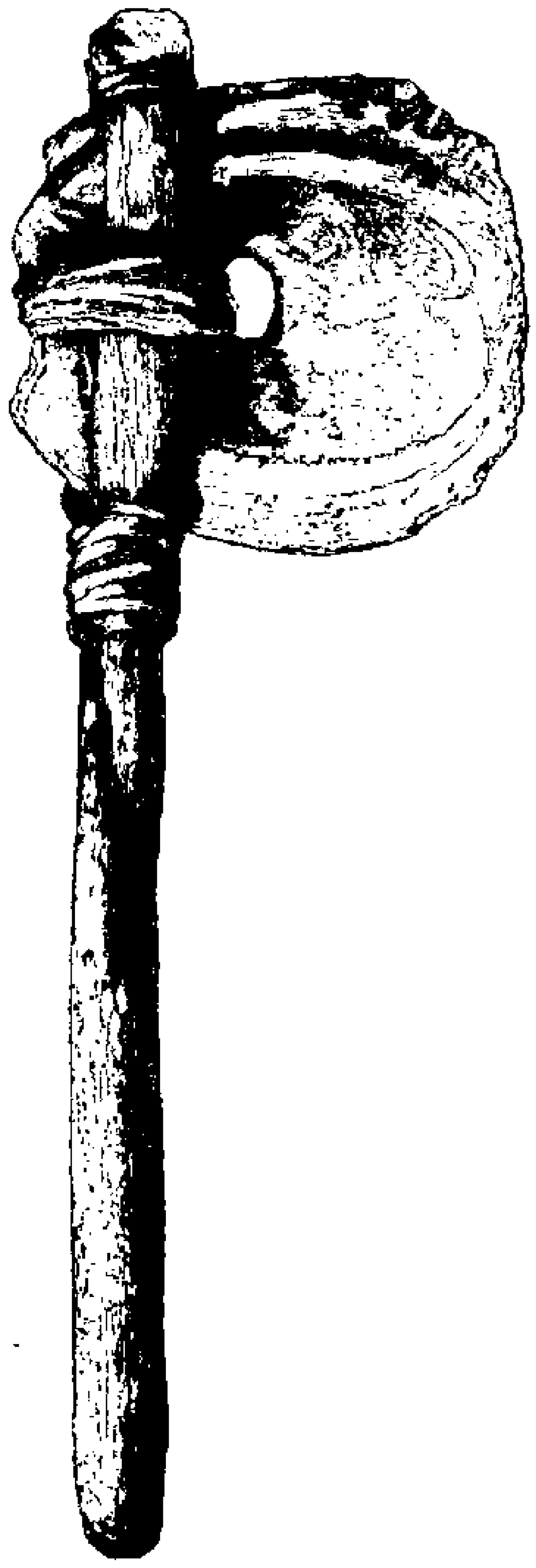
Volpi mocassin and riding-whip. (Washington National Museum.)

while the younger women and girls make themselves quite a pretty coat of roe-skin, the lower edge of which is cut into fringes and ornamented at the end of every tassel with polished pine nuts, while the upper is embroidered with brightly shining shells. To slit the edges of leather clothes into fringes hung with beads and bits of lead till they rattle is a regular North American Indian taste. A fan made of an eagle or swan's wing or the tail of an owl formerly formed part of every warrior's toilet.



Volpi stone hammer—one-fourth real size. (Washington Museum.)

Where civilized dress has found an entrance the men of the lowest class wear woollen blanket, shirt, trousers, and broad brimmed hat of felt or straw, while the women have nothing but an ugly blue shift embroidered with red and yellow patterns and reaching to the knee, to which are added necklaces of glass beads and broad bands of the same round arm and leg. The Seminole women adorn foreign materials with pretty embroidery. Where prosperity exists, as in Spanish America, we find among the women the Creole costume, derived from Andalusia, of bright coloured light cotton, which being cheap and "dressy" is usual even in the higher ranks.



Shell hoe from Ohio, restored. (After W. H. Holmes.)

In the weapons stone predominates, whether for arrow and spear-heads, hatchets, or knives. Wooden clubs and wooden spears are disappearing, though formerly there may have been more of them. In the south-east of North America and in the West Indies shells were extensively employed for axe and knife blades, bones were preferred in the west and especially in California. The Moquis use for hunting rabbits a wooden weapon in size and shape resembling the Australian boomerang; the Digueños of South California use a narrower and longer missile stick. Clubs of various kinds with names to distinguish them from ordinary sticks were formerly found as well as spears. Stone weapons were at one time far more various than they were at the epoch of the discovery, and occasional finds showed unexpected resemblances to the weapons of other races. Stone clubs, flattened and of a long oval shape, resemble those of New Zealand. Dagger-like knives, with a handle made of a bear's jaw, teeth and all, were popular; later they also had iron blades. In general the stone knives quickly disappeared, the great obsidian and jasper knives were already obsolete as weapons before the European time, as were also the scalping knives with backward curved blades used by Tinnehs, Sioux, and Crees.

The spear is found everywhere. Its point consists of wood, horn, bone, or

stone, of various sorts. Stone spear-heads prepared by hammering and chipping flint are often as sharp as knives. Wherever in America the horse has been introduced, the light lance has acquired the preference over all other weapons with the exception of the *bolas* and the lasso. Whether the perforated stone balls, such as have been found in northern California and Chili, were thrown like the South American *bolas*, or are merely sinkers for nets, is not certain. The oval stones of the Mandans, attached to a leather thong to form a striking weapon, remind us of the *bolas*. Bows and arrows were the principal weapons of the North Americans, and, before the introduction of firearms, were widely used. In the Pacific regions of North America the bows were made from the tough wood of the yew, beat and strengthened with thongs which were attached with an admirable glue; or, as among the Arctic races, from several pieces put together with thongs and glue. The Karoks carried bows inlaid with shell. For quivers they used in the North-West the entire skins of raccoons or pole-cats, stuffed into fanciful shapes, and a leather sheath for the bow was often attached to the quiver. The strings were drawn through holes in plates of stone to ensure an even thickness, which accounts for the little plates of slate with two holes found in Indian graves. There were persons exclusively engaged in the preparation of stone arrow-heads. The Kaddoos were reckoned expert bowyers, and traded in bows; and a trade was also done in wood for arrows. The Yukis put a warrior's equipment of arrows at three hundred. Grooves were cut in the wood to lead air to the feathers. Arrow-heads of wood were perhaps poisoned. In many districts none but animal poisons were used, in others none at all, as the Prince of Wied discovered to be the case with the Brazilian Indians and those on the Upper Missouri. At the present time firearms have largely supplanted bows and arrows. In the thirties they were still almost unknown to the Mandans; now even the remote tribes of Labrador and the Hudson's Bay Territory have almost abandoned the bow.

Defensive weapons are not frequent, though the shield occurs, usually round and made of hide or leather. The Pimas carried round shields of bull's hide, the Dakotahs leather shields cased in thin hide, while the Iroquois made theirs from wood or untanned bison-skin. The Wailakkis of California sheltered themselves by twos or threes behind shields of stag-hide, and many wore a broad belt of the same, like a cuirass. Breast-plates and greaves of wicker are also mentioned among the Iroquois.

The tools are simple considering the work executed with them—the North-west Americans felled their giant trees by means of a chisel of flint or staghorn driven in with a stone hammer; carpenters split wood with wedges, and used axes of stone and shell, and gimlets of bird-bones. Canoes were hollowed out by fire, water-tight vessels were plaited from rushes or bast, and the apparatus for the purpose was prepared from the old Egyptian loom. The tribes south of Puget sound do not seem to have understood this art. Much time was devoted to it, and no one was allowed to look at the work until it was complete. The Haidas excelled all other north-western tribes in dexterity, besides possessing also the slate quarries whence comes the material for their wonderful stone-carving, especially fantastic tobacco pipes. The Thlinkeets also are expert in carving, less so in painting, the least successful in this latter line are the southern tribes on the Columbia and Umpqua.

The manufactures of the raw stone of every possible kind into the most various weapons and implements, especially into the stone axes or tomahawks, was an industry nourishing an active trade and based upon division of labour. Almost every bed of stone of any value has been laid under contribution. The North American Indians seem to have known that flint freshly dug is easier to chip than when dried. Obsidian was employed everywhere for arrow-heads and knives, on the Yellowstone, on the Snake river, in New Mexico, and above all in Mexico; then the costly material spread all over the land to Ohio and Tennessee, a distance of nearly two thousand miles. Soft slate was brought to the Mississippi region from the mountains on the Atlantic. The material for the red stone pipes which are found from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic coast comes from a single spot on the Côteau des Prairies. Sea-shells of every kind also found their way to the interior. The distinction usual in Europe, between chipped and polished stone implements, cannot be maintained on the other side. In North America the stone implements found with remains of extinct mammals have just the same character as those found in more recent deposits even of historic times. The European period of chipped stone weapons affords moreover no single example of a weapon or implement of stone which has not its exact counterpart among those found in North American mounds or graves. Large pieces of hammered flint in the form of oval or almond-shaped flakes bear a striking resemblance to the axes obtained by Boucher de Perthes and Rigollot from the diluvial pebble banks of the Somme valley. Here they have perhaps served for the smoothing of rough wood-work or polishing leather.

Iron dagger from North-west America—one-fifth real size. (Stockholm Collection.)

The method of working in stone seems to have been similar to that of Europe, the finer arrow-heads and knives of flint and jasper were produced by a splintering pressure with a rod of wood or bone, or less frequently with wooden pincers. Boring was executed with tubes of bone or wood. Many spear-heads are really beautiful in their shape and in the details of their work. Favoured by excellent material, the production of stone implements in America was in many places more dexterous than in Europe—it reached, for instance, to the production of hollow forms—mortars of sandstone or basalt together with their pestles are the commonest objects found in Californian graves. Pots and bowls came from the quarries of steatite or pot-stone on the Californian island of Catalina and are frequent in graves on the mainland. The pots were wrought out of the living rock with the lower side upwards, then cracked off and hollowed out. In Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and other states, beds of soap-stone have been found with traces of ancient workings; on the other hand, the rich beds of petroleum, as well as those of anthracite and coal, do not seem to have been put to any use though the Californians used bitumen for fastening on arrow-heads, spear-blades, and fish-hooks. Little works of art in chert and flint, three-edged lance-heads of graceful shape, spear-heads formed like human figures, are not uncommon in the artificial mounds; crescent-shaped daggers with the handle formed of one piece, elegant ornaments,

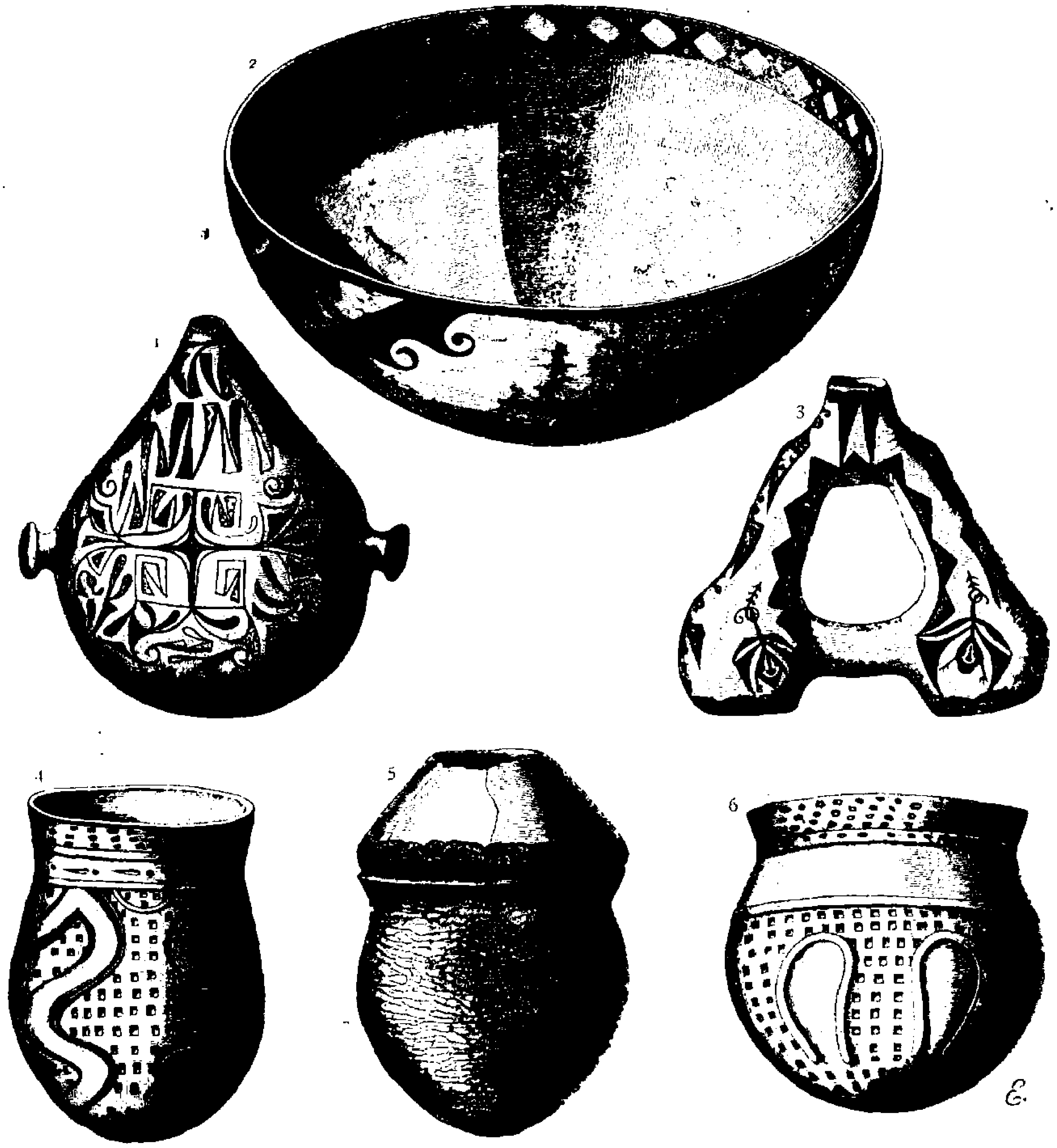
have been found with special frequency in Yucatan. Where good stone was lacking, sea-shells were used for cutting tools. Shell axes, however, were rare, but existed in Florida. Shells also obviously served for vessels, and as the raw material for knives, needles, and innumerable beads.

In spite of its great abundance, copper never attained economic importance, no doubt because it was not smelted, but only worked by hammering. Copper articles are indeed widely distributed, but everywhere scarce; the metal was wrought mainly into ornaments. Among thousands of stone implements and weapons only single articles of copper occur, but the discoveries of copper objects are still on the increase. The metal was largely obtained on Lake Superior, also in fragments in the Drift, in the Western States, in the Connecticut valley, and in New Jersey, also on the Coppermine river, in Polar North America. The copper finger-rings from Madisonville in Ohio may point to casting, and by means of casting also the fine filigree-like perforated gold and silver work of Mexico was executed. Copper plates with drawings of Mexican character, in the Etowah mounds of North Georgia, point to importation from the south west. But may not travelling smiths from the civilized highlands of America have formerly carried their art into the lowlands north and south, just as was the case in Africa.

Gold in grains has been discovered in Florida among human remains, and isolated specimens occur as arrow-heads and the like, but real gold utensils have so far not been found in the rest of North America, and the vast masses of gold in California and the Western Rockies, which once reached the surface of the ground, were not put to any use. Silver occurs here and there in the mounds. The smelting of iron was nowhere known, though the Tinnehs made arrow-heads of hematite. But, as a rule, the metals nowhere replaced stone, wood, or bone; they remained objects of ornament and luxury. There we cannot speak of an iron or bronze age in the sense in which they occurred in prehistoric Europe.

Pottery seems to have been on the wane even before any competition from European industry arose. Earthenware vessels were once made in quantities, as we learn from the "American Bottom," the fertile lowland which lies for 300 miles along the Mississippi in Illinois; and in many places the sites of ancient deserted villages is literally strewn with potsherds. Similar spots in New Mexico have caused O. Löw to conjecture that vessels were broken to pieces there for a religious purpose. The former country of the Choctaws and Natchez in the state of Mississippi, is rich in similar objects. Furnaces have been discovered here, containing not only half-burnt pots, but others still fixed on the gourds upon which they were moulded, and also glazed tiles. There are also elsewhere in America earthen vessels and mud walls showing signs of having been laid over wattled work. The material is not finely puddled or cleaned, but mixed with small fragments of shell and stone. Shapes are known with round or flat bottoms, everted lips, and massive handles. The colours have a glaze due to the admixture of some substance of the nature of resin or turpentine. Another form of glazing was given by exposure to the smoke of pitch-pine, and an ochreous pigment gave the pots a red surface when burnt. The ornament was scratched on, a zigzag being the favourite. In the north, as well as in Yucatan, fancifully-shaped figures are occasionally found, as birds or boats for children's toys, as well as clay figures either freely modelled or made in moulds, representing tattooed men,

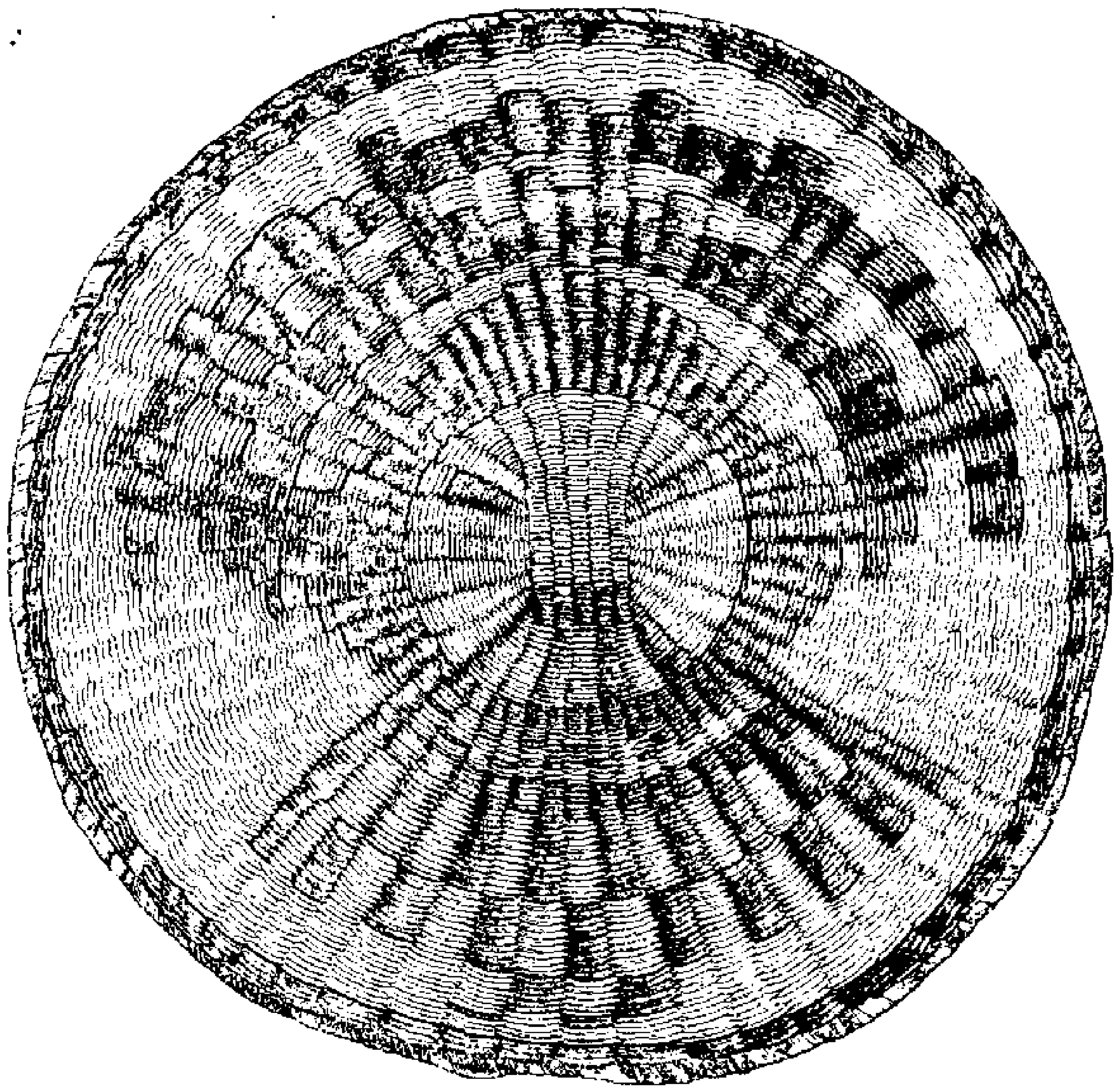
sometimes draped, sometimes naked, and serving as rattles, flutes, and jointed dolls. Among the Natchez we meet with a remarkable variety of forms and purity of workmanship; among the western stocks the Mandans were good potters. Figures of animals, both clay and stone, faithful in general expression



North American earthenware. (1, 2, 3), from the Zuñis; (4 and 5), sepulchral urns from Indiana; (6), do. from Georgia—1 and 2, one-sixth; 3, one-fifth; 4, 5, 6, one-third real size. (1, 2, 3, in Washington Museum; 4, 5, 6, after Foster.)

rather than in detail, have often been found in the mounds. Figures of animals are also a favourite form of pipe-bowl; toads especially being imitated with such deceptive accuracy that in the opinion of Squier and Davis, an unprejudiced observer, seeing one in the grass, would take it for real. But the greatest results, which to some extent might compare with the magnificent works of Peru, were achieved by the cliff-dwellers and *Pueblo* tribes of the upper Rio Grande, whose vessels of various shapes and many colours are covered with sharply-drawn

symbolic ornaments. But there were also in North America tribes who did not practise the potter's art, if indeed they were not totally ignorant of it. The Assiniboines, literally "stone-boilers," because they heated liquids in vessels of hide with red-hot stones, were a branch of the Sioux, and neighbours of the Mandans, both expert in the art. The Californian Indians, too, knew nothing of pottery; it is only in recent graves that feeble attempts to imitate Spanish models turn up. Artistic as the North-west Americans are, the predominance of wood and stone has turned all their industry in another direction. The Lenapes had a knowledge of pottery within historic times, but as they have been forced westward, they have forgotten it. The Hidatsas, a branch of the Dakotahs, according to W. Mathews had an independent business of glass-blowing. When the Arikarrees and Mandans first came into notice in 1804, Lewis and Clarke reported that they prepared glass beads, not however, from the raw materials, but from pounded fragments of those obtained in the way of trade from the white men. The art is now limited to the production of triangular plates made from clay with a glassy flux. These are used as signs of betrothal; a girl whose parents have engaged her to a husband wears a plate of this kind on her forehead.



Woven mat representing a human face; Moqui—one-fourth real size. (After W. H. Holmes.)

Weaving and spinning were by no means universally known; spindle-whorls of clay are found only in the graves of the western highlands. In this respect also perhaps the North-west Americans stood highest, while in the interior really artistic basket-work was done. Cook mentions cloth from the bast of a species of pine, beaten previously into a substance like hemp. The workwoman passed plaited threads through the hemp, knotting them to it at distances of about half an inch, and thus producing a soft and supple cloth. Fox and lynx hair were also spun and woven in, in various designs. Some of these cloths are compared by Forster to our coarsest frieze, others to the finer sorts of flannel—even softer and warmer. This art too has been speedily lost, all the more speedily on the much frequented coast. Mulberry, poplar, lime, *taxodium*, elm, *asimina*, and others, are mentioned as the trees supplying material for bast-cloth. In California the finer root-fibres of the coniferous trees were employed as raw material

for plaited work. Free or curvilinear patterns in basket or woven work are characteristically rare.

The Indian mode of preparing leather reminds us of that in use in the north. They understood how to make skins supple without taking the hair off. The skins were first stretched out in the shade, and kept moist for several days, after being rubbed with a mixture of bison urine and clay; they were then rubbed with brains, dried, scraped or rendered supple by drawing to and fro across a piece of wood, and hung up in the smoke. This smoking of hides is a genuine Indian invention. Spoon-shaped scrapers, having the front side set with teeth, occur on the Missouri and in South America.

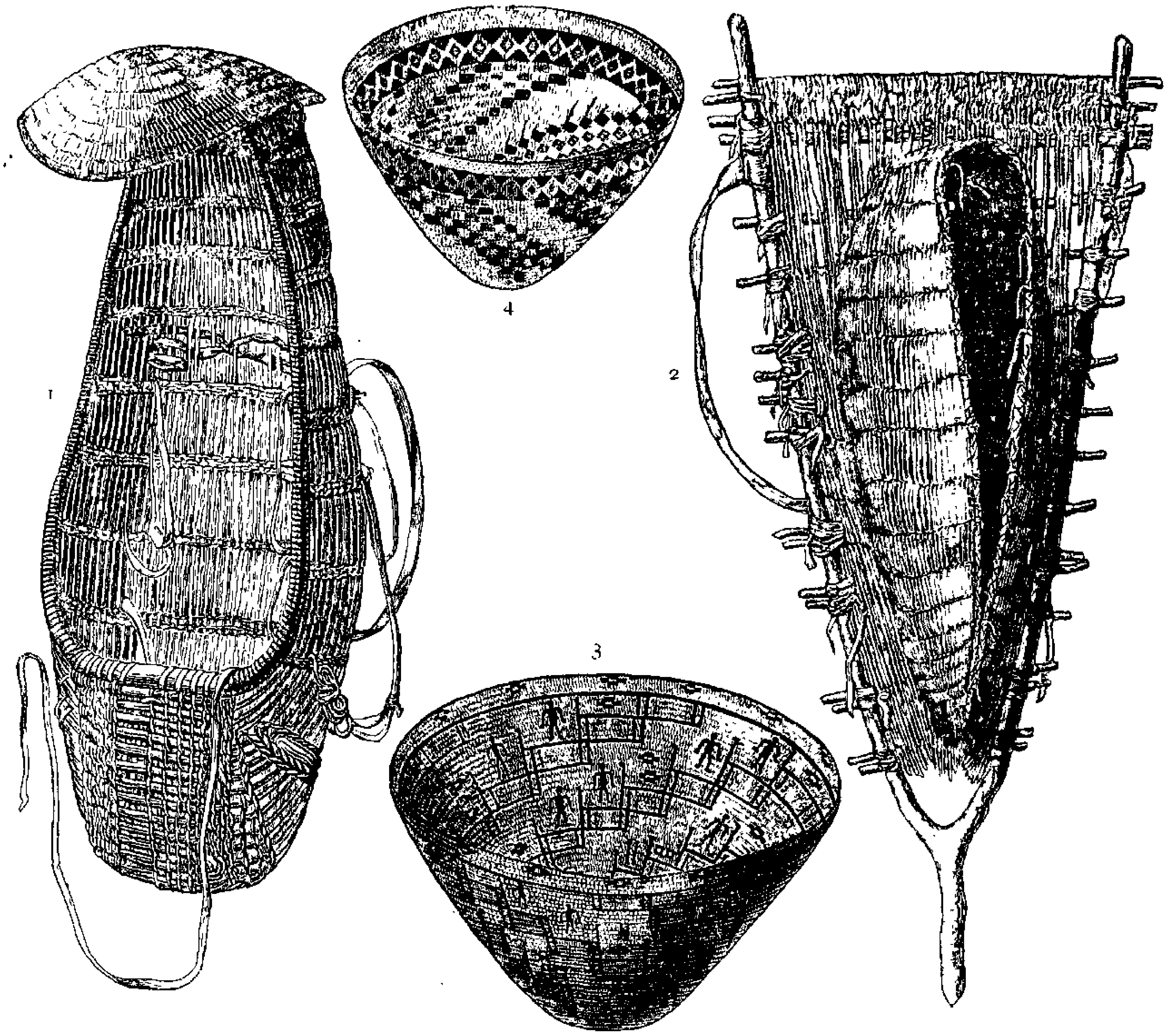
Here too the principle of division of labour had in some degree made its way. There was a tradition from Lake Superior and from the Savannah River, that skilled workmen made arrow and spear heads for others; and in Georgia the arrowsmiths from the mountains are said to have traded in their wares as far as the coast. C. Lyon relates that the manufacture of obsidian arrow-heads was a craft among the Shastas, at which many tried their hands, but few obtained perfection. As a matter of course there was also a division of labour between the sexes. Among the Hurons the rule was that the men built houses, and made weapons, pipes, and canoes; the women prepared the skins, smoked the fish, attended to agriculture, and did the needlework.

From the time when Europeans set foot in the New World, indigenous arts fell away, as is especially noticeable in the North-West, and in the *pueblos* of New Mexico and Arizona. But if one compares the state of things existing when the Europeans arrived with the former skill in the arts, one finds retrogression in many districts even before that epoch. Only so can the rapid subsequent decline be explained; before the discovery it must without doubt have gone far, perhaps as the result of devastating wars. Schoolcraft supposes a great movement of the tribes owing to the Aztec immigration into Mexico in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. We incline more to the view that stages of material civilization, such as were attained here and there in America, could never, in view of the limited advance made in the intellectual elements of culture, have more than a limited duration.

The wide distribution of certain articles testifies to an ancient commerce. The Indians never lacked the spirit of enterprise. Thus the Narragansets purveyed compasses, ornaments of all sorts, pipes, and earthenware to their neighbours, and got beaver and other skins by barter for the English. Whenever the Wintuns, a poor tribe, are living at peace with the Indians of the mountains, they drive a lively trade with these latter in dried salmon, crab, and shell-fish, in exchange for bows, acorns, and *manzanita* berries; and in recent times they have taken perseveringly to the manufacture of arrow-heads from the thick brown glass of whisky bottles. They serve both for currency and for gambling-counters. The Hurons and other tribes used to barter their superfluous stores of maize with the hunting races to the north for fish and furs. Other goods also were traded to the north, and every branch of trade became the monopoly of the family that had started it.

Nothing extraordinary is done in the way of shipbuilding, least of all, in spite of its noble gulf, in Lower California. The material for the best craft, those of North-west America, is principally wood. Newfoundlanders, Hurons, and

Algonquins, were acquainted with birch-bark canoes; the Missouri was crossed in round coracles of buffalo-hide. The Ojibbeway canoes of birch-bark, and those of hide used by the Mandans and other Missouri tribes, show, by their contrast with the state of things further to the south and south-west, where boats are poor or altogether lacking, that high level of canoe-building among the Americans of the far north is no accidental or sharply detached phenomenon. In the North-West,




Modoc woven work. (1, 2, Baskets for carrying babies; 3, 4, bowls for fruit, etc.—one-eighth real size.) (After Powers.)

tree-stems were hollowed out with fire, and finished with shell-tools. Nails were not employed, everything being merely sewn or tied with cedar-bast, and resin being adopted for caulking. The Modocs carried freights of 1800 lb. in the canoes on the Lower Klamath. A good boat represented a fortune. Races who had good timber at their disposal, such as the redwood on the last-named river, did a trade in canoes. Elsewhere in North America, developed navigation is found only on the frontier of the Caribs, who were the sea-rovers of Columbus's time, also, and particularly, in Florida. Weak as their vessels were, the Seminoles of East Florida sailed for purposes of trade to the Bahamas and Cuba; and the Indians of South Carolina are said to have once built a fleet in order to trade directly with England.

Fishing was carried on in America before the days of European influence, no

less than in the Old World. The best tackle seems to be found in the North-West, reminding us often of Melanesian forms. Coast-fishery, which elsewhere has been little developed, is practised here with great success. Nets, eel-baskets, weirs, and artificial channels, were employed; and spearing was dexterously performed by the Wintuns and other Californians.

More important for North Americans than fishery is the chase, and its importance increases as the tribes dwell further to the north. Indians who, dwelling on the border of cultivation, still raise a little corn, like the Saulteux on their island in the Lake of the Woods, depend so much on hunting that the disappearance of their principal game, the hare, as formerly that of the bison, now causes severe famines. But besides this, there are clear cases of hunting-races arising, as the majority of Algonquins out of the Iroquois; legend even averring that the former were once taken as hunters into the service of the latter. Hunting is regarded as a tribal concern, and is ordered and regulated by the chief. The Wintuns set on foot public hunts, in which roe are driven into nets; the Tinnehs come down upon the herds of reindeer as they are crossing the rivers on their autumnal migrations to the interior. They shoot the mountain sheep, the beaver, the elk, from the stand. The bringing home and breaking up of the game is the affair of the women and children; as is also the cutting of holes through the ice of the streams for fishing lines, and the setting of traps for hare and ptarmigan. The skins of marten, wolverene, and fox are bartered with the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company for weapons, shooting requisites, nets, clothes, and so forth. Close times were known before the arrival of Europeans, and certain hunting-grounds were as it were tabooed. Pitfalls were not so popular as in Africa. Among the Hurons, a curious custom, reminding us of Asiatic usages, was that of fattening captured bears, and eating them on stated days on the occasion of festival dances.

Dogs are everywhere used in hunting; but there were no good ones till Europeans introduced them. As far south as the Mandans on the Middle Missouri, they were used as beasts of draught for sledges, light and heavy. However well fed their master may be, these poor beasts are as a rule lean, seldom getting more than the bones of the game, while the Indian eats the meat. Even the Iroquois made no objection to eating the native dogs, while the larger European sorts were a prey coveted by the Indian hunter.

By far the larger number of the North Americans had advanced beyond the level of a purely hunting race. South of the St. Lawrence and east of the Mississippi, agriculture was carried on almost universally before the European time. In the forests of Virginia, for example, old clearings indicate the spots where it once flourished more than it now does. Even within historic times, with the decrease of the bison-herds, portions of tribes who formerly were hunters only have taken to agriculture, like the Minnitarees. In the north, maize was absent beyond Wisconsin and the Kennebec, in Maine, New Brunswick, and New Scotland. The seed-time and harvest of the maize gave occasion for sacrificial feasts, at which it was offered to the "old mother, who never dies." Among agricultural tribes are also the Omahas, the Puncas, and all the races on the south-west bank of the Missouri, where the Prince of Wied was shown nine varieties of maize, six of gourds, and four of beans. All the fields here lay in the fertile low ground by the river. Traces of agriculture, though at a low stage, are also found in California; and

doubtless it formed the chief source of provisions for the tribes living in the highlands of New Mexico and Arizona. Great differences certainly existed in the pitch to which it was carried; but in general, the south must in this too have been further advanced than the north. It called forth the most magnificent works in the south-west, where, as for instance in the Salt River Valley, Arizona, ruined aqueducts, miles in length, of the Indian time, are objects of wonder. The first settlers used often to get maize from the Indians by barter; and those in Virginia would have perished had not food been offered them by the Indians. In New England the Indians taught methods of agriculture, harvesting, and management. Even in the seventeenth century there was talk of manuring the maize with fish and shells. The use of dung seems to have been unknown. In Canada the settlers learnt from the Hurons to steep the maize in water before sowing. It was customary among the Indians, to lop and burn trees before white settlers came into the country, and all the neighbours, men and women, took part in these operations. Besides maize, many kinds of gourd were found in the south, also sweet potatoes, and, though doubtless not till within the European time, peas and beans. In the Missouri regions the sunflower also was cultivated. In old graves only maize has ever been found. It was sown not only for its nutritious power, but also for use in religious ceremonies. Fruit-trees were no doubt first planted in imitation of Europeans. Forest fruits and berries were collected in quantities, and stored up for the Winter. Of tobacco many kinds were known, including *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* among the Mandans; while in the west, *Ilex cassine*, the leaves of which gave "Indian tea," was cultivated.

The fields are tilled with wooden stakes and hoes of wood and bone, in the west also by means of a digging-stick weighted with a ring of stone. But manifold as may be the varieties of the digging-stick or the hoe, whether in wood, bone, or stone, they always remain pretty unpractical tools. For this reason until the labourer can work with more power both downwards and in area, there can be no question of energetic agriculture. The soil is only broken up superficially just deep enough to get up the weeds by the roots, and besides this the field labour was practically left to women, old men, and children.

Those tribes who loved roaming applied themselves by preference, after the introduction of European cattle, to cattle-breeding; horse-breeding and horse-racing have become an occupation widely in favour, in which half-breeds are specially active as *vaqueros* or cow-boys. But the 20,000 civilized Navajos, in their reservation on the Colorado Chiquito, have also developed sheep-breeding to so profitable a degree that in recent years they have sold wool to the value of £200,000 per annum.

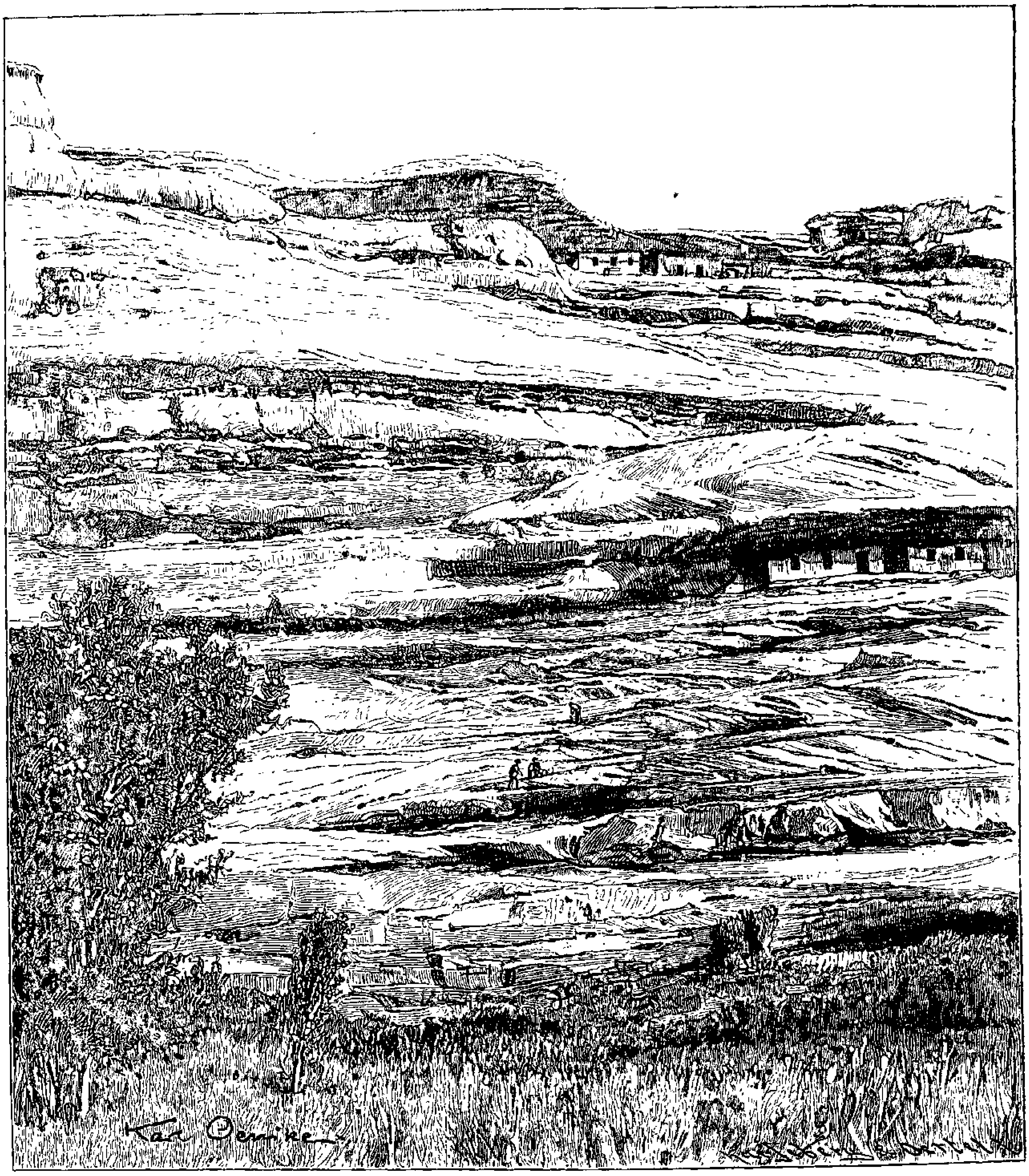
Animal food is in all parts eaten with avidity, even though totemistic prohibitions frequently impose considerable limitation. Preserved meat is prepared by many northern tribes, pemmican—that is dried meat melted up with fat—an admirable invention, the value of which was very soon recognised by Europeans. The chief article of diet of the Atlantic and Mississippi tribes, from the Hurons right away to Florida, is still the maize. It formed the store for winter or for a journey and an article of trade. In the west it was ground just as it is now with a grindstone on a plate. Plates an inch thick, of stone or clay, correspond to the *comales* of the modern Mexicans, on which *tortillas*, that is to

say, flat cakes of maize, are baked. In Zuñi houses stones of this kind were let into the floor; in the Missouri region the maize was bruised; hollows in rocks often served for grinding purposes, and the site of many a village seems to have been determined by a natural mill of this sort. In the east, wooden mortars were the most usual utensils. In the North-West, especially among the Haidas, the potato must first have been diffused by European influence. These tribes originally no doubt lived by fishing and upon the wild products of the vegetable kingdom, and their meals may have been like those which Powers describes among the Wintuns of California. In winter the first course was pine bark, then the anxiously-awaited clover, roots, and wild potatoes. In June and July salmon comes into the menu, then wild oats and grass seeds, manzanita berries, and pine-nuts; lastly, acorns may have been eaten, while game and vermin ranked the whole season through as desirable additions.

Many northern tribes of America seem to have taken no intoxicating drink; to-day indeed the Pimas brew beer from wheat, but drink it unfermented. But as these races were acquainted with the sugar of the maple and the birch, as were the Californians with that of the sugar-pine, the short step from sugared water to fermented drinks must have been not rarely made. Similarly tobacco, which was otherwise universally diffused, is said to have been originally unknown to the Ojibbeways in the north and the Dakotahs in the west; it was cultivated, though not by every tribe, from the Missouri to the River Plate. The cigar was one of the first curiosities which Europe learnt from the newly discovered land in the west; it was more than an inch in thickness, and contained some tobacco in the leaves of other plants. The Mandans mixed their home-grown tobacco with the leaves of the arbutus tree, which was also cultivated, and with the bark of several kinds of *cornus* and *elæagnus*. The Hupas smoked even the mistletoe of the oak.

Among by far the greatest number of tribes the movable tent of leather or bark known as the wigwam served for a dwelling. The Algonquin women cut long shoots of birch and fir, the men cleared a round or square space with their snow shoes, and heaped up the snow all round like a rampart. Then the poles were stuck up on the snow wall so that the upper ends met at a slant and were covered with large pieces of birch-bark; an entrance was left to be covered with a bear-skin. Inside, the floor was thickly strewn with twigs, if possible from the fragrant balsam fir, and the hut was ready; the whole job took on the average three hours. In New England there were simple huts semicircular in plan, in California complete bee-hive edifices; but the hyperborean custom of hollowing out the floor reached as far south as this. The tents of the Tinnehs made of elk or reindeer hide stretched over a conical or hemispherical frame of poles, come nearest to the summer dwellings of the far north. We are equally reminded of hyperborean fashions by the fact that the Missouri tribes, the Mandans, Minnitarees, and their comrades, inhabited in winter underground huts in the forest, in the summer larger ones above ground on the prairie. Among the Iroquois, who were better builders, the walls consisted of logs bound firmly together, and the roof of rafters bound with branches. The whole was covered outside with bark, while all round the interior were benches spread with mats; beneath the roof was the store loft, but these were houses inhabited by the whole kindred. In the south the houses were always more airy, the Seminole dwelling is primarily only a roof to keep off rain, as in many parts of Central America; low pillars

carry a platform over which is a roof sloping off to both sides, and protected by heavy beams from the violence of the hurricane; there are no walls. In the houses of the Iroquois benches ran along the walls on which the inhabitants slept. The fire-places lay in the middle of the elongated houses, and there were



Cliff-dwellings in Colorado. (From a photograph.)

no rooms partitioned off. Even in the *Casas grandes* of New Mexico, magnificent as they are in the way they are piled together, the rooms are too low to allow of standing upright. The walls are daubed with red or white clay by the women.

The entire furniture consists of earthen pots of various size and shape, rude benches, a few wooden plates and dishes, plaited baskets and mats, leather and hide pouches. Among the agricultural races the central point is formed by the stone which stands near the hearth and is used at once as monument and grindstone.

Platforms made in the south of split cane serve to hold parched maize; bows and arrows are stuck into the wicker-work of the roof. Skulls and lower jaws of animals, feathers, and, among fighting tribes, scalps as well are hung up as ornament, and also doubtless for amulets. Among the Seminoles we also find skin hammocks swinging on cords.

Defensive works, usually in close proximity to the sites of the villages, are in their simplest form encircling ramparts and trenches, which sometimes surround entire mountains, or quadrangular enclosures with bastions; roads are barred with embankments, rarely with walls, and in flat country with dykes. In height, these works often reach 30 feet; near Newark, in Ohio, extensive masses of them cover a space of four or five square miles. Stockades, often in concentric rows and armoured with hides, were combined with these. Among the Hurons, all the fortified places lay on the frontier threatened by the Iroquois; and like other eastern tribes they very soon adopted improved methods of fortification from the Europeans. Security is the first consideration that decides the position of an Indian settlement; the neighbourhood of water the second. In regions where water is scarce, like Nevada and California, the settlements are always placed near to it; in the parts of Ohio, islands and tongues of land were preferred for building purposes, which is why the old maps, that of Ortelius for instance, show so many places in North America surrounded by water. This also explains the apparently dense population: the roads led along the streams and the shores of lakes, and so kept for a long time away from the less inhabited high ground. But there were also certain tribes who, even from an early date, preferred to establish themselves on commanding heights, while at the present day the contrary practice is general, and quite remote spots are chosen. The cave-like abodes of the Cliff Dwellers, burrowed into almost vertical rocks, offer the strongest example of the manner in which the desire for security affects the position of human habitations.

Accounts vary as to the size of the individual villages, or "towns" as they have been, though seldom deservedly, called. Powers, who pleads so forcibly in favour of the opinion that California was more thickly peopled, can yet speak only of small groups of huts, and the Prince of Wied reckons in the flourishing age of the Mandans three villages of about 140 huts apiece, with 2100-2200 souls all told. Even where the population was really closely packed, on the salmon-abounding streams of Oregon and North California, it was only in narrow strips, with a thinly-peopled background, that it attained from 50 to 60 over the square mile. All sober observations give a like result; the Indians of the forests and plains were, before the European time, thinly distributed, and built nothing that we should call a town, but dwelt only by families in a house, or in small villages.

Intimately connected with the village premises are many of the earth-heaps or mounds, to which a too fanciful research assigned exaggerated importance. Villages were built on artificial mounds, not only in low ground exposed to inundation, but also in high-lying prairie regions. Often again the chief's hut was distinguished in this way, and more rarely, the mound was intended for a place of sacrifice. Defensible positions, embankments, walls, ditches, show that the object of such arrangement was protection against attacks; while the fact of their permanent occupation is proved by the abundant traces of daily life. The

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OLD POTTERY FROM AMERICA.

masonry has in many cases been preserved. Flat hill-tops have everywhere been occupied with Indian huts or cemeteries; and in Mexico no summit a few square yards in area fails to bear traces of the frequent or constant presence of men. The district usually indicated as that of mounds is the middle and lower Ohio valley; but large numbers exist also in Tennessee, below the junction of the Mississippi with the Missouri, and in Wisconsin. The largest are as much as 100 feet high, and cover a surface of 12 acres. As in the case of the fortifications, the material consists almost exclusively of earth thrown up anyhow; not till we reach Mexico are piles of sun-dried clay employed. The appearance is often relieved by stairways, or by terraces running round the entire mound; a form not to be distinguished from the *teocalli*. Round or oval conical hills over 60 feet high are met with. Lastly must also be distinguished the "animal mounds" in Wisconsin, Georgia, and Ohio, where animal figures of more than a hundred yards in length are produced by heaping up earth—colossal apparitions. An extraordinary amount has been written about the origin of these works; for an important matter, even the question of the character of the mound-builders, seemed to underlie it. At first, naturally, the hypothesis of a special race was in favour. But if we go back to documents of the sixteenth century, we find that the erection of artificial mounds, and the piling up of great sepulchral mounds or mound-like stone heaps, was then still in vogue; and ocular testimony to the erection of all kinds of fortifications is forthcoming. For the largest terraced mounds or *teocalli* we need only to assume a denser population, and other indications point to this. That most Indian tribes had no tradition about the origin of these artificial mounds is a matter of no significance, in view of the generally dilapidated state of their traditions; but as a matter of fact the Cherokees ascribed them to their own forefathers. At present, people seem to be agreed in looking among these very tribes for a portion of the posterity of the old mound-builders.

## § 24. THE FOREST INDIANS OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

The principal groups—Migrations and legends about origin—Present and former distribution—Dress: ornament; deformations—Weapons: bow, arrow-poison, blow-gun, club—Stone implements—Metals—Trade; Indians as porters and couriers—Navigation—Hunting and fishing races—The modern pastoral nomads—Agriculture—Food, spirituous drinks, tobacco, coca—Hut building.

CLOSELY as the two halves of the mighty island continent of America resemble each other in structure, and even in general outline, their zones of climate are on the contrary very different. In one, the broadening takes place within the Frigid Zone; in the other, the region which owes its existence to the most gigantic stream on the earth's surface lies under the glow of the tropical sun, and only the most southerly point stretches into the cold waves of the frozen sea. These conditions have set their mark on the people. In both parts the majority of the tribes have developed only a limited civilization; but while in the north the struggle with cold and want weighs the hunting races to the ground, the southern tribes are benumbed by Nature's lavishness. Central America, with its "natural"

races, must unquestionably be reckoned with South; while the civilized races of its highlands form an independent group with those of western South America.

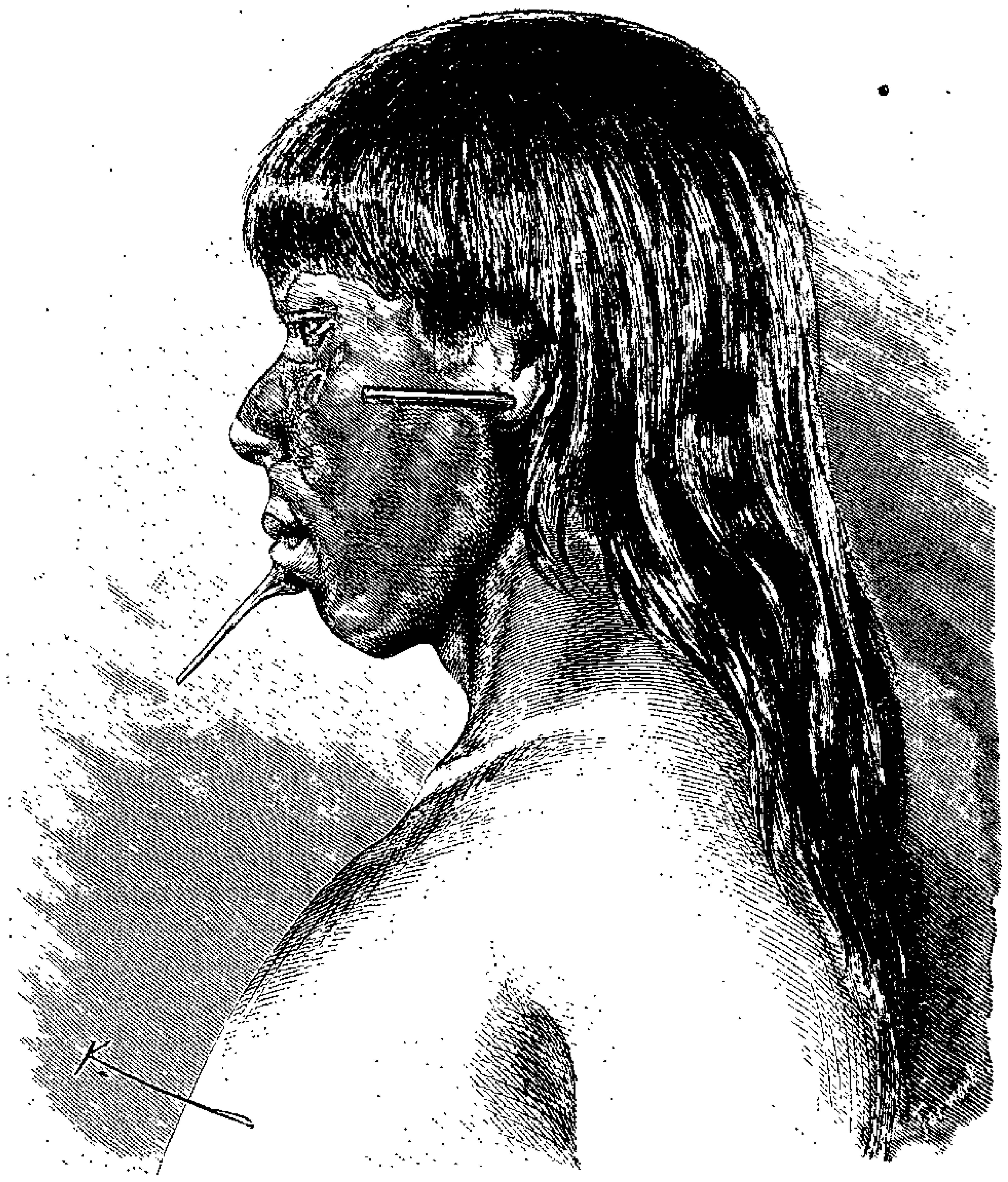
A word may be said as to the attempts to classify by language. The Uto-Aztec tribes must be traced in their offshoots as far as Nicaragua; and other more ancient Mexican survivals are to be mentioned in describing the civilized races. The language of the savage Zoques and Mixes on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec spring from a common root. On the other hand the numerous tribes comprised under the name, on one hand of Chontals, on the other of Popolukas, have little to do with each other. *Chontal* in the Nahuatl tongue means "stranger," *Popoluka*, one who speaks Nahuatl imperfectly. There are indeed hordes who are simultaneously called by both names. The Huaves on the Pacific coast of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, the Subtiabas near Leon in Nicaragua, probably descendants of the ancient Maribois, the Lenkas in Central Honduras, the Xincas in south-east Guatemala, must provisionally be regarded as isolated in language. A kindred group are the Ulvas on the upper waters of the rivers on the Mosquito coast. In general, the mountain chain between Nicaragua and Costa Rica may be set down as the limit between the North and South American families of language. In Costa Rica we have a country belonging, from the linguistic point of view, wholly to South America.

Botocudo woman, with lip- and ear-disks. (From a photograph in the Damann Album.)

The South American portions of the isthmus were at the time of their discovery occupied by the Cunas, who still maintain some footing there. In Colombia the descendants and kindred of the Chibchas form the nucleus of the population; further to the south and east are isolated groups, the Andaquis, Coconucos, Barbacoas, and others. The dialects of the Quichua languages are dominant over a mighty realm, the region of the old Peruvian and neighbouring civilizations. Certain words from them have travelled far; while on the other hand peculiar languages, among which Brinton counts even the Aymara, were found in their midst. Thus on the islands and shores of Lake Titicaca lived the Puquinas or Urus; near Truxillo, on the coast, the Yuncas; on the borders of the Atacama desert, the Atacamenos and Changos. Tribes belonging to the great groups of eastern South America are also found among the descendants of the old Peruvians.

It is principally to Karl von den Steinen and Ehrenreich that we owe a grouping by languages of the Brazilian tribes; a promising beginning to the better understanding of their ethnology also. Next to the Arawaks, the terribly melted-down aborigines of the coast of Guiana, the great group of the Nuaruaks or Maypures, calls for mention. It is distributed, with gaps, all the way from the coast districts of Venezuela to the Bolivian Andes. The name Caribs now denotes not only the conquerors of the Lesser Antilles, but also a number of Brazilian tribes, dwelling as far south as the Upper Shingu, west to the Upper Yapura. The Tupis formerly occupied the land on the Lower Amazon, and under the name of Guaranis filled southern Brazil and Uruguay. On this side of

the Uruguay only scanty remains of them are to be found; but a strong nucleus has maintained itself in Paraguay under the protection of the missions, and no less in the neighbouring Argentine provinces of Entre Rios, Santa Fe, and Misiones. The horrible war waged by Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay against Paraguay made a great clearance of them, and subsequent immigration hastened the transition to a race of half-breeds. In Matto Grosso and Bolivia too, we find



A young Caraya. (From a photograph by Dr. P. Ehrenreich.)

Tupis on the Tapajoz, and away to the Shingu, and upwards to where tributaries from the Andes flow to the Madeira; further north they are settled on the Huallaga and extend along its eastern shore beyond the Amazon and to the interior of French Guiana. Thus we get an impression of three lines along which distribution has taken place: the east coast, the great southern tributaries of the Amazon in the centre of the continent, the east slope of the Andes. In East Brazil dwell now Tapuya, better called Ges races, the best known of them being the Botocudos. The most westerly stock is that of the Suyas, with whom von den Steinen met on the Shingu. Other linguistic groups are known but

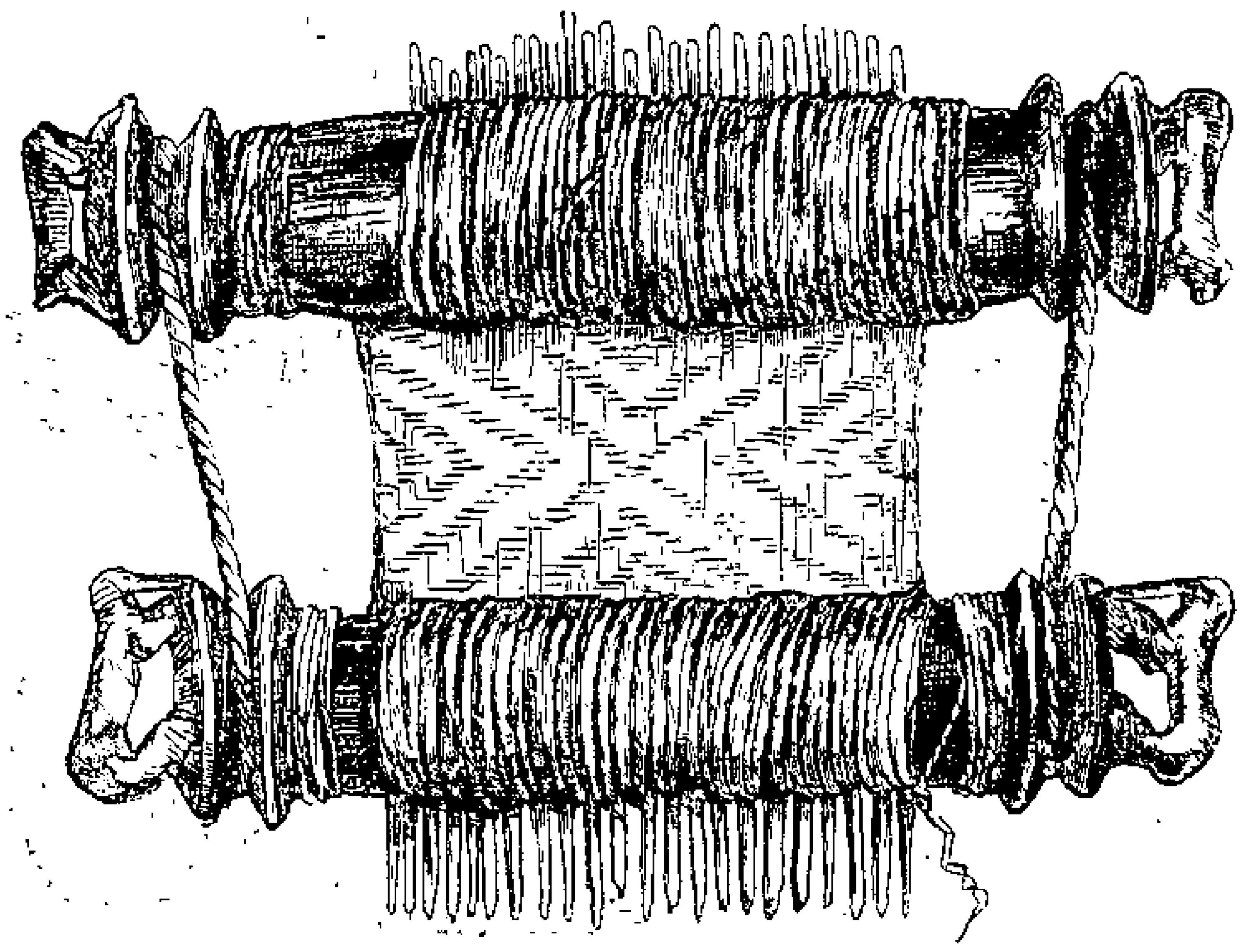
imperfectly, as the Zaparos on the Upper Amazon, the Miranha races on the Upper Rio Negro and Yapura, the Jivaros and many other tribes in the Peruvian Andes, the Panos on the Upper Ucayali, and the tribes of the Bolivian highlands; Yurucares, Mosetenas, Tahanis, and others. The great number of dialects renders it difficult to arrange the Pampas Indians—Guaycurus, Lules, Matacos, and Churruas. The Araucanians of Chili are well marked off; only towards the

Umauas or Toad-Indians of South America. (From a photograph in the Damann Album.)

east, as shifting mounted nomads, they get mixed up with the Patagonians. On the Pampas, linguistic distinctions give way under the influence of common soil and similar mode of life; these riding races can hardly be distinguished, whether they be originally Patagonian, Araucanian, or, like the Abipones of old renown, Guaycurus.

The ethnological type of the South American natural races is clearer. Modes of dressing the hair are comparatively simple. Hair in rolls or towers or raised with combs is confined to the Bonis and other tribes formed by combinations of negro

slaves. Usually it is cut square across the forehead, and elsewhere allowed to grow; this is the fashion among the women. The men often wear a top-knot or bag. The Trios twist their hair together in one great lock, stick it into a pointed cornet of plaited liana, and let it hang down their backs. In the former Inca district, on the Lake of San Pablo, the women let the hair fall freely on both sides of their heads, twisting the back hair into a tight bunch. The Peruvian custom of cutting the front hair was still more common among the dwellers on the Chaco. Baldness on the front of the head, called *nalemra*, was, according to Dobrizhoffer, regarded as the most noble mark of honour, almost a title to divine worship. The Tupi tribes clipped their hair short in front, and let it hang down behind, lengthening it with feathers. Bunches of feathers were also fastened at the lower part of the back. Hair on the body, even the eyelashes, was sedulously removed by many tribes.



Mehinacu comb with figures of jaguars, from Brazil—rather more than half real size. (After v. d. Steinen.)

Commonly the Indians wear no head covering. But it sometimes occurs that they put on the spathe of a palm like a nightcap, as in the cut on p. 97, vol. i. Practical as a broad-brimmed hat would be in that climate, it is seldom met with, though frequently the head chief of a tribe will wear a palm-leaf hat with small crown and broad brim. In the old Spanish parts of Mexico the heavy Castilian broad-brimmed felt hat has come into universal vogue among the better-to-do Indians. Ercilla describes, as worn by the Chilotes, a pointed hat of curly wool, with stripes of many colours, the end of which hung down behind; but special head-coverings are reserved for chiefs and festive occasions. Hats of alligator scales remind us of the coverings made by the Malays from the scales of the pangolin. Crévaux describes a fantastically designed head-dress among the Rucuyenns; an edifice a yard and a half in height, crowned with an arch from front to back bearing a mass of red and blue feathers, and further adorned with the metallic lustre of beetles' wing-cases. The hat itself disappears under twenty ribbons or crowns of red, yellow, black, green, white, and blue colour, overlying each other. Behind, in a kind of shield, depends a mosaic of feathers, representing a man with outspread arms and legs, almost like a frog. On the Tuyru, Wise met with Indians collecting caoutchouc, who had retained of their many-coloured feathers only a head-ornament of liana-fibre with the feathers of *urupendulos* and *ara*.

A form of tattooing, resembling the Polynesian, is practised by South American forest tribes. It consists of puncturing with thorns or sharp ribs of palmetto. The wounds are rubbed with a vegetable juice or with ashes, and take a violet tint. Among the Payaguas of Paraguay, girls of marriageable age

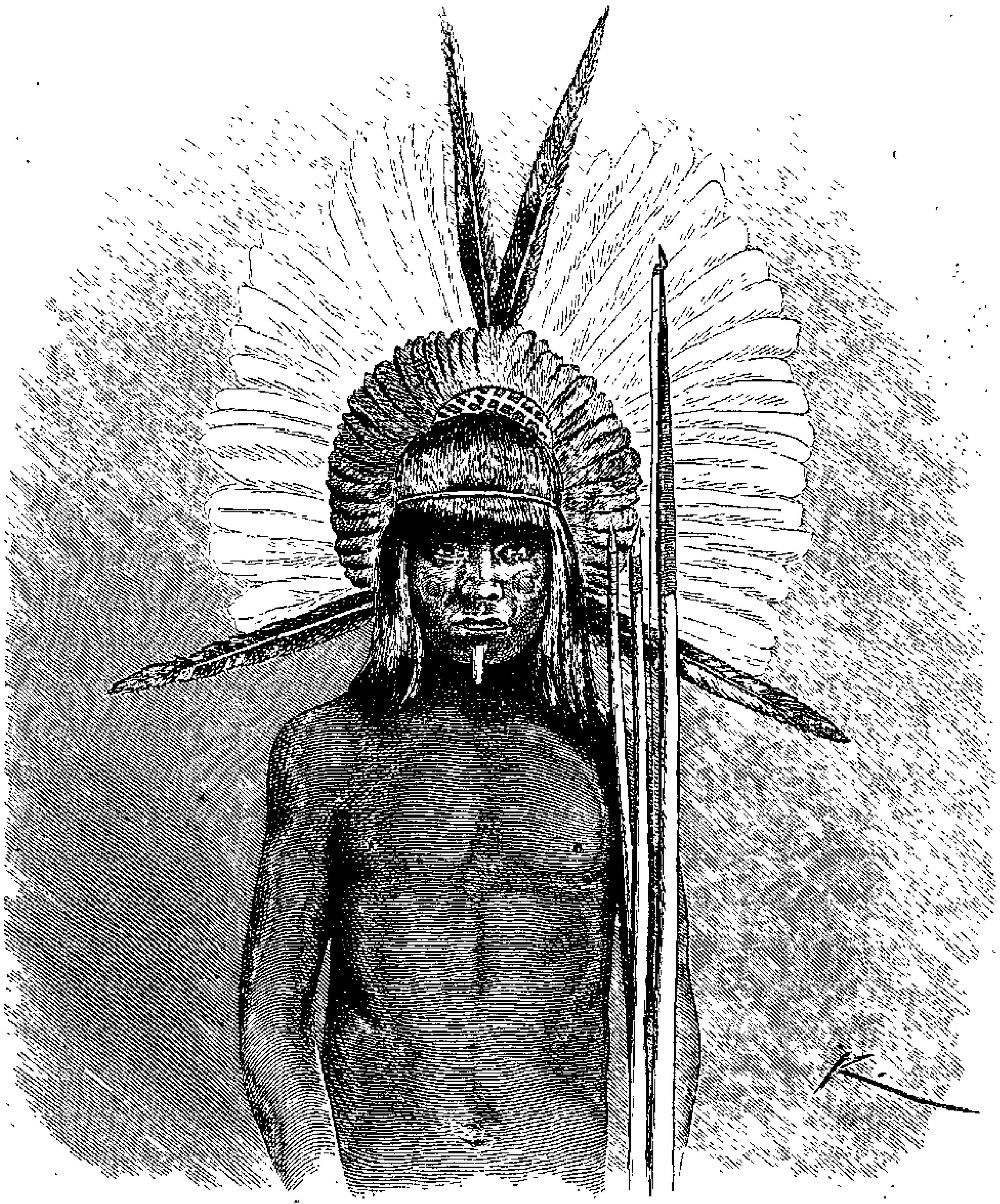
have stripes scratched on their faces from the temples to the nose. When they are married, which often takes place at ten years old, their hair is cut like the men's, square across the forehead, and some lines are tattooed on their chins. The one who is most pricked is the most distinguished. Possibly a tribal token is to be found in many tattooed signs. Besides arabesques of all sorts, we find most frequently crosses, parallel lines, and cross-hatching. The operation must be borne with *sang froid*, and thus takes rank among the other tests to which young people are subjected at this critical period of life. In the north of South America it is less in vogue. Naturally there is nowhere any lack of that pseudo-tattooing which takes its rise in venesection, and the use of the favourite lacerating instrument set with animals' teeth. Traces of tattooing in vertical streaks occur on the cheeks of the face-shaped urns taken from graves in Argentina. This too, was the method used by the old Peruvians.

Painting is nowhere so extensively practised as among the Indians of northern South America. Columbus was struck with it among the Caribs. The Churruas of Colombia paint themselves every day after washing; face, arms, and legs, in irregular dots and streaks. Often they colour all the upper part of the face, and dot the rest; but men less than women. The latter prefer spiral lines on the nose and cheeks. Among the Oyampis we find the whole body painted red with black spots, suggesting the hide of the jaguar, while the women draw three or four fine black lines on a red ground across the nose and cheek-bones below the eyes. Many Brazilians use for this purpose the juice of the *lana* fruit (*Genipa caruto*), with which the Indians of the Amazon paint images of the sun, moon, and stars on their cloth-stuffs. The unripe fruit is chewed, and the juice ejected into a calabash. The painting is executed with the green juice on the naked body by means of a little pad of cotton; after ten or twelve hours it comes out clearly in a dark violet colour. The juice bites into the skin sufficiently to preserve the design for eight or ten days in spite of washing. Mothers paint their children; dogs and monkeys likewise are painted. Yellow ochre is also popular, and the glaring orange juice of the annatto (*urukú*). Convention has attached a great importance to this form of finery. An Indian will never set foot in a strange settlement, if possible, until he has washed, but in any case till he has painted face and body; then he feels clothed.

As in tattooing, so also in painting, there are medicinal, religious, social elements. The Rucuyenns and Carijonas never undertake a journey without making their wives paint them with *urukú* or *genipa*. Painting also counts for a mode of showing honour. To paint oneself is a way of paying one's respects to a person of rank on a state occasion. Smearing with the musky-smelling infusion of the *abelmoschus* is regarded as a protection, both for men and animals, against jaguar bites. Indians, men and women alike, also love to daub themselves with fat or palm-oil, to mitigate the sun's heat.

Attempts to deform particular parts of the body have also, in South America, led to grotesque aberrations of the æsthetic sense. In the belief that certain parts require tight compression to strengthen them, the Galibi women lace up the calves of their legs, while among the Emerillons the men wear cotton bandages not only round the leg, but round the wrist and upper arm. Among the Botocudos these are ornamented with red *ara* feathers. The southern Carib tribes wear broad cotton bandages round wrist and ankle, which are thought to

compress the muscles in drawing the bow. The Darien Indians, when collecting caoutchouc or acting as porters, even in European costume, wear a cord tight round their body, the most important article of their clothing.[1] In boys from five to ten years old, it stands in lieu of trousers; later it carries apron, materials for making fire, knife, tobacco-pouch. The cord cuts into the skin, and many men

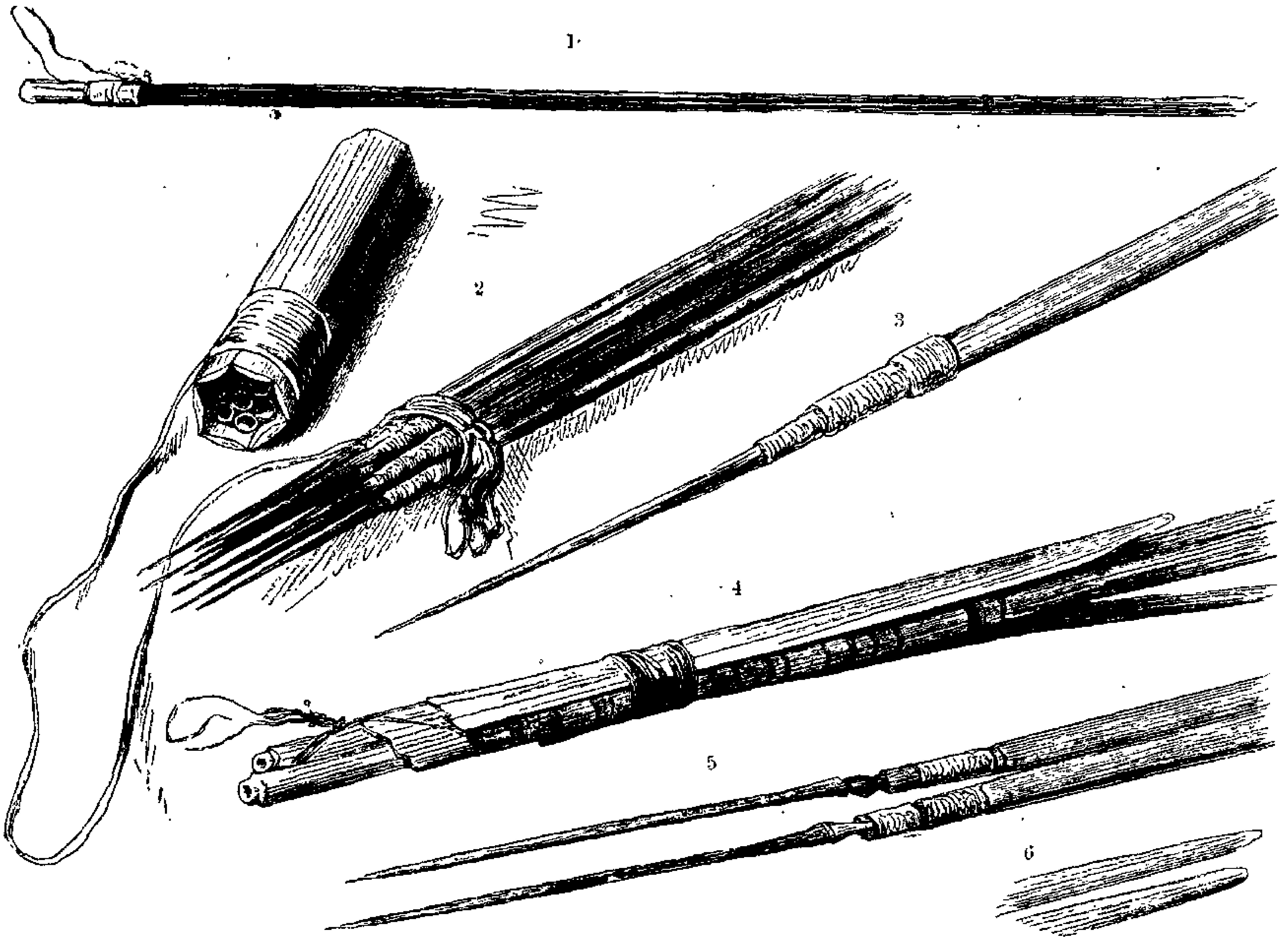


Caraya in war finery. (From a photograph by Dr. P. Ehrenreich.)

bear the scars of it on their hips. Among the Rucuyenns of Guiana a man finds his ideal in a prominent paunch, and on this account covers it with numerous belts. Instead of these the Carijonas wear wooden hoops, bound together with liana, reaching the lower part of the breast; in front they have an apron of ox-hide. This uncomfortable costume is never laid aside by day or night, till it is worn out. The Payagua women elongate their breasts by downward pressure from their youth up; and when they have become mothers, by compression and binding with a strap. Other curious practices have been described by Pigafetta.

[1] [Most of these customs can be paralleled in the practice of labourers in this country; and for many there is a sound reason.]

Indian ornaments have little that is peculiar; except those made from coloured feathers none are more numerous and brilliant than are found among the Bonis of French Guiana who are sprung from negroes. The women of the Orinoco tribes adorn themselves with jaguars' fangs and claws, also alligators' teeth and glass beads. In many parts of Brazil and Guiana chains of hard vegetable cores predominate, and necklaces of little gourds strung together, on which women have drawn various figures. The entire ornament of the Galibis consists of such a necklace and two leg rings, one below, one above the calf. It is only the Bonis of African blood




Indian javelins, from Brazil.—1, Bundle of spears, 5 ft. 4 in. long. 2, The same removed from the case. 3, A single spear. 4, Bundle of spears in a sheath. 5, Removed from the sheath. 6, Spear heads. (2 to 6 one-eight real size.) (Martius Collection, Munich.)

who wear numerous arm and leg-rings one over another. Copper finger-rings have been found only in North American graves; but the Goajiros of northern South America wore them of palm-fruits. The Carijonas and Rucuyenns have triangular ear-pendants of silver and a peg in the under-lip, sometimes made of coins, sometimes of tin-plate. The Orejones perforate ear-lobes and edges, the *alæ* of the nose, and the under-lip, and stick in round bits of bark, increasing to a thickness of three-fifths to four-fifths of an inch. Round wooden plugs in the ears show a specially strong development among South American tribes; for example, the Botocudos, or "Big-ears." The Northern Botocudos are characterised by a plug (Portuguese *botoque*) in the lower-lip, while the kindred tribes on the Rio Grande keep the slit without the plug—a meaningless survival. Among the Tupis, plugs of green or brown stone in the lower-lip were found; little bars of quartz with pointed ends were also worn. A block of cotton-tree wood, as light

as cork, was, and to some extent still is, worn by the men [illegible] (where on festal occasions it is replaced by a quartz plug), by the [illegible] Asuncion, the Abipones and the Tobas. Feathers inserted in the [illegible] nose (see cut on p. 51) occur among other South Americans. [illegible] southern Caribs, these, like all other kinds of feather ornaments, are [illegible] men only. Some tri[illegible] Guiana attach a circ[illegible] circular disk of copper [illegible] rod to the nasal cartilage [illegible] to hang down to the mouth [illegible] formation the Caribs [illegible] themselves from their [illegible]

1. Wooden clubs and insignia of rank, from Brazil (Martius Collection). 2, Indian clubs, from Demerara —one-tenth real size. (Frankfort City Museum.)

Bead ornaments are now frequent in South America; all the more so as having improved upon and replaced the indigenous shell-beads. In Guiana, besides strings of beads, threaded seeds also are found.

Among the South American tribes, as far as the River Plate, the mild climate has reduced clothing to a minimum. But tribes which habitually go entirely naked exist as little here as elsewhere in the world, even though among the Caribs of Guiana a small gourd, or among the forest tribes of Brazil a sling, remains as a survival. Sometimes it is merely the belt to which these are fastened. Elsewhere we find at least a kind of sheath of cotton; or, among the

Weapons and Masks of South American Indians.—1-3. *Pecuna*-masks of the Manes (Spix and Martius's Collection in the Munich Museum). 4, Goajiro bow. 5 and 6, Mataco bows. 7, Pampas Indian's bow. 8, Payagua bow. 9, Payagua bow for shooting bullets 10, Maue stone axe. 11, Maue war trumpet. 12-16, Mataco arrows (4-16 in the Berlin Museum of Ethnology).

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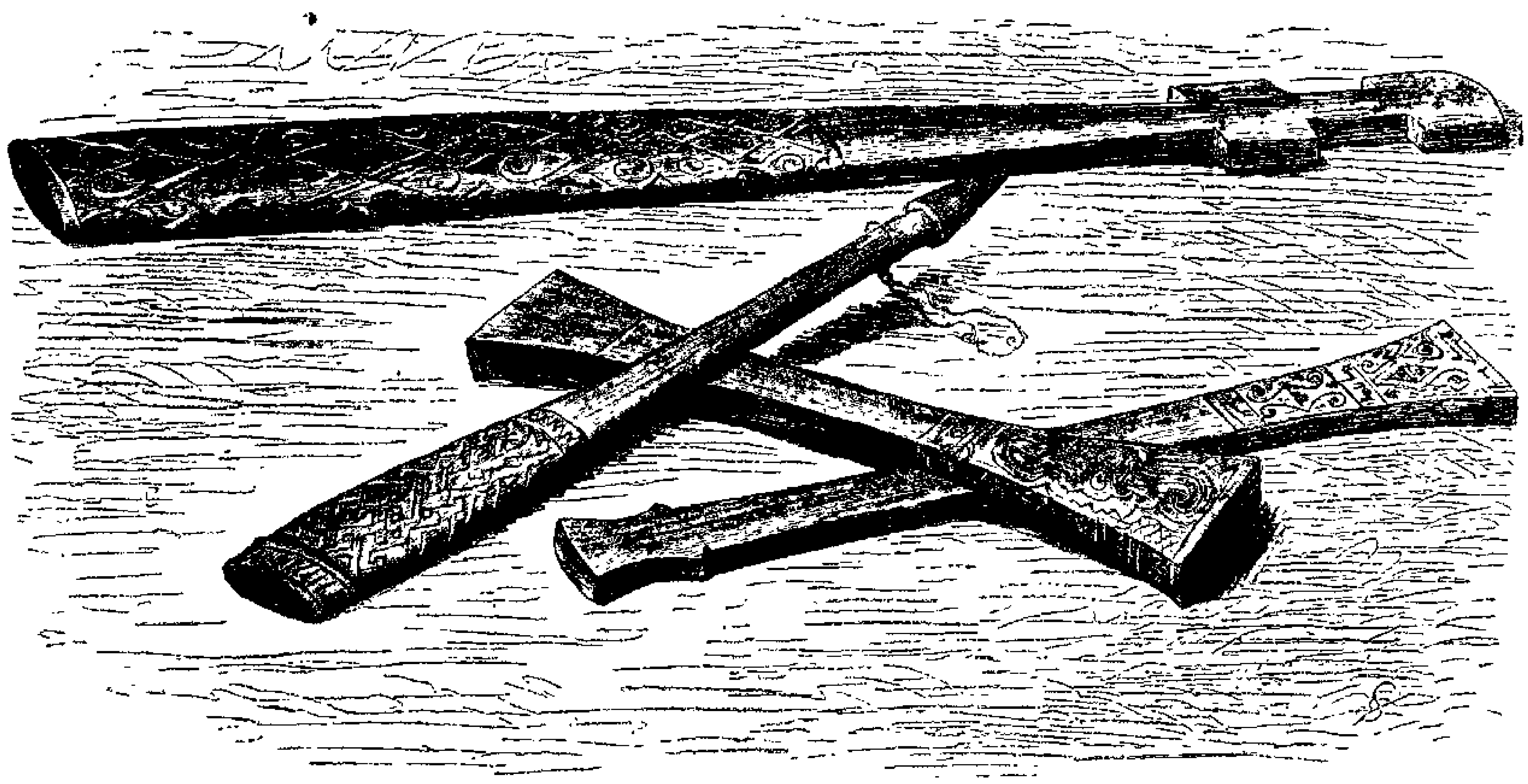
Botocudos and Otomacos of plaited leaves. Among the Orejones of Guiana it is a wicker girdle. In battle, the Matacos of the Chaco go quite naked. Among the northern tribes, the women are, as a rule, more clothed than the men; but, conversely, among the Matacos and Tobas, while the men wear at least the clout required for decency, the women content themselves with orange paint. This is especially the case in places where there is no lack of clothing material; in Colombia they know how to make bark-cloth, as also do the Guaraunos of the Orinoco delta. Among the Mosquitos this seems even to have driven out the native cotton-stuffs, which take more time and trouble to prepare. The bark is beaten with grooved bats, as in Polynesia. The cloth, of a dirty white, is some-



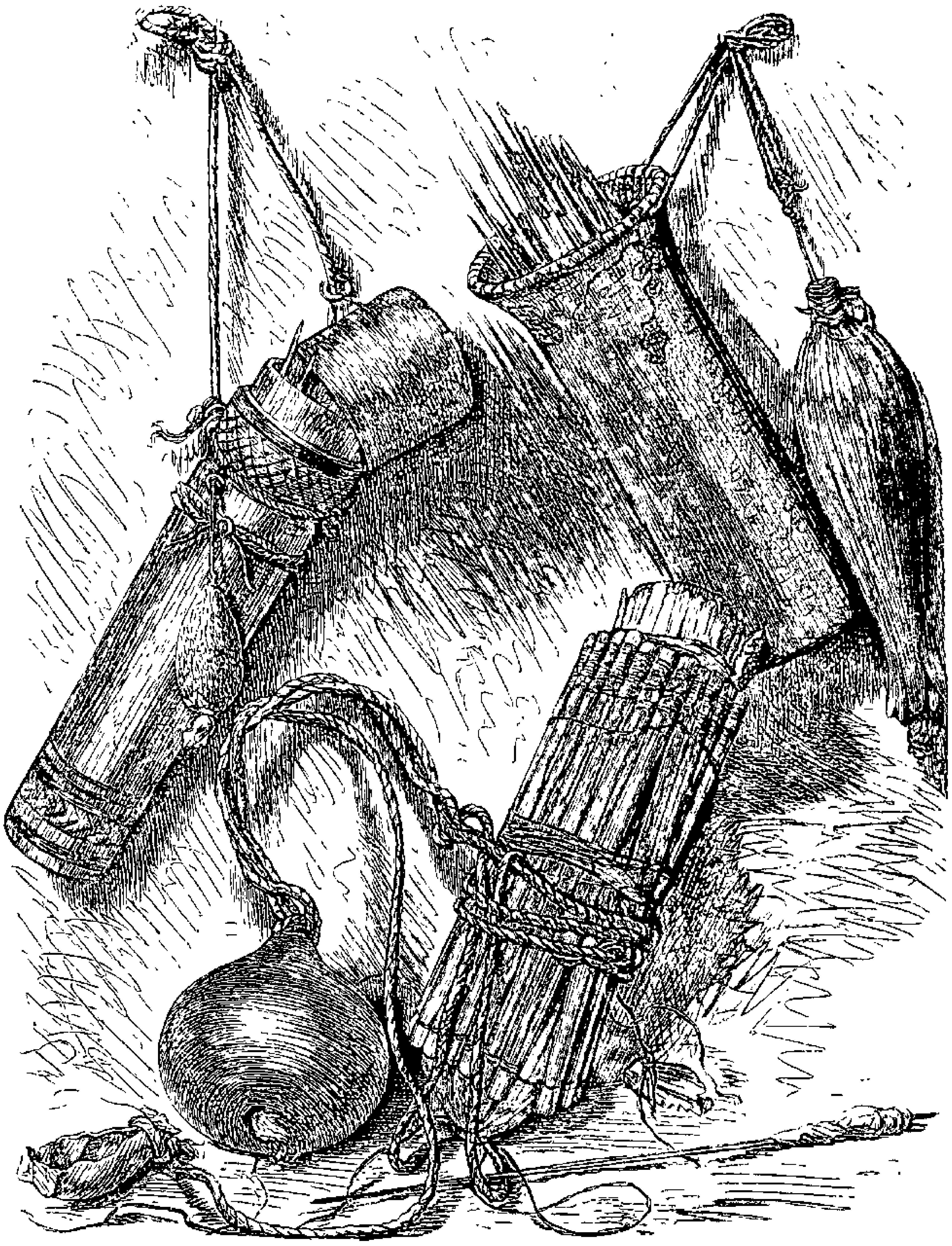
Indian clubs from Brazil—about one-seventh real size. (Martius Collection.)

times dyed red with *chica*, and a kind of *bignonia*. The women's garment, called *furquina*, covers the whole body from neck to knees, like a tunic. In the temperate regions of South America skin-cloaks are universal. The *poncho*, which discoveries in Peruvian graves prove without doubt to have been worn before the European time—a rug with a slit for the head—is blue and round in Brazil; white and square in Peru; dark and square in Chili.

The brilliant feather-garments were never articles of daily wear in South America, but formed the adornment of festivals. In Guatemala the feathers of the *Quezal*-bird (*Pharomacrus macinna*), of which the chief's plumes were made, were in equal esteem with money. The bird was caught in a noose, and only the tail-feathers plucked; to kill a *quezal* was forbidden.

In all parts of South America, where remains of old civilizations were not preserved, and European productions had not penetrated, weapons have been made of stone, wood, and bone. The club in the north is four-edged, flattened, and hollowed to a concave curve on the narrow sides. Where we find a richly-carved handle, and delicate ornamentation of the flat sides, as is not very frequent, we may conclude that it was to be used as a symbol of chiefship. Among the Carayas, not only staff-shaped, but also shovel-shaped, clubs occur, the latter appearing to have been the earlier in use. The sharp-edged perforated discs of

stone found on the soil in the Rio Grande show that stone clubs also, like those of the Melanesians, as shown on page 358, vol. i., were formerly in use. The spear is found almost everywhere, though often only in a rudimentary form; the Bacairis on the Shingu are without it. The spear of the Maranhos is so like a large bow that it is often confused with it in our museums. When did the Pampas Indians and

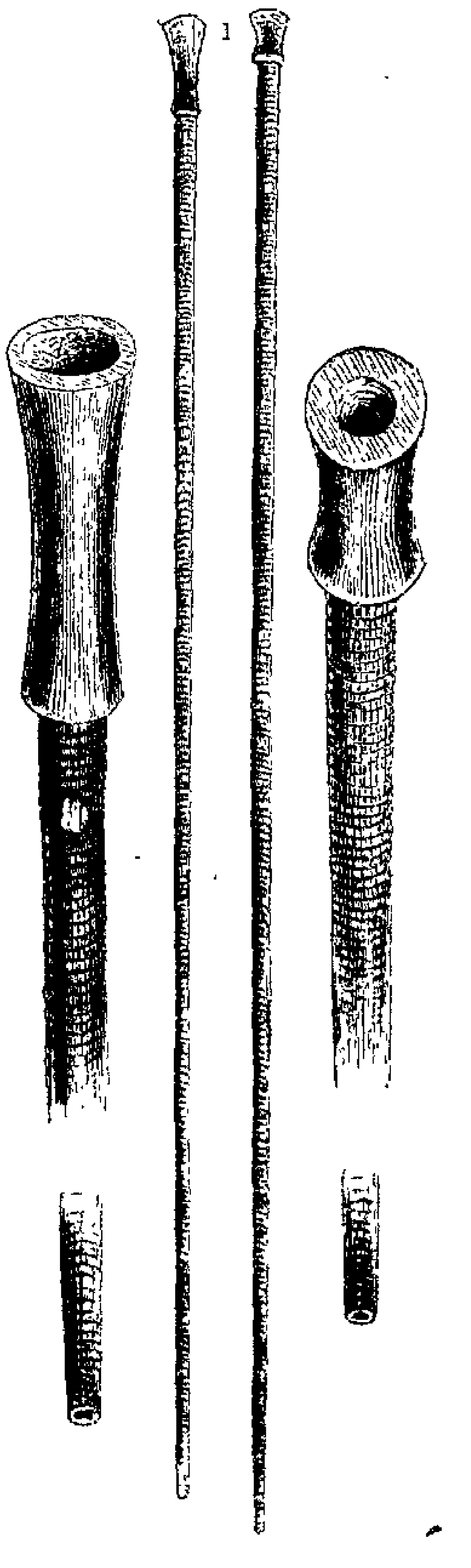
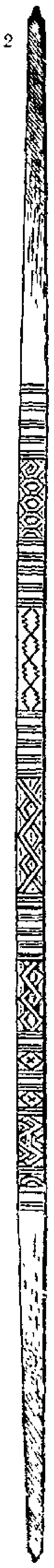


Quiver with poisoned arrows for the blow-gun—one-fourth and one-fifth real size. (Martius Collection.)

Patagonians exchange bow and arrow for spear, lasso, and bolas? According to all appearance simultaneously with the introduction of the horse; but the bola was already known to them in pre-historic times. An instrument between knife and sword, like a longish bill-hook, the *machete*, is the most common tool wherever Spanish influence made its way. In the forest districts it serves as a chopper.

The bow is the handsomest weapon of South America; only in some of the Melanesian islands is it wrought to such beauty. In eastern South America it is distinguished by length and slimness, simply and slightly bent, of a flattened

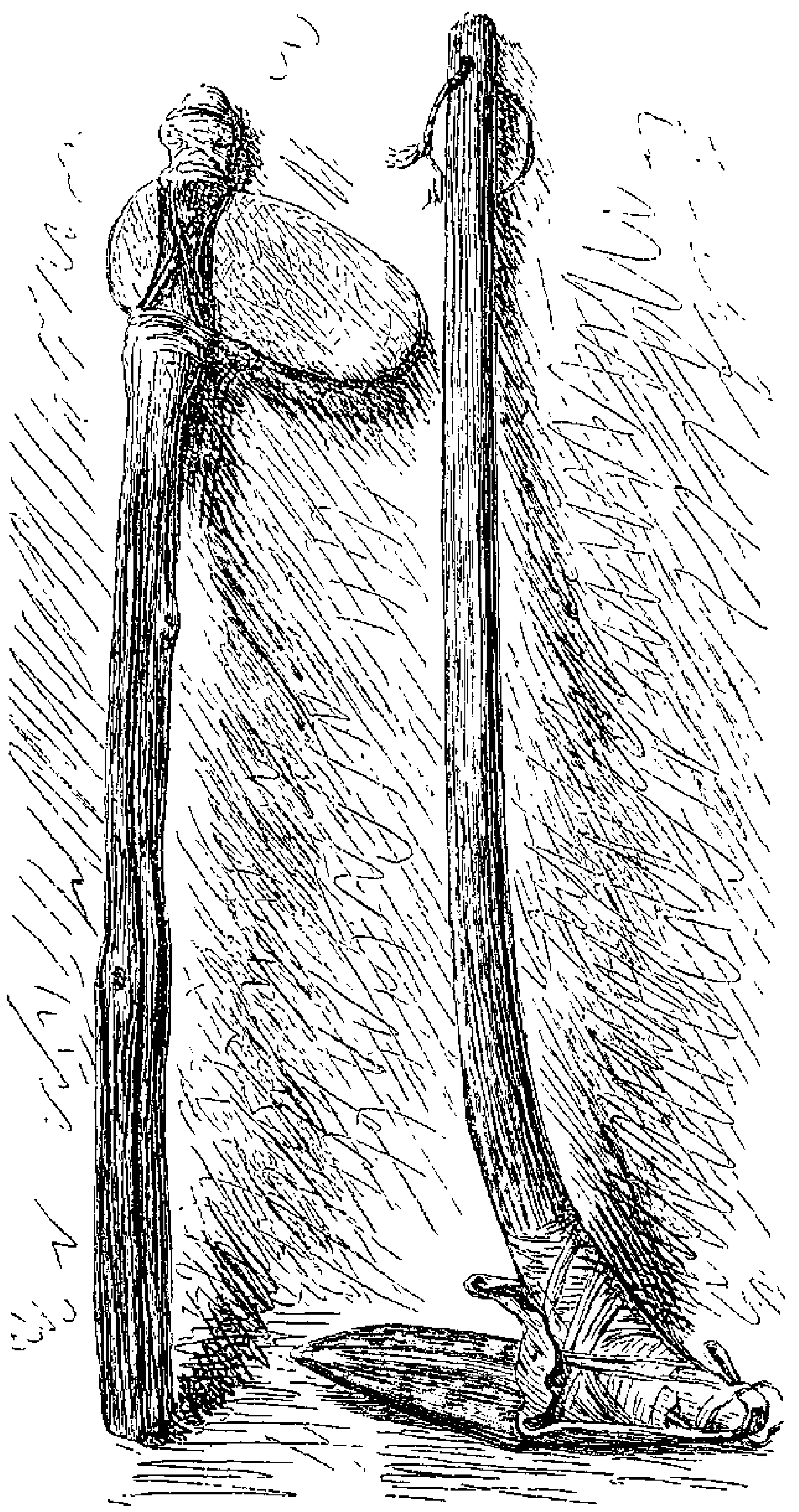
section at the sides, on the outer face convex or angular, on the inner flat or slightly hollowed, polished or prettily wrapped with string, thread, or bark; the ends, bluntly rounded off, show no difference, but the fact of their bind being turned in one direction makes them unsymmetrical. Where these points are absent, as towards the north, the South American bow is the most symmetrical of all; in the south, on the other hand, the whole bow is wound round with coloured strips of bark, and therefore the work of the wood is rougher. The bows of the Botocudos, Rucuyenns, and Oyampis are a couple of yards and more in length. Towards the north they grow shorter, until the smallest length is attained in the district which marks the northern boundary of the South American form of bow, namely Nicaragua; arrows, too, from the interior of Costa Rica, are strikingly like those of the Arawaks. In the bows of Guiana alone, the tips are bent slightly outwards; the string is twisted from fine vegetable fibres, and rolled back over the bow in layers, which must have been the origin of the Juri custom of wrapping the bow with cotton threads laid close together, and beautifully coloured in geometrical patterns. Bows are manufactured by preference from the heart-wood of an *airi* palm, and of a bignonia; in Guiana from that of the *letre*, which has beautifully brownish, often yellow, markings. The thick sap-wood is not taken off, but trees are sought for which have fallen with age, and have had their sap-wood already destroyed by white ants. The wood is uncommonly hard, and as heavy as the iron wood of Africa. In order to get a bow out of it, numerous notches are cut into a large piece, and the wood removed between them, until the required thickness is obtained; the bow is then finished off with the lower jaw of the peccary. In Guiana it is polished with the leaves of the *Curatella americana*, and in shooting it is held upright, with the arrow to the left. The shapes are manifold: every tribe has its own special way of fastening the string, and devotes more or less attention to polishing and so on. In the bows of the Machacalis of the Belmonte, in which there was formerly a widespread trade, a reserve arrow lies in a notch on the front side. Strings made of animal fibre do not occur further to the north; the reed arrows have the feathers set in spirally. The bow is not in general a strong weapon, although every one has cost the life of a whole tree, and required months of labour. There is a great difference between this bow and that of the North Americans, which extends as far as Mexico, as well as that of the

1. Brazilian blow-guns for poisoned arrows — 7 to 10 ft. long. (Martius Collection.) 2, Conibo bow. (Munich Museum.)

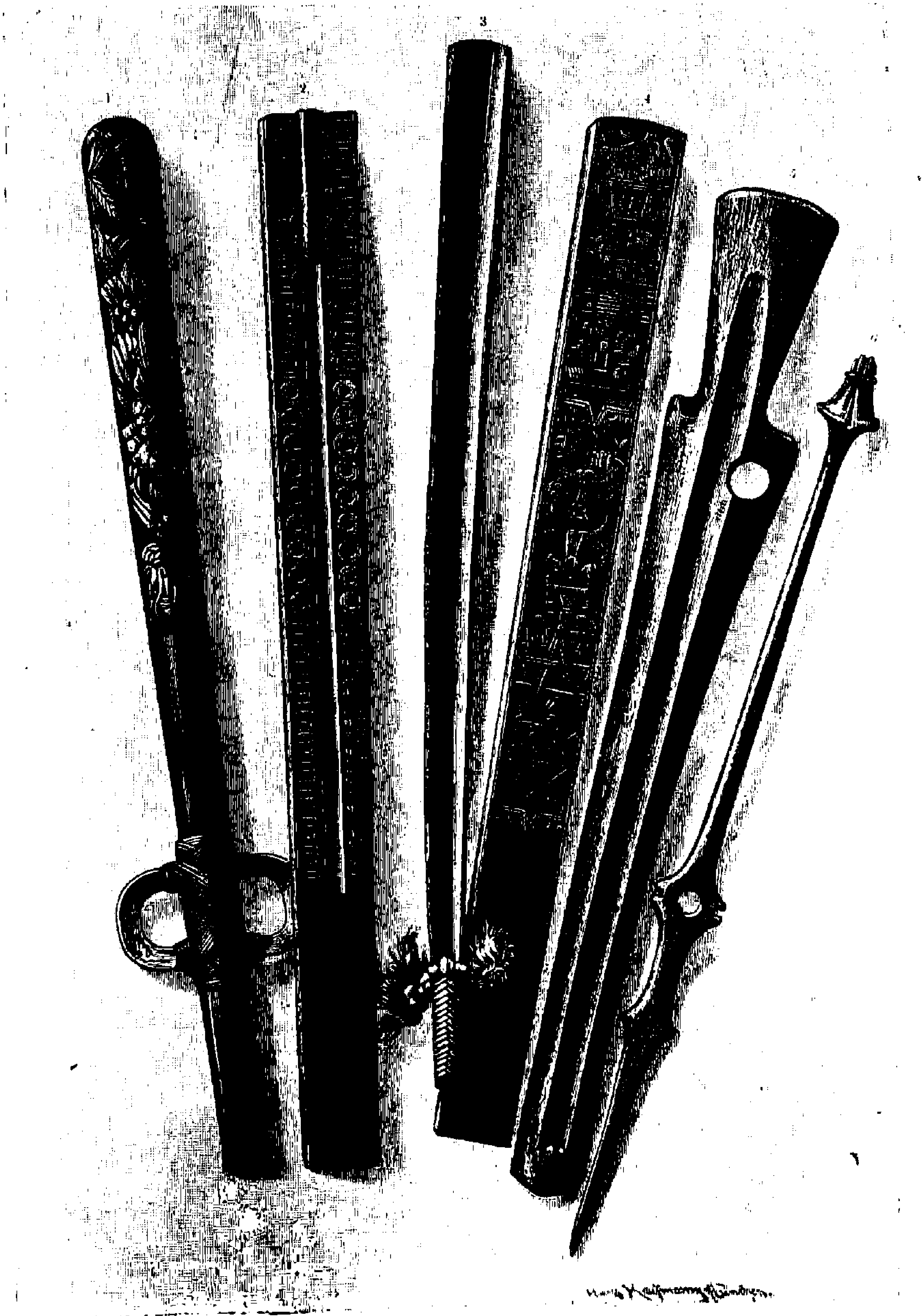
Africans; for nearer relationships one must go to the Pacific. On the east coast of Brazil, Prince Max of Wied found, as far as the Rio Docc, a "sling bow" with two strings attached by a piece of twisted work in which a clay bullet or a small round stone was laid. According to Azara, in Paraguay several bullets are shot simultaneously with such bows; the miniature bows used by the Arawaks for shooting flies have been described by Ten Kate.

South America can show a large number of arrow poisons of both vegetable and animal origin, among them some of the most active known: on the Upper Amazon, between the Rio Negro and the Sapura, the bark *Strychnos castelnana*; in Guiana the roots of the climbing *Strychnos toxifera*, the well-known *curari*, mixed with the juice of more innocent plants. The Indians of the river Napo get their *curari* from the Tecunas; the journeys there and back cost them as much as three months, so that in their own country the poison not unnaturally fetches its weight in silver. The Indians of New Granada prepare an arrow poison from the milky excretion of the papillæ on the back of *Phyllobates melanorrhinus*, like the Prairie Indians of North America. They irritate the animal by sticking a splinter of wood into its neck, and dip their arrows into the secretion. The Goajiros put the poison glands of a green tree-snake into a calabash fruit, the interior of which then turns into a dark slimy mass. According to Ramon Paez, poisonous animals are allowed to putrefy, and the arrows dipped into the corrupt matter. But some experiments made with Goajiro poisoned arrows had no result.



Stone axe and adze, the former from the Coerunas of Brazil, the latter uncertain, probably from Oceania or old Japanese—about one-fifth real size. (Martius Collection.)

The throwing-stick, which is in general use among the Eskimo, was almost entirely lacking to the North American Indian, but appears here and there from Mexico onwards. In that country specimens occur, beautifully decorated with carved figures, apparently of religious import; and more particularly in Central America, Colombia, and the Amazon region. In East Brazil it perhaps existed formerly. But everywhere it is met with only rarely, having obviously long been giving way to the more powerful bow. Among the Tupi tribes, however, it was in use, to the exclusion of the bow, so late as the seventeenth century (see the Plate "American throwing-sticks").



American Throwing Sticks.—1, Probably Mexican, with appendages of shell, partly gilt—about one-third real size (Dorenberg Collection, Puebla). (British Museum). 2 and 4, Mexican from Tlaxiaco, front and back views (Dorenberg Collection, Puebla). 5. Eskimo, from Cape Barrow 3. From Antioquia, Colombia (Copenhagen Museum of Ethnography). (National Museum, Washington). 6. Ancient throwing stick, probably Tupi—one-fourth real size (Copenhagen Museum).

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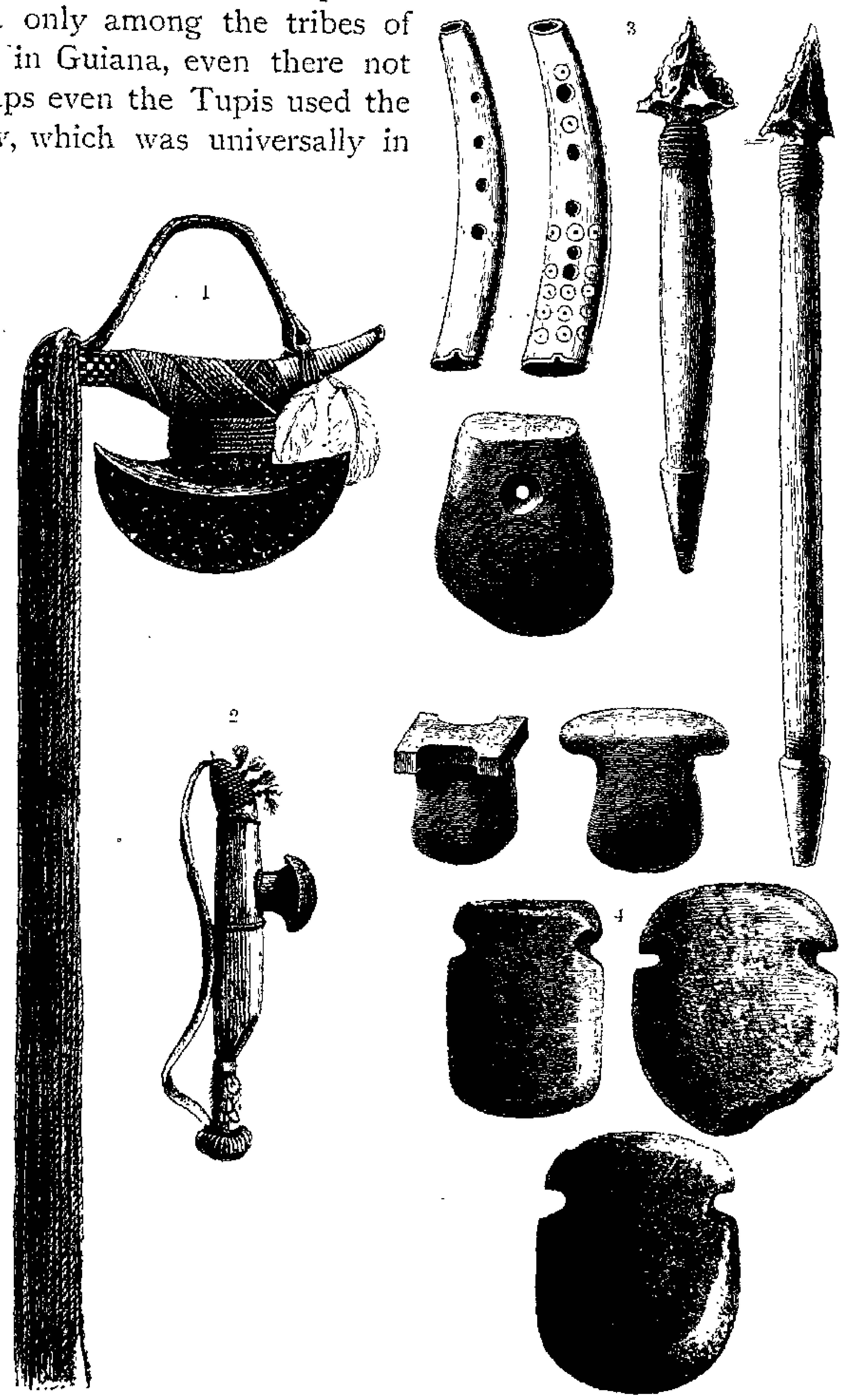
As with the Malays, the arrows for the blow-gun were of wood, fine and poisoned at the tip, with "gas-checks" of cotton. In North America it seems to have been in the main a child's toy; as a weapon it occurs in South America only among the tribes of the Upper Amazon and in Guiana, even there not ousting the bow. Perhaps even the Tupis used the blow-gun beside the bow, which was universally in use among them. To the herdmen or *vaqueros* of eastern Ecuador it serves for both dog and whip; from their strong tubes, a yard and a half long, of the so-called *caña brava* (*Gynerium saccharoides*), fitted with a short bit of thinner reed as mouthpiece, they can blow clay bullets to a considerable distance. Long shields of wood, cow-hide, or tapir-hide were carried by most of the South American tribes with whom the Europeans came into contact in the sixteenth century.

For blades, whether piercing or cutting, for heavy weapons and tools for striking, for scrapers, and the like, even where people knew how to compound bronze and to smelt silver, they were dependent on stone. The Chamicuros in south-east Bolivia to this day use stone chisels, the stone blade being set into a cleft in the handle by an elegant splicing. Much that has been said of the North American work in stone applies without modification to the South American tribes, only that here the art of making chipped stone implements was not so highly developed. Arrow-heads of rock-crystal come from Chili, some of flint from the Sierras of Cordoba. The stone hatchets are in shape like the North American axes; a fine-grained granite is the material chosen by the Macusis, red sandstone




1 and 2, Ornamental hatchets of the Gaveve Indians in Brazil. 3, Bone flutes, flint-headed arrows, and stone axes, from Colombia. 4, Carib stone axes, from the West Indies—one-fourth real size. (British Museum.)

by the Wapisianas and Atorais. The hatchets of the South American Indians are true hatchets, with the blade and handle in one plane; the adze, with the blade at right angles, is exceptional. The "anchor-axes" of Brazil are among the most beautiful work of the Stone Age; they are ceremonial axes with crescent-shaped blades, having the handle often bound with reed, and ornamented with shells.

Acquaintance with the metals seems to have been confined to the civilized countries in the west. They knew how to alloy copper with tin; but, perhaps owing to the scarcity of tin, a true bronze civilization never grew up. Bronze wedges have been found both in the Sierra de Rioja and in the Sierra de los Llanos in Argentina. The great abundance of gold, which, as in Europe, was held to be a valuable article of ornament, had important results at the time of the conquest.

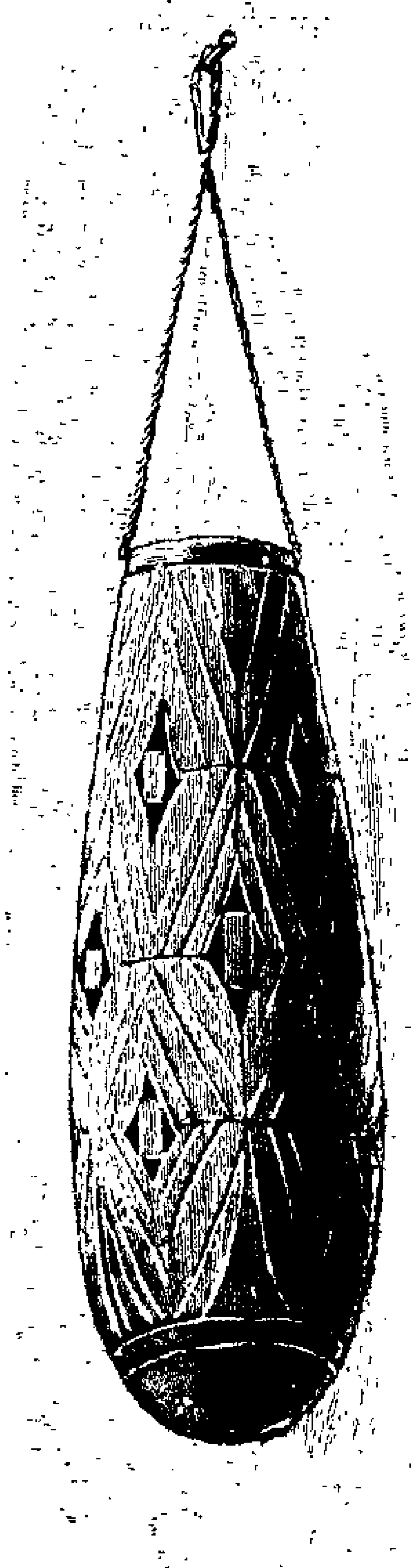
Earthenware vessels, from Guiana, and earthenware trumpet of an Arawak priest—one-fifth real size. (British Museum.)

It appears to have been got by washing only; gold-washings, often scanty enough, are to this day carried on by the Indians on many tributaries of the Amazon and the Orinoco, especially the Iça. There are two regions of America where gold is found abundantly in graves; one in Central America and Mexico, and on to Florida and New Mexico, the other in the north of South America, the West Indies, Peru, Chili, part of Patagonia and the Pampas districts. Silver articles are found in Peru, Central America, Mexico, New Mexico, and Florida. Pure tin, with no admixture of copper, was worn in the lip by the Chiquitos.

The absence of iron is conspicuous. The Peruvians and New Californians mixed oxide of iron as a hydrate for dyeing purposes; but never smelted iron. The Araucanians, however, like the Eskimo, seem to have used meteoric iron. It is only the Caribs of the West Indies of whom Columbus reports that they possessed some iron vessels; and perhaps these had already reached them from Europe. Even if the actual use of iron in ancient times in South America can be proved, it would only be a question of the occasional utilisation of a material which never attained to any far-reaching importance; and that could only be in

the east, where energetic steps had been made towards realising the value of metals.

The simplicity of the tools shows the low level of industry. On the Shingu, the teeth of rodents, as the agouti and capybara, were used for chisels; hair was cut with the teeth of the *piranha* fish; a fish-tooth served for a lancet, the stalks of a cutting-grass for razors; the earth was turned up with the fore-claws of the giant armadillo (*Dasypus gigas*) set together in pairs: cutting and scraping was done with shells, and boring by means of a drill armed with stone.


Camayura bottle made of a gourd stained brown. (From Prof. v. d. Steinen's Collection, Berlin Museum.)

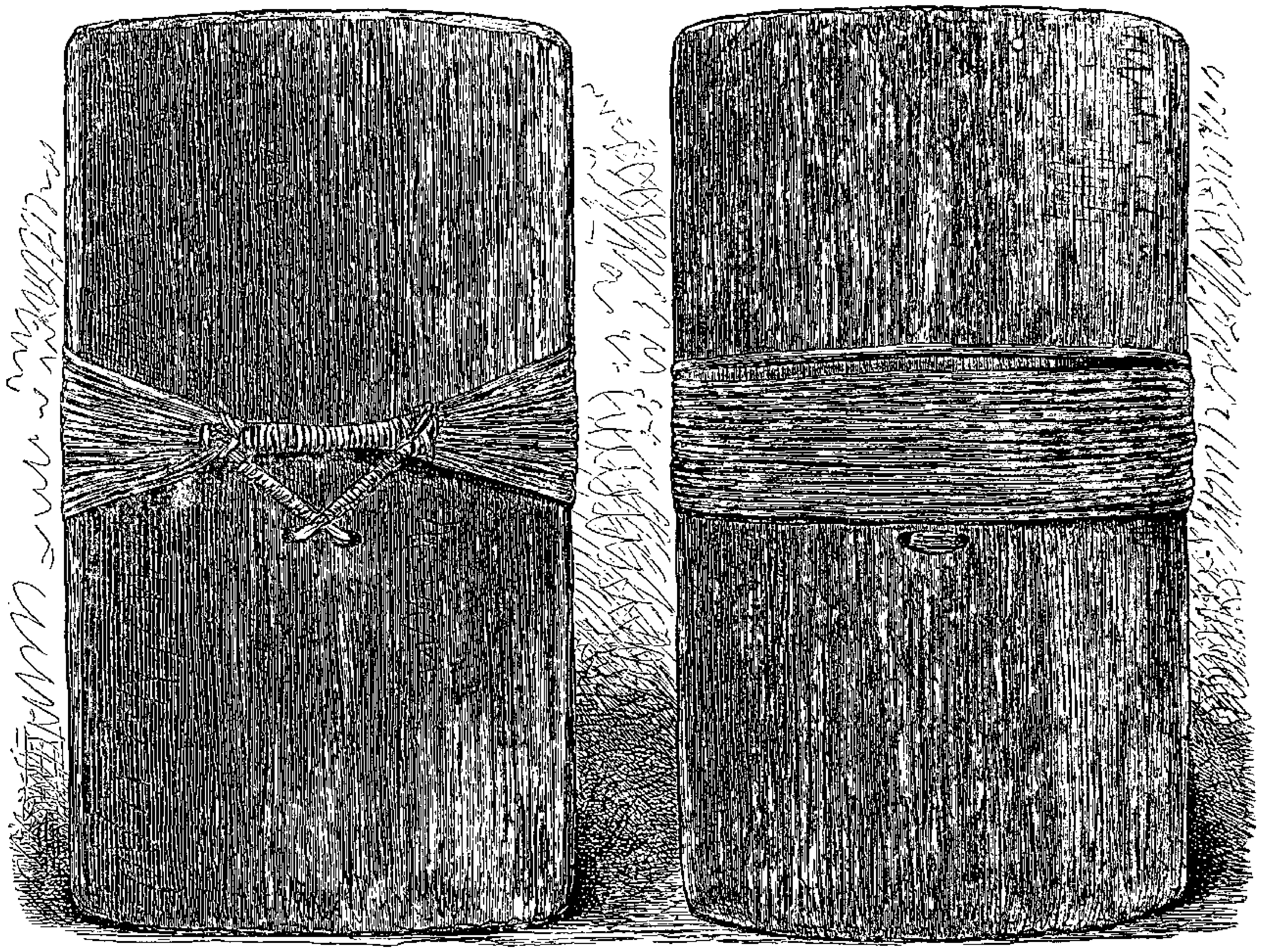
Prehistoric South and Central America are considered as the great countries for pottery. The mass of these wares is no less astounding in Peru than in Araucania, where Fonck can only explain it on the hypothesis of sudden desertions of inhabited places. The way towards the high level reached by the pottery of the civilized races in South America had already been opened by the Shingu tribes. Like so many other indigenous arts, pottery could not fail to sink from the height it had reached, as soon as Europeans appeared with their metal vessels. But the retrograde process must already have set in, and many tribes had totally forgotten the art. In South America there was no pottery among the Fuegians, the Chonos, the Patagonians; it was too easy to supply the place of mugs, glasses, plates, dishes, cups, and bottles by gourds. On the other hand, in the southern and central River Plate district corpses were accommodated in urns more than half a yard in breadth and height.

In many parts great things were done in the way of weaving; and Europeans found cotton in cultivation among the Tupis. Spindle-whorls of stone or clay are among the commonest objects found in Central and South America. Weaving is as a rule the women's job; but among some of the Guiana tribes it is only the cotton threads for hammocks that are spun by the women (who use a spindle made of hard wood and a round bone), while strings for necklaces and all other purposes are manufactured by the men. The Calchaqui women of Tucuman are noted as excellent weavers. The textile art of the Peruvians had branches in Chili, even as that of Mexico had in New Mexico and Arizona. That of the Carayas in Goyaz is said by Ehrenreich to have been originally introduced from Europe, although it has now an independent existence. Various kinds of *Ficus* provide bark stuffs. We are reminded of Africa as well as of Polynesia when we find the Carayas steeping the bark of the *Jangada*-tree, and beating it with flat grooved stones. Strips of bark are also used for plaiting, an art which indeed is universally known, and in which a certain degree of taste finds active expression where other crafts are behindhand.

The plastic arts have never stirred much in South America; even the carved human figures of the Carayas deserve only qualified praise. The Bakairis and

Mehinacus keep their maize in vessels made of dried maize-husks twisted into the shape of birds, and their wax in figures of animals, as in the cuts on pp. 18, 20. And one may call it pictorial ornament when black tablets, on which conventional fish and other designs are often very rudely drawn with white clay, are hung up in a chief's hut. The representation of the human body seems in all ages to have been very unusual; and a discovery, like that in Rio Grande do Sul, of a pipe in the form of an Indian's head is notable. Generally in the eastern half of South America the feeling for art is feebler than in the western or in North America; but the Amazon tribes have feather-work pretty in colour.

Trade intercourse, without being absolutely deficient, is less vigorous in South



Ymmano wooden shield—one-fifth real size. (Martius Collection.)

than in North America. Among the Caribs of the Essequibo region a system of division of labour exists. One spins the cotton, another works it into hammocks, a third makes pottery, a fourth prepares the iron graters with which cassava-roots are grated to pulp. Payment is made in domestic animals. In the deserted huts of the Chunchas on the Paranà, Werthemann found iron axes and fish-hooks, which serves to prove that this secluded tribe had dealings with those on the river Amazon. In the interior of Guiana there is an unimportant trade, consisting in the exchange of nets, weapons, and especially curare for cloth, knives, needles, and salt. The Bonis who come for trade purposes into the Rucuyenns' country, have to pay in advance for the hammocks which will not be delivered till the following summer. The Indian's tendency, especially when he begins to hoard his earnings, is always towards avarice. They have long been renowned as porters

and runners. Formerly, when the roads in South America were even worse than they are now, the Indians would carry men all day long on their backs over the Andes, upon the *silleta* or carrying-chair, which may have been in fashion even in the Inca times, and which, once a chair with a foot-board, now is a pack-saddle. They carry also by means of bands of *Cecropia*-bark, either passing over the shoulder or across the forehead. By his endurance in travelling and carrying, the Indian has known how to make himself economically of importance to the white man.

Where the mahogany tree grows, that is, between 10° north latitude and the tropic of Cancer, Indians find employment as woodmen; the ground round the tree is cleared of undergrowth with billhooks and hatchets, the tree is felled, the branches taken off, the stem hewn to a square beam, and dragged by teams of oxen to the nearest point whence they can be floated. The Huilliches of Chiloe, who are active and expert woodcutters, carry the beams and planks through the pathless country down to the coast on their shoulders. An important class of Indian workmen in the service of Europeans are the Mecos of Central America, who collect india-rubber. The *ule*, as it is called, is got from the *Castiloa elastica*, and has greatly risen in value since it has been employed for the casing of submarine telegraph cables. The collectors, who are hired by a contractor, when they have spent their smart-money in jollification, go off to the gathering grounds, where they collect the juice for weeks on end. They are dreaded as robbers and worse, and unhappily carry civilization, often in its most repulsive form, into almost unknown Indian villages. *Copaiba*, *cumara*, *moriche*, and other resins are articles of trade among the destitute wandering tribes of South America. Since the senseless devastation of the caoutchouc-plants in Colombia has made it necessary to collect the less valuable vegetable ivory, there has been a regular export trade in this also.

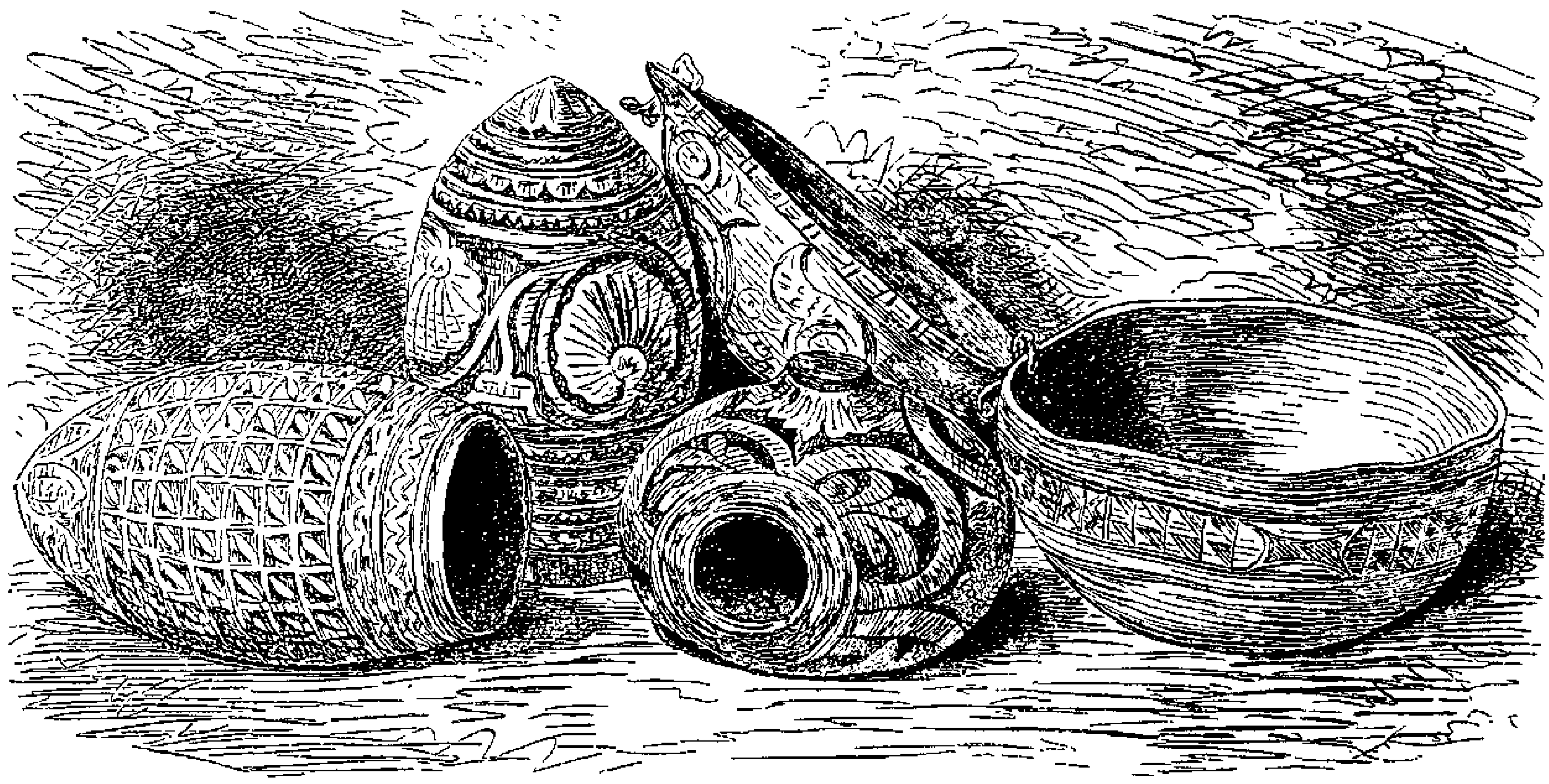
Navigation is limited, considering the extent of the country; only isolated and widely-sundered races achieve anything of importance in this line. Whole tribes, such as the Botocudos, had no canoes at all. The Seris of the Sonora coast and Tiburon Island used to make raft-like canoes for one or two persons by tying three bundles of reeds together and turning them up fore and aft; just the *ambatch* boat of the dwellers on the Nile, which turns up again in Melanesia. The *tule* raft of the Californian tribes is similar. The Indians in Lower California, had, according to Clavijero, somewhat shorter craft, rafts made of three to six tree-stems, in which they went fishing some miles out to sea. On the tributaries of the Amazon and Orinoco bark canoes are in many cases used. The English traveller Pym speaks with great admiration of the canoes some fifty feet in length, made of dug-out cedar and mahogany stems, which were in use among the natives of the Mosquito-coast, and of their skill in navigation. The Guaraunos of the Orinoco Delta, the Carayas of the Shingu, and others, possess many canoes of dug-out giant trees, too low in the side for deep water, with good paddles, elegantly decorated; while the lagoons of Brazil, which seem to invite navigation, had, in former times, scarcely seen a canoe. Columbus first came across a large craft between Yucatan and Honduras;[1] it was, as Las Casas says, of eight feet beam, and as long as a galley; twenty-five men formed the crew. The

[1] [On his fourth voyage; but, as a matter of fact, he had seen canoes capable of holding 150 persons, ten years before, off the north coast of Cuba.]

next largest vessel recorded is the "Balsa Peruana" which Pizarro captured at Tumbez; she had sail and rudder. Bernal Diaz too speaks of "five great canoes full of Indians, and going under sail and by oars"; and Gonzalo de Sandoval also met with a canoe having oars and a sail. One may conjecture that the Huastecs

Vessels of japanned earthenware, from Brazil—one-fifth real size. (Martius Collection.)

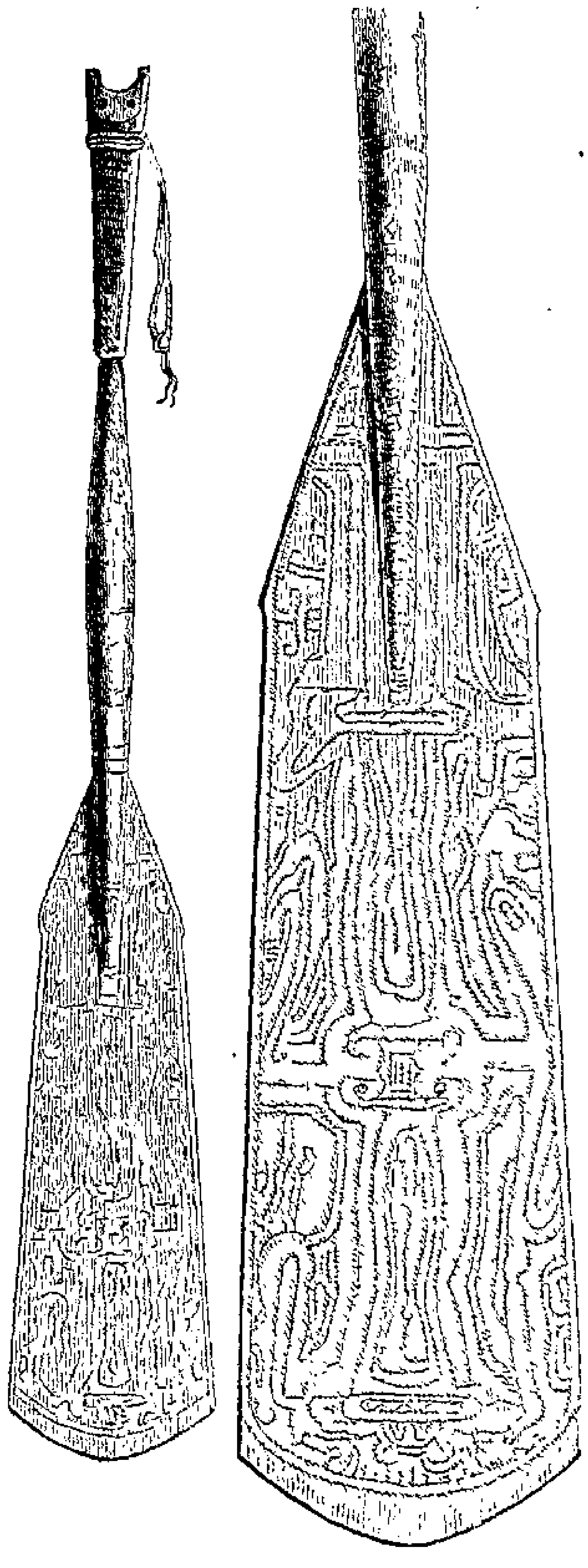
were acquainted with sails, and travelled in their vessels as far as the Antilles. Again, sailing boats are mentioned by Oviedo on the coast of Yucatan, though no doubt at a time when Europeans had been sailing the Caribbean Sea for a



Carved drinking vessels, from Brazil—rather over one-third real size. (Martius Collection.)

whole generation. On the other hand, the Aztecs and other ancient inhabitants of Mexico could only visit the islands which lay nearest. Their boats were rafts of trees or single stems, and Cortez's sails on their lagoons terrified them as an unknown wonder. It is in the south-west region, beyond Araucania, with its numerous islands, that navigation affords a real support to existence, just as it does in the north-west beyond Vancouver. The inhabitants of Chiloe are capital

seamen. The boys go to sea when quite young with their fathers in one-masted boats; and their love of emigration may be referred to their familiarity with the sea. A dying man in Chiloe[1] believes that he will live as long as the tide is flowing, and depart when it turns. Still, this high development of seamanship must first have been brought about by contact with Europeans. Navigation, as we find it among the Fuegians, suffices for the necessaries of life, but is primitive from a technical point of view; which gives us all the higher idea of their courage in contending with the terrible seas round the southernmost point of America.



Paddles from Surinam. (Frankfort City Museum.)

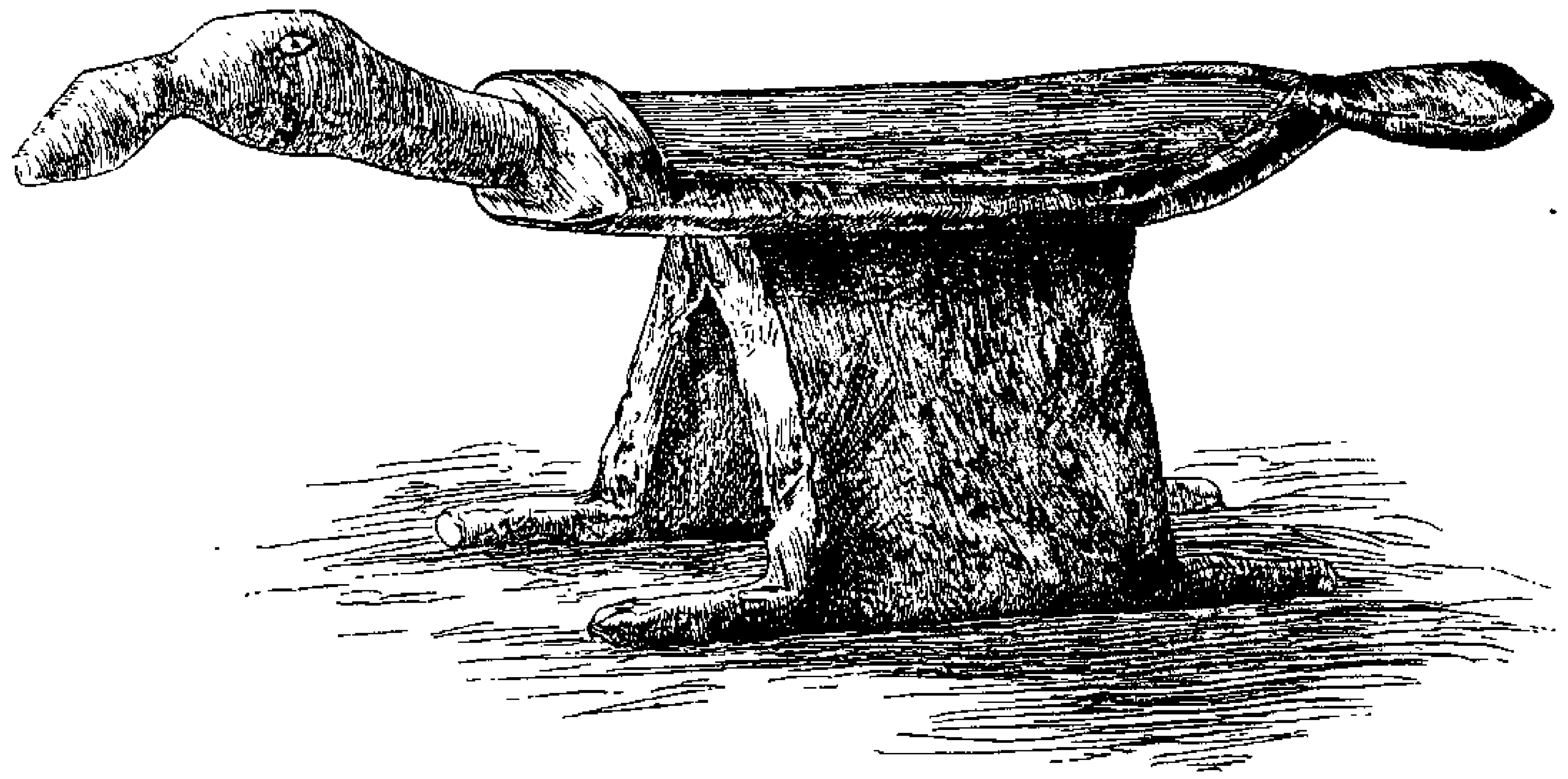
Fishing must to many races of the interior of America be a far greater source of nourishment, especially in comparison with hunting, than we are apt to suppose; but coast fishing has reached a high development only in the south-west. The Churruas, an Orinoco tribe, shoot fish. The Bakairi fisherman, who knows not hooks, throws into the water a red berry as big as a bean, and lets fly his arrow at it just as it disappears into the fish's jaws. Fish-arrows are as long as javelins, and those arrows over a yard long with wooden points used by the Indians of Costa Rica are no doubt fish arrows. On the Upper Amazon fish are taken by means of the narcotic leaves of a *paullinia* and a *jacquinia.* Dried fish were even an article of commerce. On the Lower Plate, Ulrich Schmiedel found in the Indian huts stores of "fish-meal and fish-lard." Among amphibious reptiles, alligators and tortoises were hunted; and the Botocudos eat both alike without disgust. America, like Africa, has its fishing nomads, who move from river to river, or "draw" particular tracts of country at regular intervals. There is a tribe of this kind in Honduras, who live in their settlements, but in the months of December, January, and February travel in canoes down the river Meta to look for turtles' eggs, which are deposited in vast quantities a yard deep in the sand at the river mouths, and in which there is a regular trade. Shell-fish have evidently been the food of the coast tribes from early times, for "kitchen middens" are to be found on all accessible coasts. In the South Brazilian provinces these are from 75 to 100 feet high, as in Santa Catarina, where two kinds of oysters and a *cardium* are largely eaten.

A number of South American tribes live by the chase of curassows, tapirs, monkeys, and porpoises. This is mostly now carried on with guns, bow and arrow only surviving in remote parts of the interior. On the plains, where game

[1] [And in most sea-coast places in England and elsewhere.]

abounds, the introduction of the horse gave increased facilities. In hunting the sloth, the sportsman ascends the tree with a pole having a slip-knot at the end, drops this over the animal's head and throttles him with it. Half-suffocated, it requires but a small effort to bring him down; he is stunned by the fall, and beaten to death with sticks. The Indians of the Rio Grande do Sul use nooses to catch the parrots which sit in numbers on the mud-heaps. For shooting birds they also use arrows with flattened points.

The Indians are fond of training wild animals, and a village is seldom without its tame parrots, monkeys, and peccaries. Among birds, curassows, agumis, marayes, even the great bird of prey, the harpy-eagle, the feathers of which are used for arrows, are specially common. These pets also serve as a medium of exchange. The forest Indian now tames only dogs, cats, pigs, fowls, and ducks; the breeding of horses, mules, asses, cattle, goats, or sheep, is unknown. The old American, or

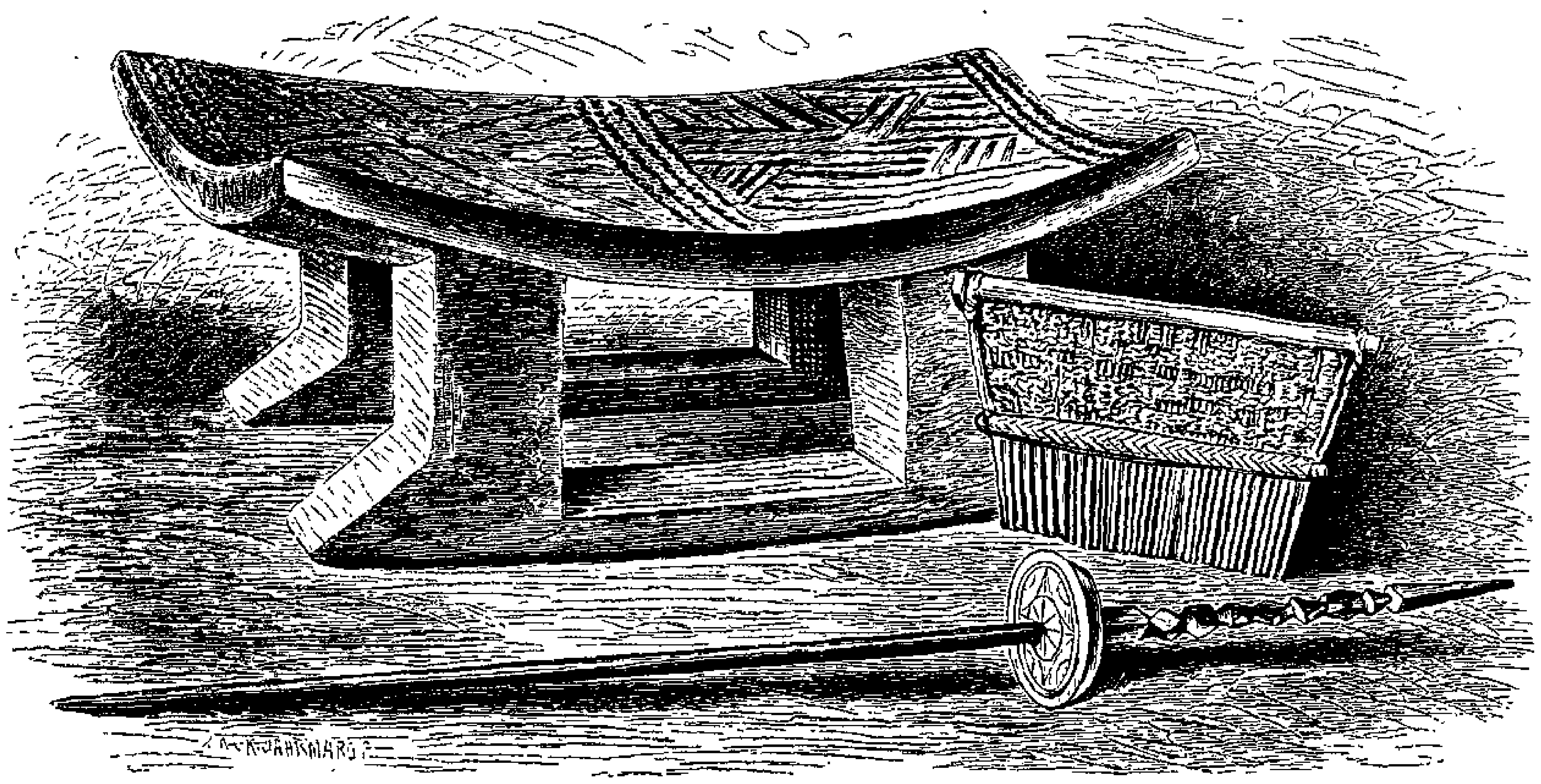


Bakairi stool—about one-sixth real size. (After v. d. Steinen.)

Inca, dog seems to have been bred independently from the North American wolf, but nevertheless, to correspond in its three chief breeds with definite species of the European dog. The Bakairis tame numerous animals, keeping small lizards tied up in their houses to exterminate the crickets; and in like manner they plant wild fruit-trees near their village, as the *macayuva* palm (*acrocomia*), the *mangava*, the "wolf's fruit" (*fruta do lobo*, *Solanum lycocarpum*), the oleaginous *piquia* (*Caryocar butyrosum*). According to Baird, the turkey was first domesticated in Mexico; but there were also flocks of turkey-hens about the mouth of the Arkansas. In the natural grass meadows of Venezuela, Guiana, and the slopes of the Southern Andes, to the river Plate, cattle-breeding, brought over from Europe, has found space to develop; and has there, especially among the Apureños of Venezuela, given rise to the *llaneros*, a class of coloured half-breeds, a race of horsemen who have, too, played a part in local history. These *llaneros* inhabit the open country, partly in their own little settlements, but mostly on the dairy-farms of the wealthy cattle-owners, the *hateros*, who, in spite of their often princely possessions, live in a hardly less primitive manner than their herdsmen. A *hato*, to which belong sometimes thousands of cattle roaming almost wild, consists of two or three huts roughly constructed of palms. The llanero does not trouble himself about school or church; he venerates certain saints, and that is his entire religion. His home is

in the saddle, in which he passes literally the greater portion of his life. Like the *gauchos* of the Pampas the *llaneros* are splendid riders. For their horses they feel the tenderest affection. Saddles and other equipment are, both in the north and in the south, made after the Spanish pattern, and gaily adorned.

The agricultural products of South America are manifold. Besides maize, manioc, sweet potato, we find cotton, pepper, the annatto, a dye-yielding shrub, and several desert plants, which enjoy a transitory cultivation. But the Indians of the tropic region nowhere cultivate with any real energy. The digging-stick or a weak mattock suffices them. In the damp southern parts of Chili the turf is cut and turned with two sharp stakes, *lumas*; while the dry soil of the north is tilled with digging-sticks. In this respect the Colombian tribes, in spite of the numerous points in which they have been advanced in civilization, stand no higher than the natives of



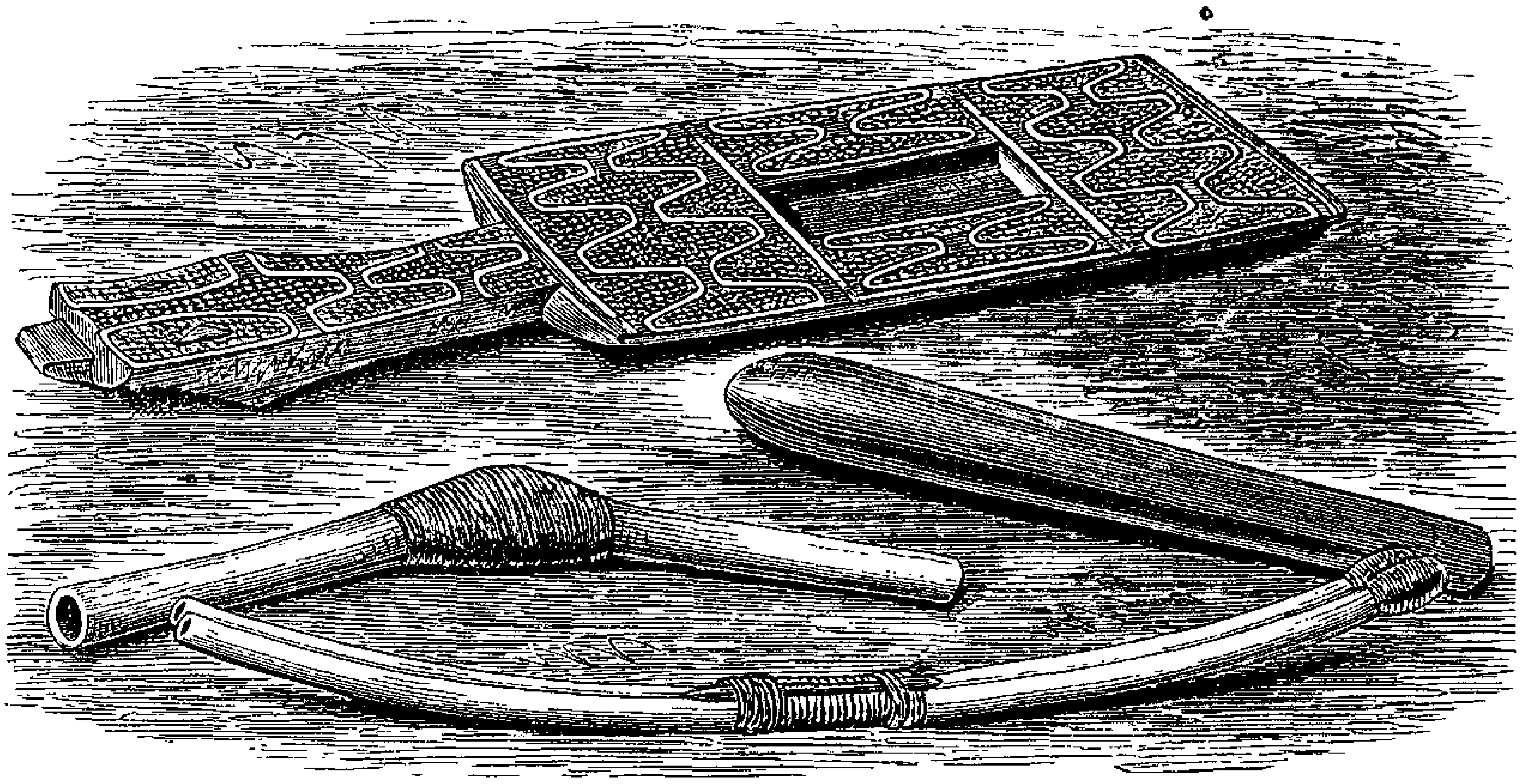
Juri stool, spindle, and comb—about one-fourth real size. (Martius Collection.)

Guiana, whose entire agriculture begins and ends with growing the manioc, the South American bread-plant. In these districts it is certain that before European influence came in, only manioc, sweet-potato, and gourd, with perhaps tobacco, were cultivated, and possibly also maize; but the two last far less in South America than in North. But the furrows, now bare, found in the forests of Araucania, show that in the temperate region of South America agriculture was once more extensively carried on than it is at present. It stopped short in the prairies of the Lower Paraguay, or, according to Burmeister, even on the lower waters of the Paraná de las Palmas, which accounts for the sudden decrease of population in this district.

In Honduras, among a group of the Paya Indians we find a nomadic agriculture in practice. They lay out plantations in one place or another, and only visit them some months later to harvest the crop. Then they barter honey, vegetable dyes, sarsaparilla, with their more civilized brethren, for fish-hooks, weapons, lance-heads, and knives. Wherever an industry like collecting whalebone and Peruvian bark, or straw plaiting, has occupied the field, agriculture is neglected, even in so astonishingly fertile a country as the eastern slopes of

Ecuador, more especially where it has to be carried on under conditions almost equivalent to serfage.

Where no prohibition stands in the way, the Indian prefers animal food. The Rucuyenns eat the grubs from the nest of a large wasp, called *ocano*, with cassava. Termites that have gnawed into leaves of plants get eaten all but the heads, which remain firmly holding on by the jaws. Indians never bite the meat with their fine teeth; they tear it up in their fingers and put it into their mouths in small pieces. The left hand serves as plate; between the fourth and little finger of the right is held a bit of cassava bread or of the flat maize-cake called *tortilla*; between forefinger and thumb a morsel of meat; and so they sit and chew. Meat for preserving is dried and smoked. For roasting, the Bakairis



Brazilian implements for pulverizing and inhaling the seeds of the *paricá* tree, now used for tobacco—one-third to one-fourth real size. (Munich Museum.)

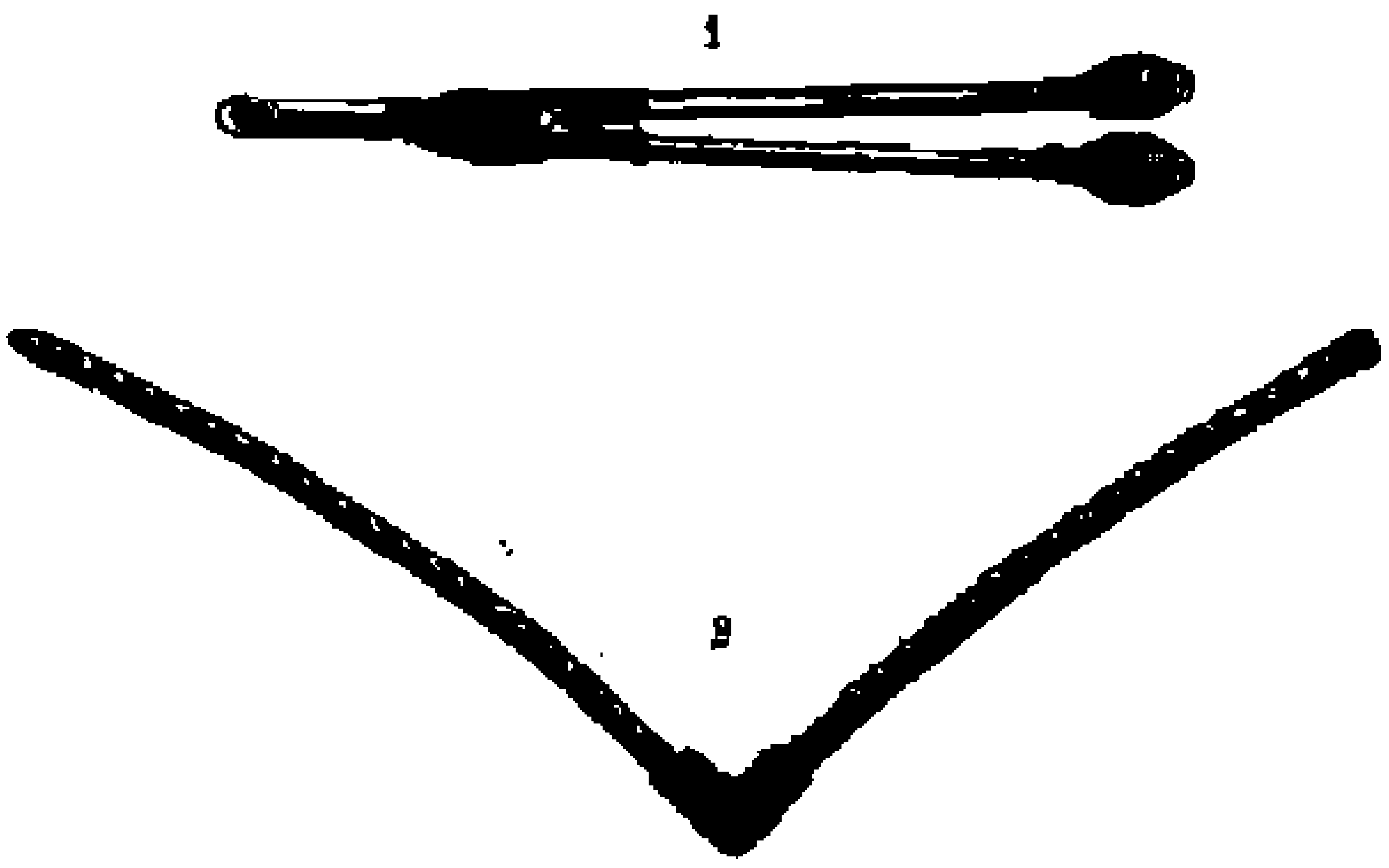
build an ingenious pyramid of three sticks with cross pieces to hold a grid. The whole apparatus can be brought as near to the fire as desired.

A peculiarity of the Botocudos, Rucuyenns, and other South American Indians is eating earth—clay scraped from smoked balls of the material. These must never be absent from the provisions for a journey. The Yuma tribes carry rings of kneaded clay at their belts, which they are said to moisten with saliva and then use to paint themselves. May not this be a form of earth-eating? The Bakairis have clay figures corresponding to ours of ginger-bread, which, like those, were once, "before the Mandiocca," used for eating. White or yellowish earth, apparently the effect of weathering upon volcanic ash, has been from old times employed in Guatemala to sprinkle on food as "white sweetening," or "seasoning."

Next to the *quinoa*, shown on p. 5, the potato is the chief national food of the Indians of the plateau. In Chili, the strawberry, which covers miles of country with its runners, is also an important article of food. Of manioc there are two kinds—one has poisonous juice, and is made up in lumps from the meal; the other is the *yucca*, which is cooked like potatoes. The former comes from the *cassava*, and is equally valuable as an article of food and provision for journeys. The Orinoco

tribes grind or grate the root, wash it, and strain it in the *zebucan*, a tube of strongly plaited reeds, having a ring at each end. When full, it looks like a short thick cylinder. It is hung up by the upper ring and pulled strongly by the lower, so that, as the apparatus grows longer and narrower, the water is strained out. Lastly, the pulp, when nearly dry, is extracted, and fully dried in thin layers on a hot plate of slate or earthenware, being sometimes previously rubbed through a sieve. The cassava has no flavour; it is like bread made of sawdust. Salt, as a flavouring, seems to have been unknown to some tribes; in the eastern parts of Ecuador to this day the Christian salt-eaters are distinguished from the non-salt-eating heathens.

Even before the Discovery, intoxicating drinks were known, made from cassava-bread, the fruit of the palms, maize, bananas; but there were also tribes, as in South Brazil, who drank only water, and chewed the juicy stalks of plants. In Guiana, bits of cassava are thrown into a large vessel, and boiling water poured over them. When the mass has cooled, the women stir it with their hands, and chew it till it is like pap; then they spit it out into a long trough made of a hollowed tree stem and pour warm water over it. The process is like the preparation of *kava* in Oceania. When fermentation has taken place, the liquor is strained through a reed-sieve, and the drink is ready, and is bottled in large gourds. This *paiwari* tastes like sour beer; it is a cooling drink of a brownish-yellow colour, in which morsels of the chewed cassava float. Taken in great quantities, such as only an Indian can manage, it has an intoxicating effect, and a *paiwari*-feast always ends in drunkenness. Unfermented *paiwari*, fresh made, is the ordinary drink in many villages. The preparation of this beverage, called also *mishla*, is like that of *kava*, not without its religious element. At the feasts where it is drunk, the same merriment prevails as at the carouses over banana or sugar-cane wine. The women are often excluded, though they have to bring their intoxicated lords safe home. From maize or sweet-potatoes mixed with molasses, a drink is prepared in which fermentation is set up by means of chewed grains of maize. The rapid acclimatization of the apple-tree has naturalized cider, especially in Chili; and where *aloja* or *quinoa*-beer was formerly drunk out of shells, they now swill *chicha* from cow-horns. Palm-wine was made in South America and the West Indies, especially from the miniature spadices of the *Mauritia flexuosa*, which are slit down the middle, and the juice as it flows received in calabashes.

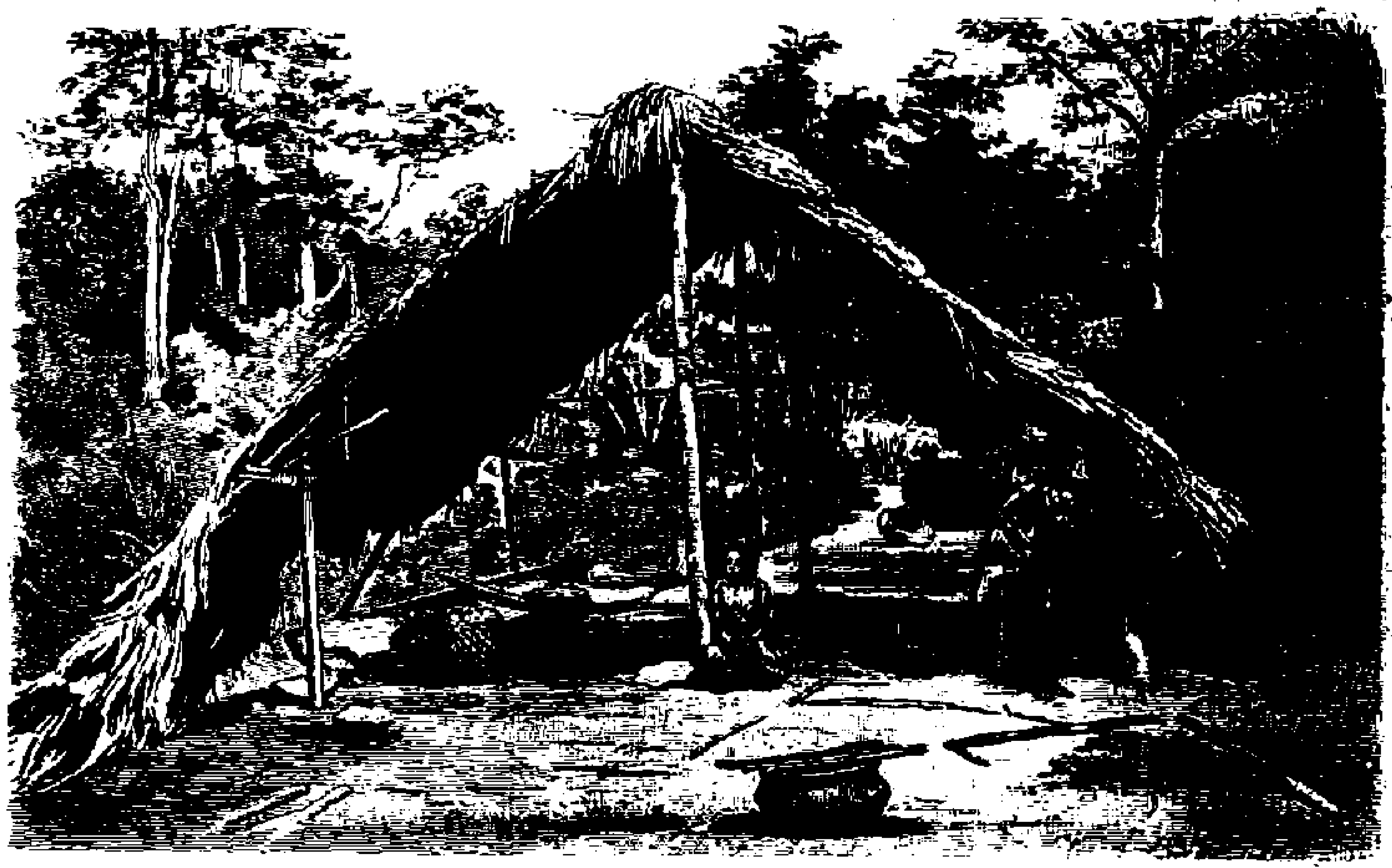


Tubes for inhaling snuff.—1, Guahibo. 2, Conibo—one-sixth real size. (Christy Collection.)

In the mountain regions of Colombia and Ecuador, they make, instead of this, a drink called *guarapo*, by fermenting crude sugar with water in a great earthenware vessel. After two or three days there results a sweetish, acid, refreshing, liquor, which, by the addition of the juice of a small aromatic citron with a thin

green skin, furnishes an excellent lemonade. When the *guarapo* [illegible] drinking in the usual way, it is called *regular*, but if alcoholic [illegible] advanced, it is *bravo*—that is how the muleteers like it. A similar [illegible] made in regard to the Mexican *pulque*, made from the saccharine [illegible] *agave*. A drink of the same kind is obtained by chewing pieces of [illegible] and spitting them into a calabash, and bottling the juice in a gourd where it ferments. In the later style of the process it has a strongly alcoholic flavour and is highly intoxicating. Cacao was in use long before chocolate reached us. Perhaps the whisk with which it is stirred was indigenous in South America. A spoonful of the boiling hot decoction of cacao, without milk or sugar, but strongly seasoned with fresh cayenne pepper, as the Orinoco tribes like it, is enough to make a European think that his mouth and throat are being scorched by the flames of Purgatory.

Tobacco smoking is almost universal in South America. The words for



Indian hut on the Amazon. (From a photograph in the Damann Album.)

tobacco and pipe are widely distributed, being, for example, almost identical in Chili and Brazil, so that we must assume the articles to have spread from one country to the other. Yet many tribes do not cultivate the herb. Snuff-taking is even more popular. Among the Guiana tribes, a box made of a large snail-shell, closed by a bat's wing attached with *balata* or caoutchouc, is used to contain a fragrant powder of unknown composition, which can be shaken out of the point of the shell through a hollow bone affixed to it. To carry it to the nostrils, an instrument is used, composed of two hollow bird-bones, as shown on pp. 74, 75; one end is stuck into the nostril, the other placed in the snuff-box; then the snuff is inhaled into the furthest recesses of the nose. But only a selfish person takes his snuff in this way; sociable people administer the snuff mutually with two crossed bones.

Coca is found from the north of Peru to the western Goajiros, who, like the Peruvians, chew it, probably as a stimulus to the nervous system, to Cumaná, and west to Huallaga, where Pöppig's Cholones boatmen rested five or six times a day

to chew. The Indians of the Upper Amazon take quantities of cayenne pepper, roasting the capsicum in prettily-woven baskets turning on a spindle.

The architecture of the nomad tribes has little beyond the rectangular or square ground-plan to distinguish it, except a general shakiness and want of durability. Some tribes do almost entirely without huts; the only traces left by those of the Botocudos are a few withered palm-leaves. Four posts, four walls of bamboo, and a thatch of leaves, are the elements which constantly recur. Three stones for the cooking-pot to stand on, and one or two hammocks, compose the furniture. The tribes that float about on the channels of the Amazon and Orinoco, like the Oyampis, hang up their hammocks every day under a fresh

Bakairi huts. (After Ehrenreich.)

construction improvised of young trees. The booths of the Tobas are provided with walls on three sides only, and the gaucho-huts in Argentina are often not much better. The hunting-huts of the Guaharibos are conical and pointed, with so narrow a floor that the occupants have hardly room to squat. Further south, it is only the Suyas, the most westerly branch of the Ges tribes, who are acquainted with hammocks, which they have borrowed from their northern neighbours.

Pile-dwellings existed in former times, more especially on the north coast of South America; and even now among some tribes in Guiana they are met with, built on dry land like those of the Malays, though mostly in swamps or water. The Paramonas inhabit both floating rafts and semi-cylindrical huts of palm straw on the sand-banks. The solidly built houses of the Ipurinas have, according to Ehrenreich, an oval plan, and their roof-tree is made in one piece.

In the north of South America, large common-houses are not usual; but one

hut is often inhabited by three or four families. The large houses of the Churruas in Colombia usually contain three apartments, the fourth being the large entrance hall. Sometimes the apartments have their little private doors from the outside. In the middle is a large square space, where the Indians assemble for conversation, and celebrate their little festivals; it is surrounded with beams which carry the low sloping roof. The families instal themselves between the beams and the roof. They are separated from one another by cords stretched horizontally, over which no one may step without permission. Among the Orejones of Guiana, thirty persons may often be found in the palm-thatched hut. But the phalanstery arrangement is most marked in Central America, where, among the Paya Indians a whole village lives together in an oval house, some eighty feet long, and thirty wide. Among the Pavis of East Brazil, too, and the Guianas of South Brazil, single huts are inhabited by seventy souls; so that a whole tribe often reckons only three huts. But among the Tupis, Staden saw "long houses" of fifty yards and more in length. Meanwhile on the Rio Pardo single households occur again among the Mangojos.

Near the dwellings stands the hut with sacred vessels, trophies, and the like, where the priest resides. In order to prevent the women from catching sight of the sacred things, the Mehinacus on the Shingu make the entrance of these huts so low that you have to roll in.

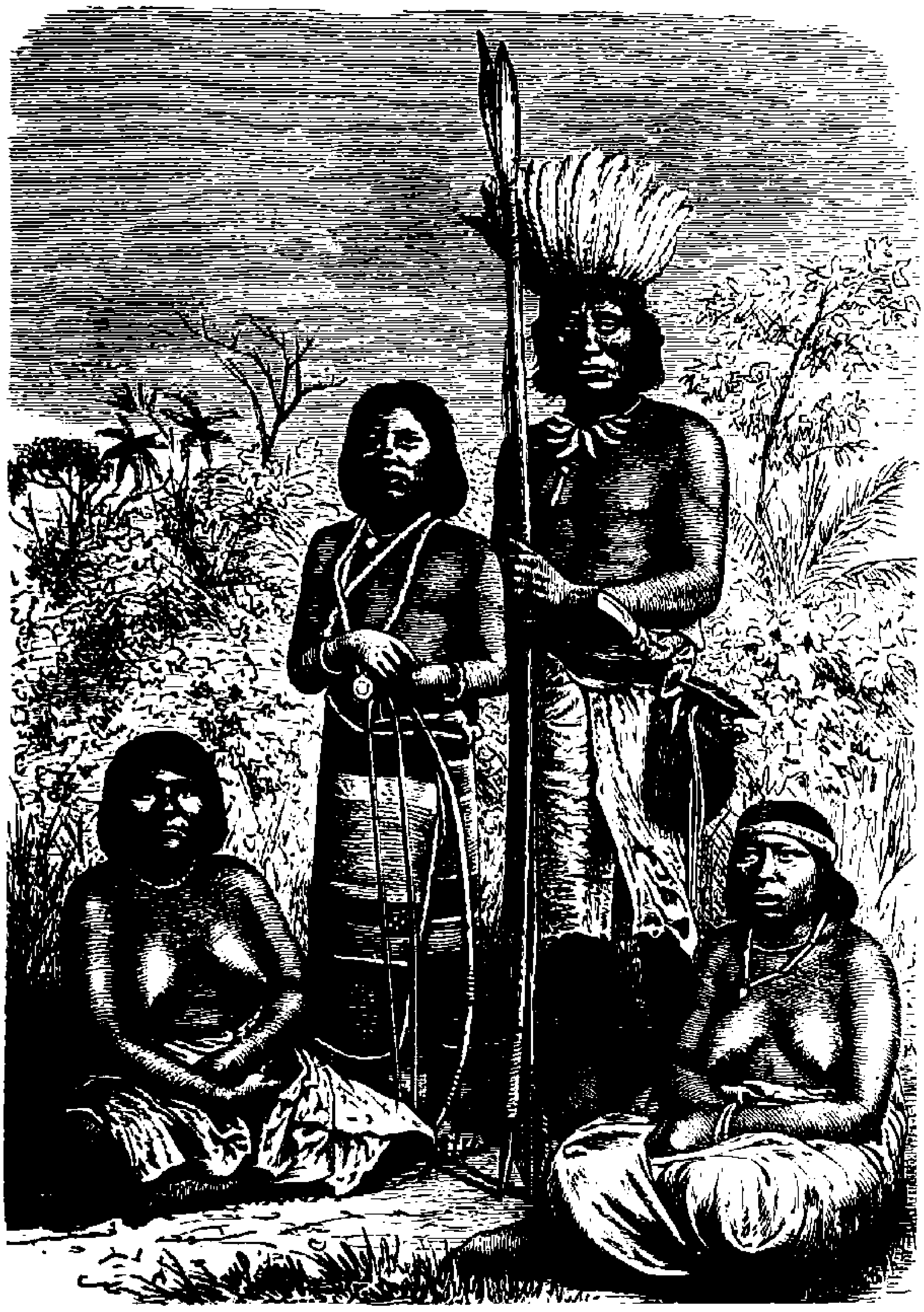
## § 25. THE PATAGONIANS.[1]

Old and modern races of the South American plains—The true Patagonians—Bodily characteristics—Ornament and clothing—Weapons; bow and *bolas*—Food—Cattle—Hunting—Huts and tents—Handicrafts—Political and military organisation.

BEFORE the European invasion, South America to the south of the tropic contained a population in many respects homogeneous. It occupied the entire region, with the exception of the mountainous parts, of Paraguay and South Brazil, and extended into the basins of the Paraguay and the Pilcomayo. It was so thinly scattered that in 1746 the Jesuit fathers Strobl and Cardiel travelled for several weeks southward from the Rio Negro, finding practically no men. The islanders of Tierra del Fuego, of the Chonos, and other islands on the south coast, usually called for short the Fuegians, appeared even to the first circumnavigators as an isolated group which, however, had extended itself even earlier along the south-west coast as far as Chiloe. But the remainder, the Patagonians in the wider sense of the term, consist of two stocks differing in language and bodily make, but less in religion and customs; of the true Patagonians, and of the Manzaneros, an offshoot of the Araucanians of Chili, whose settlements are in the direction of the Andes.

[1] It need hardly be observed that the Indians themselves know nothing of the term Patagonian. The Spaniards called them *Patagones* [say "beetle-crushers"], from their large footprints. Like all the larger racial groups, they have no collective name; but the names Tehuelches and Tsonecas refer to groups of great extent. The Patagonians who were exhibited some years ago in Europe had never heard of the former, but knew of Tsonecas and Patagonians. The word *Tehuelches* means south-east, but has gradually become the name of all northern Patagonians.

Besides the Tehuelche tribes, we have to distinguish among the nomad tribes of Patagonia and the Pampas various gradations, such as the Pehuenches ("forest folk"), Puelches ("northern folk"), and others. The real Patagonians, with the exception of the kindred non-riding Indians of eastern Tierra del Fuego, the tribe of the Onas, fall into two great stocks, northern and southern. They speak dialects of the same language. But those of the south seem on the average taller and better built, also more skilled in the use of the *bolas;* bow and arrow are there unknown. They represent the pure type of Indians, who, before the introduction of the horse, lived by hunting, fishing, and on the wild fruits of the prairie. To this day they are not as a rule mounted. It was among the southern Tehuelches, from the Santa Cruz river to Punta Arenas, that the Patagonian giants used to be looked for. From the Rio Negro to the Chupat we come across a group with a modified dialect, whose headquarters, before they began to be forced backward, was about Salinas, north of the Rio Negro. Roving as they sometimes do as far as the Santa Cruz river, they come into contact with the southern stock; and the two intermarry, though without abandoning their clan. To these no doubt belong also the Pehuenches of the Andes slopes. A third group is formed by the riding tribes extending beyond the tropic to the Gran Chaco. Their connection with the two southern groups is not one of blood for the most part, but due only to identity in the appliances of culture; it was Indians of another stock, mostly akin to the Guaramis, who first were in a position by means of their horses to spread over the Pampas as mounted nomads, and then becoming ever more nomadic, to



Cadiceos Indians: a Cacique with his son and two wives. (From a photograph belonging to Herr R. Rohde.)

surge back northwards. The type of them is found in the Ab[illegible] pressure of attacks, migrated southwards from the river Juate [illegible] to Paraguay, and afterwards came north again. Similarly the [illegible] Pampas may be traced like the Manzaneros to Chilian or Arauc[illegible] have absorbed a large part of the Pehuenches. They share with [illegible] the normal Indian middle-sized type, and have developed in their [illegible] Argentinians into a decided predatory race. Their original northern [illegible] to have lain near the River Plate.

Among the races of the South American plains there are some [illegible] of exceptionally lofty [illegible] the Tehuelches in the south, the Abipones and others in the north. Nomads are indeed often taller and stronger than agriculturists in the same district. The southern tribes are also darker than the northern, the men more so than the women; this may be due to sun and air. Stout persons are rare, well-grown persons by no means so, least of all among the Pampas Indians. The muscles of their arms are powerful enough to hurl the *bolas* quite seventy yards at a *rhea*. The marching power of the Tehuelches is gigantic, and they can go a long way without taking food. The Patagonian skull is deformed owing to the practice of pressing a child's head between boards; they say to prevent concussion in riding. Old Patagonian skulls are likewise misshapen, but it would seem in a different fashion.

Chief's son of the Tehuelche stock, from the Rio Grande in Argentina. (From a photograph.)

Beard, eyebrows, eyelashes, and so far as possible all hair on the body, are plucked out. Tonsures were formerly usual, while the women dressed their hair in the style of a cock's comb, and shaved the remainder of the skull; the hair being allowed to grow freely as a sign of mourning only. Nowadays the men set great store by their handsome masses of coarse hair, making the women brush it out daily with brushes made of pig's bristles or the hair of the ant-bear. Both sexes are tattooed—the marks borne by the Abipones being a cross on the forehead and three transverse lines from the eye to the ear. This is effected by rubbing ashes or a blue earth into incisions in the skin. Formerly girls at puberty were tattooed on face, arms, and breasts, with a copiousness proportioned to their station in life; but at present among the Patagonians the fore-arm only is tattooed. Among the southern tribes both sexes paint the face, and on occasion the rest of the body, with grease and red ochre, or black earth.

The men's clothing has in the last century adopted much from Europe; but under all circumstances the *chiripa*, a kind of drawers fastened round the loins, is worn. The Tehuelches think a good deal about propriety, and do not like to see even little children go naked; nor is it till we reach the Payaguas of Paraguay that we meet with offensive nudity. The rest of the wardrobe is represented by a cloak of guanaco-skin or horse-hide, warm and roomy, with the hairy side in, and painted red, yellow, blue, black, or white on the outside. In former times the body was covered from head to foot by two cloths, one tied over the left shoulder as underclothing, the other knotted round the neck as a scarf. Boots, reaching to above the knee, are made of tanned horse-hide or from the skin of a large puma's foot. The full hair is commonly held together by a coloured net; but a hat is readily worn when it can be got.

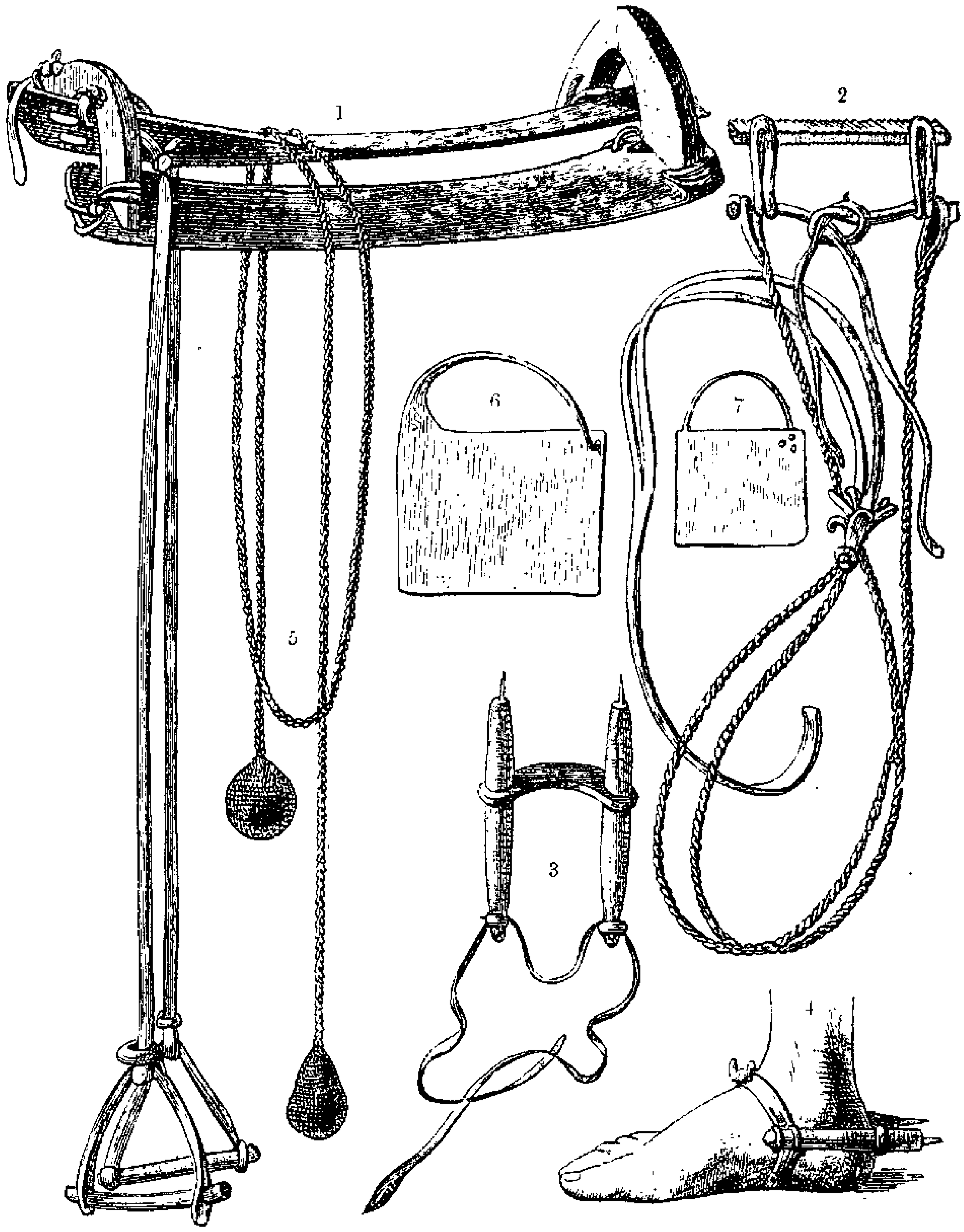
Women's dress has remained closer to the old fashion, consisting of a cloak, fastened round the neck with a silver brooch or pin, and below it a sack-like garment hanging from the shoulders to the hips; the children also have cloaks. The habit of sticking little rods or tubes of stone, bone, or brass in the under-lip, and of immoderately stretching the lobe of the ear by means of thick rolls of leaves, or of plugs, was usual among the northern Abipones till they became Christian.

The Patagonians of both sexes have worn silver ornaments ever since trade has made silver accessible. The women and the men too like to wear large square earrings and silver necklaces; and generally silver ornaments are popular wherever room can be found for them. For this purpose the Patagonians work up silver dollars very cleverly, though their tools, which were formerly of stone only, are still primitive.

The weapons of these nomads are not the bow and arrows which elsewhere are in use among riding and pastoral races, but the javelin, the *bolas*, and the lasso, from which the *bolas* seems to have arisen. This weapon in its old form, which may still be found in use among Indians, consisted of two stone balls, grooved to hold the leather thongs; the modern form is two large balls and one small, with no groove, but sewn up in the leather. In throwing, the small one is held in the hand. In the sixteenth century the Guaranis used the *bolas*, which are found buried in the Campos of South Brazil, and even in the forest regions of the Rio Grande. To this day the gauchos or pastoral half-breeds of Argentina possess such mastery over the lasso that they prefer it to firearms. Small *bolas* are used for birds, larger for men and animals. *Bolas perdidas* are balls without thongs, as a rule roughly wrought. The Araucanian javelin is over 16 feet long, and very light, the shaft consisting of a tall bamboo-like reed growing in the Cordillera, called *chusque colen*. The Abipones wear doublets of deer-skin. South of the Rio Negro bows are never found, though as far as the Guaranis of the Uruguay river it was the chief weapon. But prehistoric arrow-heads are found in quantities on the Pampas, and "prehistoric" here may be comparatively recent. *Bolas*, though they may be found in Rio Grande and Uruguay, and seem to have been carried still further north by the Campos Indians, must not be confused with stone sinkers for nets or weights for digging-sticks, which are especially frequent in Chili. Similar stones were also used in a game like bowls.

Meat is the chief article of food, horse-flesh among the Pehuenches. If Dobrizhoffer can speak of Spaniards in the River Plate country who had never tasted corn in their lives, how much more natural must it be for Indians to rely

on game and their flocks? Such few vegetables as they use are gathered by the women in the forest and in the open; *araucaria* seeds to eat, the pith of a thistle (as Schmiedel found) to quench thirst, *berberis* berries to make an intoxicating drink. The Patagonians do not take their meals regularly, but only when their appetite moves them; but when they have plenty to eat, they eat plenty. In the semi-tropical superabundance of the Chaco region one may live more luxuriously. The

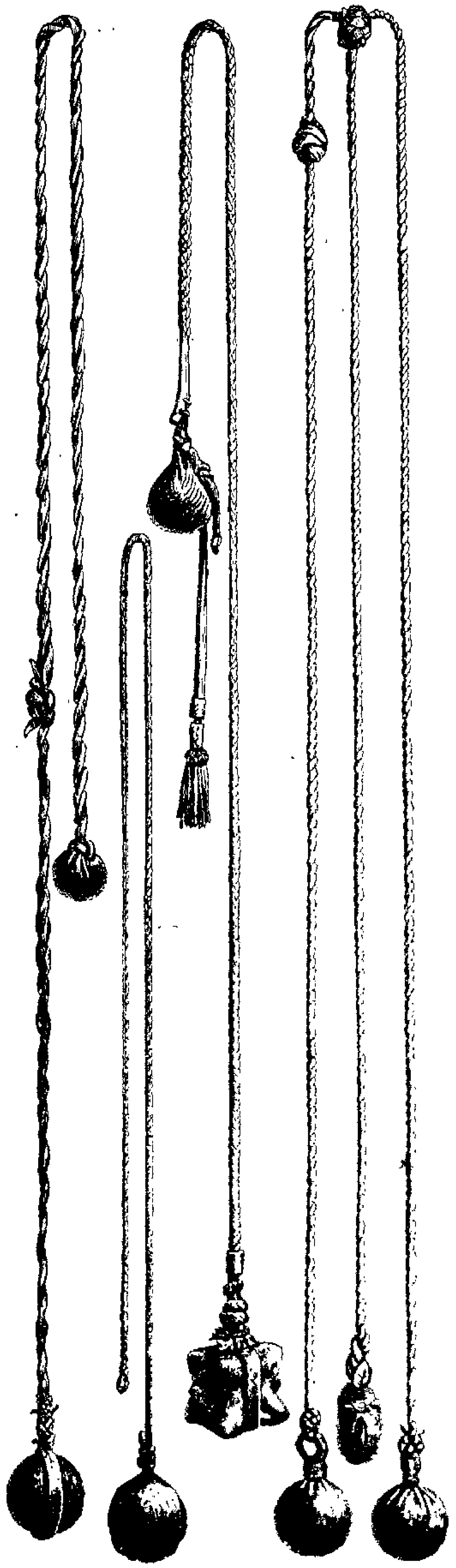



Patagonian ornaments and riding-gear: 1, Saddle; 2, bit; 3, 4, spurs; 5, *bolas*; 6, 7, ear ornaments. (After Wood.)

Pampas Indians, who are rich in horses, eat them when they grow old or fall ill; and for months together captured horses form their sustenance. While the kindred Mataguayos, who live further north on the Jujuy, subsist mainly on fish, the Tehuelches, Musters says, were first taught to fish by him. Shell-mounds on the coast are evidence of the important position once held for these races by sea-creatures of all kinds. Banks of shells containing stone weapons follow the coast of Southern Chili, of the south-western islands and of Patagonia, and are especially abundant about the River Plate and north from it.

Agriculture was doubtless carried on only locally. It maintained itself

among the Tobas and their kindred on the Gran Chaco, but was regarded, according to Pöppig, even among the Pehuenches of Antuco as discreditable. The introduction of the horse still further repressed it, since hunting and raiding were made easier thereby and a settled life was less necessary. Certain tribes appropriated herds of horses, sheep, or cattle, without becoming regular breeders; thus the great masses of cattle which the Pampas Indians seized in frontier wars with the Argentinians were always killed or allowed to perish in a short time. In Pöppig's time, an important trade in salt from the plains was carried on by a Pehuenche tribe with Antuco, but it has long since slipped out of their hands.


Patagonian *bolas*—one-seventh real size. (British Museum.)

Technical dexterity is shown chiefly in the preparation of skins for clothing; large cloaks, like the African *kaross*, are made of guanaco or horse-hides sewn together. The Pehuenche's bags for goods are of cow-hide. Metal was unknown before the days of Europeans; even in Southern Chili copper was not found in use. Nevertheless the numerous arrow-heads and other prehistoric weapons give no great evidence of proficiency. Among the northern Tobas, the Abipones, and such like tribes, spinning and weaving used formerly to be universal among the women, the fibre being obtained from the bast of a tree. At present the dwellings of the nomad tribes of the South American plains are either leather tents with a framework of cane, or huts of brushwood, both being called *toldos*. "Long-houses" inherited by a whole kindred, existed formerly among the northern tribes.

In spite of their warlike character, political organisation is often loose. The petty chiefs of clans often fight for their own hand. But in most cases the popular assembly decides. These meetings are apt to be very tumultuous, when heads get heated by spirits and strong tobacco, as we find to this day among the Pehuenches. White renegades and mestizos have brought about a better type of military organisation, uniform equip-

ment with the long spear and *bolas*, trained leaders and subalterns, and a certain degree of orderly movement. Formerly, owing to weakness or want of cohesion among the settlers, raids used to be practicable, in which thousands of square miles were swept clean ; but since the advance of the Argentine frontier towards the south, a new page has been turned over. Of late there has been a cry in favour of assigning a reservation to the miserable remains of the Tehuelches, to save them from rapid extermination at the hands of marauding whites. The ceremonial of concluding peace between kindred tribes of the northern Tehuelches had also a military character. Bunches of string, recalling the *quipus* of the Peruvians, coloured red when intended to convey the threat of speedy vengeance, announce that an injured tribe demands compensation from another. Individual tribes keep their territories strictly separate, and no stranger may set foot in the district of another tribe without permission. Among the warriors, the system of the *laka*, or pair of brothers-in-arms united till death, has grown up somewhat like a similar custom in Fiji. The kin system with exogamy, "mother-right," or female supremacy, seems to have survived only as traces.

## § 26. THE FUEGIANS[1]

The South American Archipelago—Nature—Useful plants and animals—Inhabited and uninhabited districts—Racial affinities—Dress, ornament, weapons, implements—Food—Cannibalism—Barter—Family—Society—Polity—Traces of intellectual power.

WITH Darwin, we may describe Tierra del Fuego as "a mountainous land, partly submerged in the sea, so that deep inlets and bays occupy the place where valleys should exist." Cook had already been reminded by it of the Norway fiords. "The mountain sides," adds Darwin, "except on the exposed western coast, are covered from the water's edge upwards by one great forest. The trees reach to an elevation of between 1000 and 1500 feet, and are succeeded by a band of peat with minute alpine plants ; and this again is succeeded by the line of perpetual snow." The peaty ground everywhere appears, even in flat places in the lower parts of the country ; but the mountainous character is so marked that level ground seldom occurs, even quite near the shore. It is difficult to penetrate into the interior ; the isolated Fuegian families keep almost entirely to the coast, and have hardly any intercourse with each other. The forest consists of little besides an evergreen beech (*Fagus betuloides*) with small leaves of "a brownish-green colour, with a tinge of yellow" ; giving to the great extent of forest "a sombre, dull appearance." Nor is it often enlivened by the rays of the sun. The forest is interrupted not by rocks and glaciers only, but also by natural meadows, and would be no obstacle to cultivation ; indeed the grassy clearings have been asserted to be relics of Spanish attempts at agriculture.

The climate, south of about latitude 50°, is abnormally cold, damp, and

[1] The names Tierra del Fuego and Fuegian are explained in two ways : either from the fires which, owing to the cold, the people always carry in their canoes, or from the fires on land. When Fitzroy went up the Beagle Channel, the natives lighted fires everywhere, either to draw attention to themselves, or to carry tidings of the new experience. This would show a more intimate connection between the tribes than is generally assumed.

windy. The winter is like that of Central Europe, the summer like that of Northern Norway. The most disagreeable effect is that produced by the stormy weather, which, owing to a low barometrical mean, makes Magellan's Straits and Cape Horn so much dreaded.

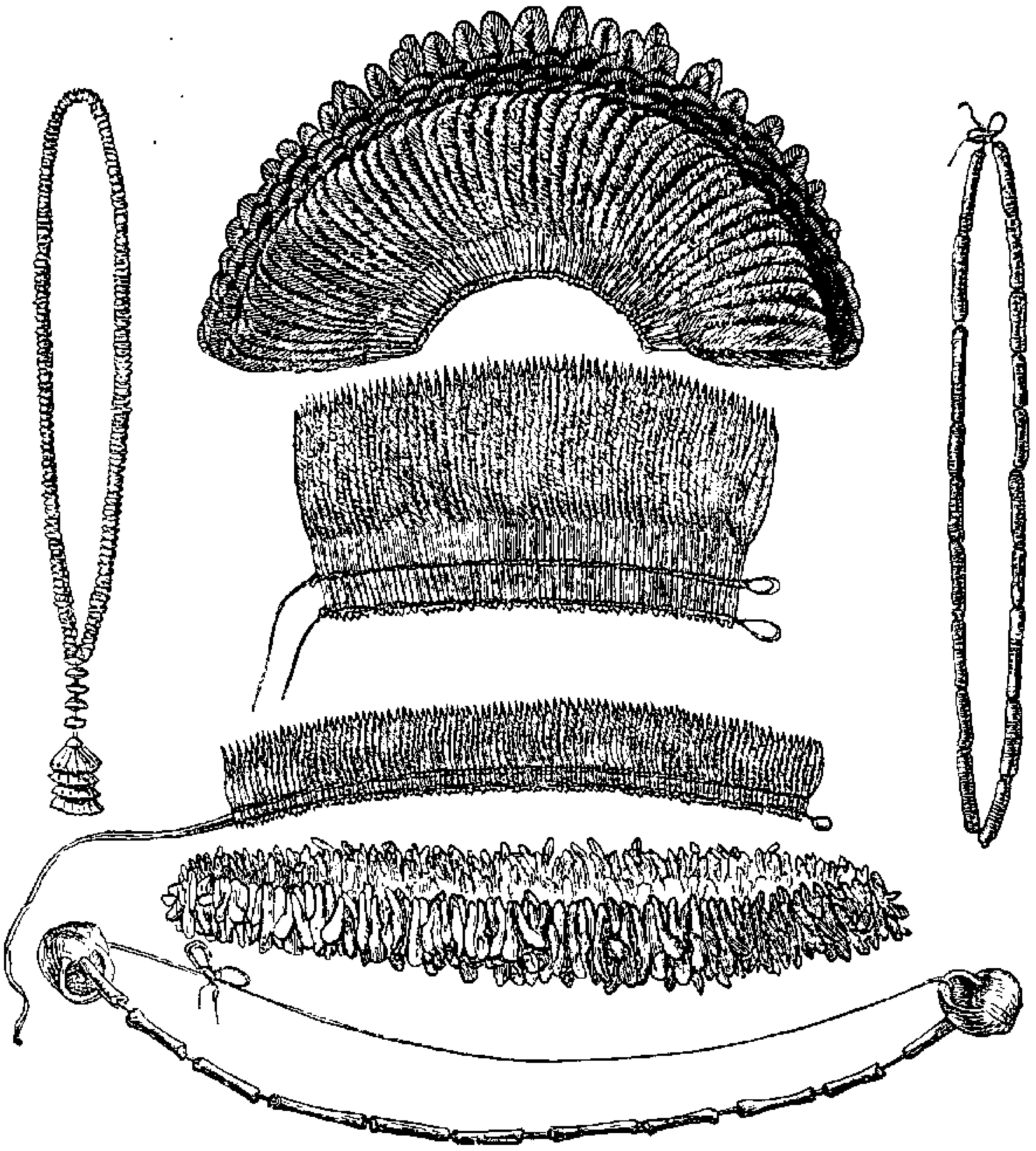
The plants with edible berries which occur in the underwood of the Fuegian

Landscape in Tierra del Fuego, with canoes, paddles, harpoons, lances. (Hagenbeck Collection, Hamburg.)

forests are currant, barberry, an arbutus, also a trailing blackberry, and the pleasantly-flavoured *Myrtus memmolaria.* The use of wild celery and scurvy-grass has not yet been discovered by the natives; nor is any of the numerous grasses used. The woods employed for weapons and utensils are, in Tierra del Fuego proper, beech and magnolia (*drimys*), and among the Chonos *libocedrus* also. Baskets are woven of rushes; *berberis* and *maytenus* afford slender sticks for arrow-shafts. Many ground-funguses are eaten raw, also two tree-funguses; *Cyttaria Darwinii*, a globular species growing on beech-stems, is eaten raw in

great quantities by women and children. If we except New Zealand with its tuberous fern, there can be no place on earth where the lowest orders of plant-life are so much eaten as here.

The land fauna is poor, that of the sea abundant. The guanaco, one species of stag, and two of foxes, inhabit only the dry eastern districts. The most important game of the Fuegians are the sea-lion, sea-otter, and walrus. Shell-fish and crabs hold a prominent place in their food, more now than formerly. The sea-lions have now become very scarce; *arctocephalus* is only found on inaccessible cliffs.



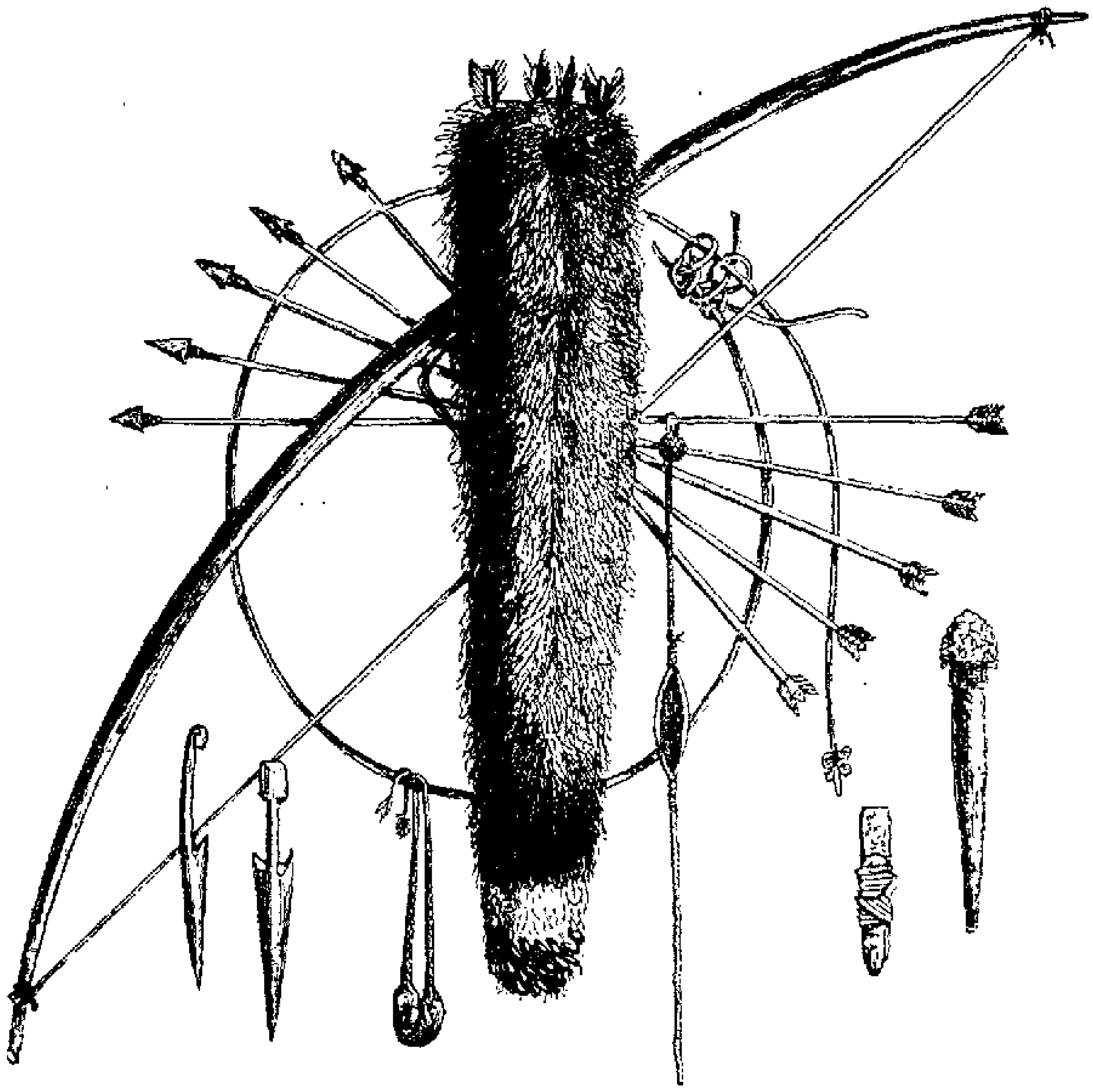
Fuegian feather-crowns ; also necklaces of bones, teeth, and shells. (Hagenbeck Collection.)

These destitute shores are inhabited by a scanty population, whose entire numbers cannot be estimated as more than 15,000. The majority live on fish, and therefore settle on the coast. The Onas alone extend over to eastern Tierra del Fuego on account of the guanacos, and we leave them here out of account. Large districts are uninhabited ; not so, however, the whole archipelago from Chiloe southward. The population being thin, a considerable human ebb and flow is possible here ; and the Chonos Islanders live at one time in the islands, at another on the mainland. Caves with mummies and stone weapons have been found on the Guaytecas, which passed for uninhabited ; and in 1872 Captain Simpson found there a family whose appearance reminded him of the Indians of Chiloe.

The Fuegians have, for a long time, been represented as the lowest of all races. We need not recall the tailed men of the old charts ; but few ethnographers from Malthus to Darwin have doubted that we have in them "a race peaceable indeed, but brutish in the extreme." Yet from a purely physical point of view, the Fuegians do not represent a lower race than any other group of Mongoloids. Of a party measured by Virchow, the tallest man was 5 ft. 5 in., the shortest woman just under 5 ft. In regard to the capacities of their disposition and intellect, the estimate of them has increased with nearer acquaintance. Though depressed by the wretchedness of their situation, the Fuegians are at the bottom Indians like all the others ; perhaps even somewhat more apathetic than the

average. The unsatisfactory results of missions cannot be taken as evidence against them.

Clothing does not become any better or more copious with the less genial climate; rather poorer and more inadequate. At times they wear only a square piece of sealskin falling over one shoulder, which can be shifted from side to side as a protection from the weather; but this is the first thing to be bartered away. An elementary loin-cloth seems to be generally worn. The first visitors found beautiful cloaks of penguin skins, but these, with the bird, have long disappeared. Among the Yaghans of the Fuegian coast, who also are exposed to still more inclement weather, the women wear, besides the little skin mantle, a piece of cloth about the hips; but among the Alikulufs, Bove saw not a single guanaco skin. Men as well as women adorn themselves with strings of bivalve or *dentalium*-shells, and with feather ornaments, with necklaces and armlets of sealskins. On the necklaces they hang bits of glass or iron, keys, large shells, and so on. Sometimes they paint their faces black with charcoal, or encrust them with white wood-ashes. Among the Chonos, the men regularly have a tooth missing.

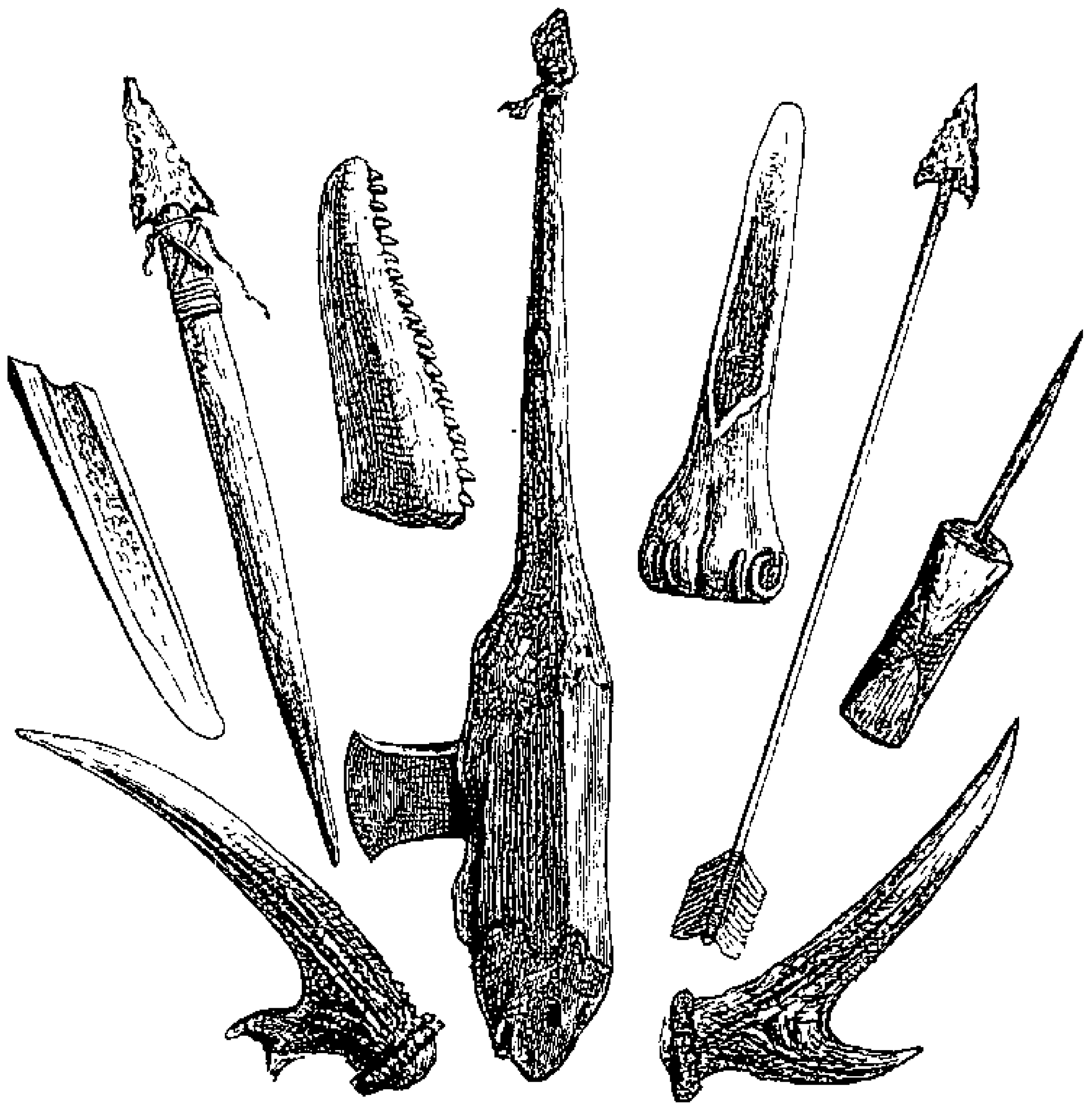


Fuegian weapons of the chase: bow, arrows, quiver, knife, sling—one-ninth real size. (Hagenbeck Collection.)

The huts which Fitzroy found near Port Santa Maria were by no means wretched. Slender poles were stuck into the ground in a circular or oval form, and bent together above to form a conical framework, which was covered with boughs or skins so as to leave two openings, one toward the sea, one toward the forest. The Chonos huts may be compared to elongated hayricks. The stories of excavated sleeping-holes and the like, which have been told, among others by Darwin, whose descriptions of the Fuegians are not altogether unprejudiced, apply in any case only to exceptional circumstances. Bove indeed mentions as existing among the Yaghans, besides the dwelling huts, smaller huts for superstitious purposes, and others for amorous couples.

To the Fuegian, his canoe is almost more important than his hut; for in it he usually spends the greatest part of his day, and often enough day and night as well. To the constant squatting in narrow boats must be ascribed a certain weakness of the lower extremities, though there is no occasion to talk of universal

bow-leggedness; the breast, shoulders, and arms are all the more powerfully developed. The Yaghan boats, as shown on p. 85, are made of birch-bark, carelessly fastened by ropes of rush. As they are not water-tight, the occupant has to be always baling. At evening the boat is hauled ashore. The Chonos boat again is rough. A plank some twenty feet long, and two wide, turned up at both ends, forms the floor, four others of somewhat less breadth compose the sides, and are attached to each other by strings made of *Campsidium chilense*. Caulking is performed by filling the seams with bark. Two paddles with broad blades propel the always leaky canoe; a young woman steers, an old one bales. A clay fire-place amidships is hardly ever absent.



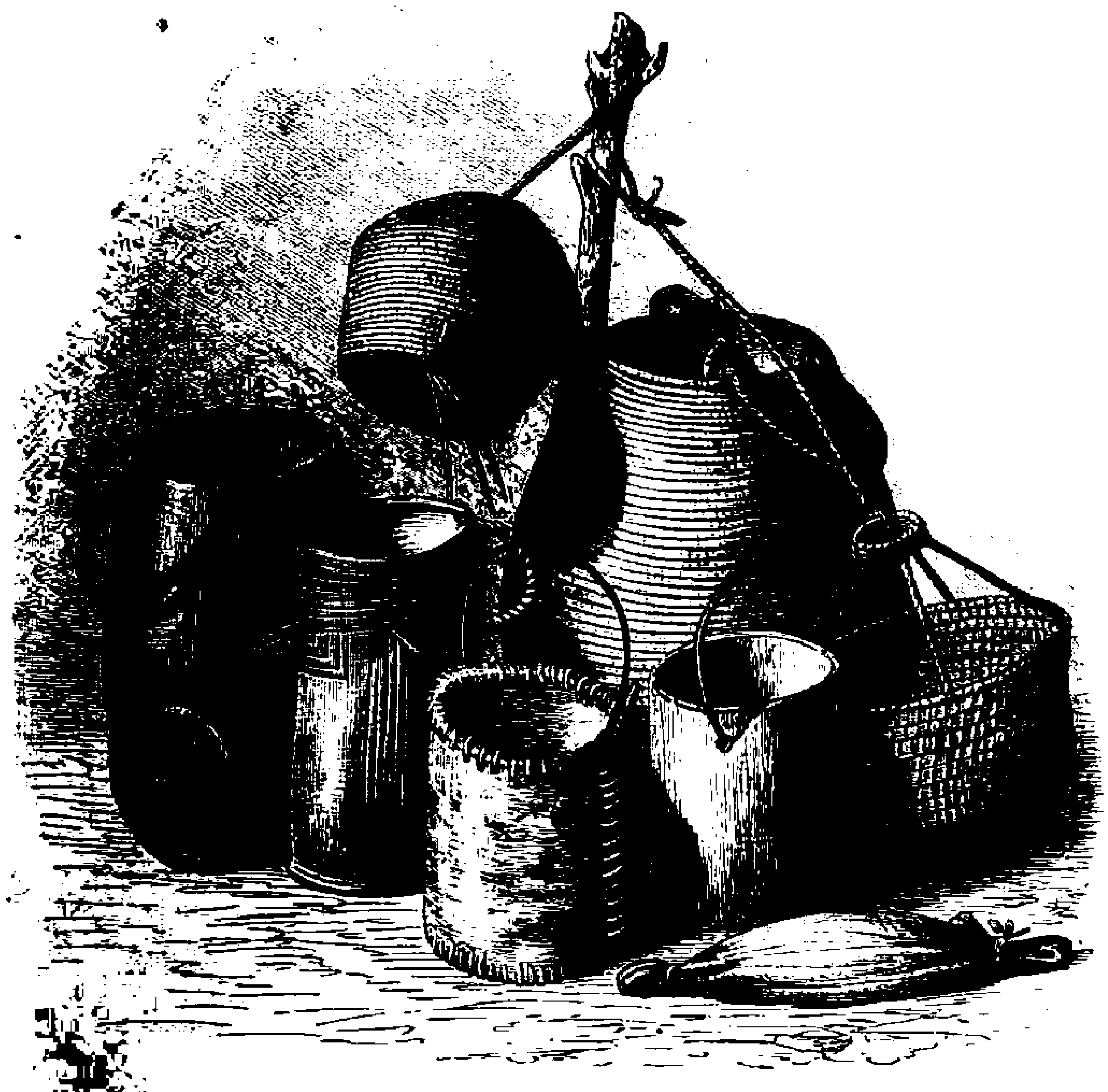
Fuegian tools and weapons of bone and horn. (Hagenbeck Collection.)

The weapons are largely of a sort adapted to the pursuit of sea-lions and large fish. The harpoon-shaft is 8 to 10 feet long, of beech or magnolia wood, among the Chonos also of *libocedrus*. The fore-part, which is thickest, carries a head of whale's bone, attached to which is a line 12 fathoms in length, with seals' bones threaded on it. The fish-spear, about 10 feet long, made of the same woods, has a long sharply-toothed bone for its head. Small birds are killed with the sling at 25 to 30 yards. The knife has a shell blade and a round stone for a handle, the two bound with a strip of hide. But since the visits of European and American vessels iron knives and axes have come into use. Once only Coppinger found a stone axe, and that in an old rubbish-heap. Iron is most plentiful among the Alikulufs. Bows, arrows, and knives are still the weapons of the Onas, but less of the Yaghans and Chonos. Arrow-heads are now made mostly from bottle-glass, perhaps got by barter from the Patagonians. The Fuegian arrow-heads are set firm in the shaft; not, as Lubbock has it, loose in order that they may stay in the wound. There seems to be no distinction between arrows for hunting and for war. The bow is of magnolia or beech, simply bent; the string obtained from the sea-lion. Arrow-shafts are usually of the Fuegian *berberis* or the *maytenus*—the name of which means "arrow-shaft" in Yaghan—and so shaped that the stick, when smoothed, is somewhat thicker in the middle. The Alikulufs make their arrows less carefully in every respect; the heads are smaller, the shafts rougher, the fastening less secure. The Onas and Alikulufs both use quivers of sealskin. Oliver van Noort speaks of a weapon like the *bolas*, not mentioned by later observers.

Artistic skill is at a very low level here; it has not got much beyond

the manufacture of plaited baskets and shell-necklaces. On the other hand, the art of shaping flint into arrow and spear heads by flaking it with nothing better than a bone tool has survived in Tierra del Fuego after it has elsewhere mostly become extinct. Pottery and the art of working in iron are unknown, though iron has long been in demand. Cylindrical vessels made of the bark of *Drimys Winteri* (as shown in the next cut), serve to hold water. Definite conceptions of barter prevail among the Fuegians. What they like best is iron, red cloth, and blue beads: blue and white beads have recently become a favourite medium of trade.

The main source of the Fuegian's food is the sea. For the major part of the



[illegible] and vessels of wood, bark, leather, rushes, and bladder—one-sixth real size. (Hagenbeck Collection.)

year he lives on molluscs, especially mussels and limpets. Occasionally a seal is caught, or the small otter (*Lutra felina*) or a coypu (*myopotamus*). The Chonos capture [illegible] sea-lions (*otaria*) at the breeding-places. The Yaghans seldom kill a guanaco, [illegible] a wolf, but this they never eat, only using the skin. Cuttle-fish, [illegible] many kinds of fish are not despised. Shell-fish are eaten raw, fish [illegible] or fried with fat or train-oil in a shell. According to Lovisato the [illegible] take a bite out of every fish behind the gills—possibly a [illegible] the eating of uncooked meat the strength of the masticating [illegible] to be referred, in which respect the Fuegian skull shows a [illegible] to the Eskimo. Spirituous drinks and tobacco are got only

from passing vessels. The women bear a valuable part in obtaining the means of sustenance. The scanty nutritious plants have already been mentioned.

They get fire by striking two fragments of iron pyrites together; the spark is received in the down of birds, and blown to a flame from which small dry brushwood is kindled. The pyrites comes from Clarence Island, a proof of somewhat active intercourse. Whether, as we might think, the method was introduced by Europeans is not known.

Though the sea fauna about Tierra del Fuego is not much scantier than elsewhere, it does not prevent the frequent occurrence of terrible famine. Under these conditions cannibalism is assuredly not far off; but in justice to the Fuegians

A Fuegian family. (From a photograph.)

it must be emphatically stated that some of the most trustworthy witnesses clear them of this charge. At any rate they are not customary cannibals, such as are found among Negroes and Malays. As regards Darwin's often-repeated tale of their feasting upon old women, it is certain that old men and women not only live in Fuegian families, but are treated with respect.

Fuegian women have easy and frequent confinements, but infant mortality is high. Newly born children seem to be dipped in the sea immediately after birth; and they are named from their birthplace. The children are carried in a skin-pouch on their mothers' backs, and treated with maternal affection; but this disappears as they grow up. Older observers were astonished at the nonchalance with which members of a family parted; and special stress was laid on the hard-

hearted manner in which men refused food to their hungry wives, fathers to their children. Marriage is polygamous when possible. The numbers of the men must be less than that of the women. The latter procure a great part of the food, and get less of it than the men; at certain times women may only eat fish. Marriage is concluded by the presentation of canoe, harpoon, and lance to the bridegroom by the bride, while he gives her skins. Both retain their own names.

Families exist with distinctive names and definite places of abode. The greatest number of Fuegians that Bove saw was some hundreds, assembled at the mission to receive food and clothing. Otherwise they go about in groups never exceeding twelve persons or so. These sleep in one and the same hut, and it is probable that among them close relations prevail. These three men, five women, and four children, may probably represent the family. It is only among the hunting tribe, the Onas, that the leadership is given to the strongest. The Yakomushes of the Yaghans, in whom Fitzroy wrongly saw the chiefs, are witch-doctors, who, in spite of the luxuriance of superstition, get more contempt than reverence.

Hardly any race has been so much under-estimated as the Fuegians in respect of intellectual capacity. Their whole life is so wretched that it would seem useless even to speak of any spark of higher intuition. Yet it would better correspond with the facts to lay special emphasis on the way in which, in spite of all this, the rites of the dead are here as faithfully observed and as thoroughly performed as among opulent nations. The souls of the departed wander in the forests; the scream of a bird, a cracking glacier, every noise that cannot be explained is a ghost calling. It is hard to decide how far their thought passes beyond this to busy itself with a deity and a future life. They are said to possess no idols, amulets, or such-like things, but they distinguish between good and bad spirits. The Yaghans have an evil spirit who afflicts them with rain, snow, and storm. Many customs point to the fear of punishment by higher powers; for instance, various rules concerning food and abstinence. They have a curious dread of whirlpools.

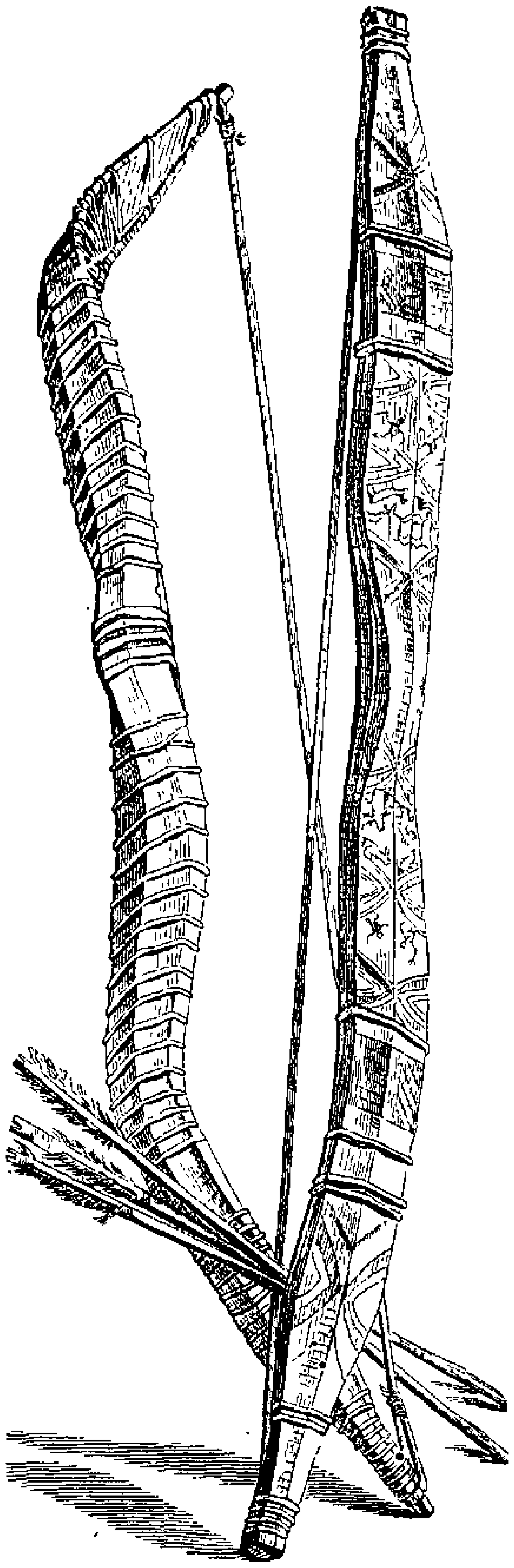
## § 27. THE INDIANS OF NORTH-WEST AMERICA

General subject—Habitations—Dress and ornament; the lip-plug; tattooing; masks—Weapons—Hunting-canoes and wigwams—Trade; fisheries; agriculture; cookery—Decorative art.

THE races occupying the district which stretches from the most southerly outliers of the Eskimo to California, and between the Pacific Ocean and the north-west ranges of the Rocky Mountains, form a special branch of the great American family. While agreeing with the rest of it in their main features, they part from it as regards certain details of their mode of life in a direction which points to a nearer affinity with the Arctic and Polynesian races. They have always been exposed to foreign influence, even before the visits of the Spanish, the English, and the Russians, not to mention Hawaiian ships' crews and French Canadians, each of whom have affected the conditions until we find in British Columbia whole tribes of hybrids speaking a *Lingua franca*, compounded of Chinook, English,

Chinese, Hawaiian, and French. It is just these external circumstances that have united people of North-West America into a group distinguished from the main race of the North American Indians by the name Nootka-Columbians.

Their homes lie along the deeply-cleft coast from Mount St. Elias to California. This border territory is no less favoured by climate than the coasts of Norway, and its enormous wealth of fish allows its inhabitants to enjoy a pampered existence, which has perhaps contributed to make their arts flourish. None of the tribes extend eastwards over the Rocky Mountains, nor do the Indians of the interior interfere with them. For this reason the North-Western Americans display, in outward appearance as well as in character, many points of difference from their inland kindred ; their noses are flatter, their lips thicker, their faces broader, their chins better developed. Their skulls are by no means uniform, but the percentages of long and short heads show little variation in individual tribes. The number and variety of languages is all the more noticeable. The most northern tribe is considered to be the Thlinkeets or Koloshes on the coast of Alaska—tall, brown, talented people. Nearly akin are the Haidas of Queen Charlotte Island and the Prince of Wales archipelago. Further south we find the Tsimshians on the Ross and Skeena Rivers, the Kwakiotls on the Gardner Canal, the Chinooks on the Columbia, the Nootkas or Wakashans on the west coast of Vancouver's Island, and numerous others. Most of these linguistically connected groups break up again into smaller tribes with dialects of their own ; but their ethnological identity is in unmistakable contrast to any subdivision of this kind. We propose here to consider the external side of their life and their artistic production ; in the domain of social life and religion they can be comprised with the other Americans.

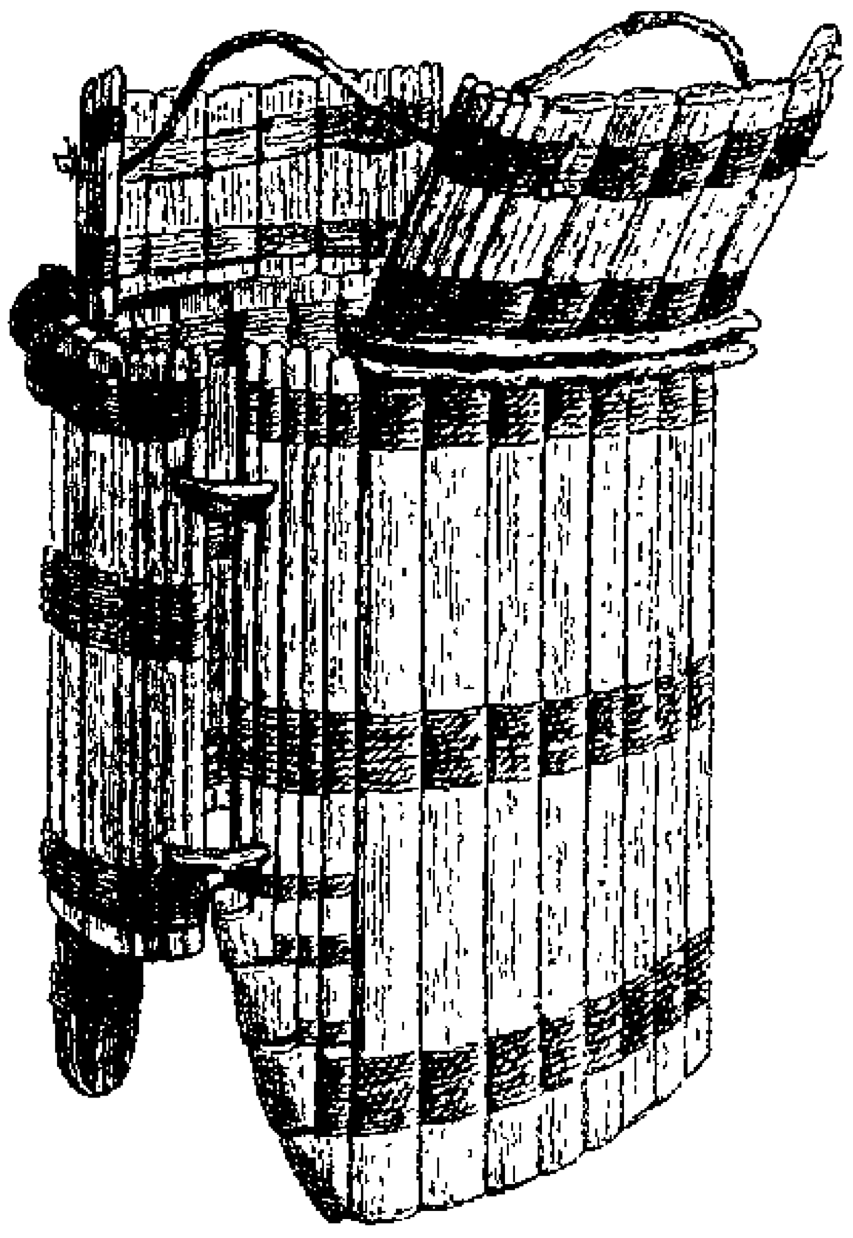


Bows and arrows of the North-West American Indians. (Frankfort Museum.)

Both sexes wear a smock or cloak, adorned above with a narrow strip of fur, below with fringes or tassels. The material is supplied by the bark of a useful conifer, the "red cedar" (*Juniperus virginiana*) or by that of a birch. The cloak passes under the left arm and over the right shoulder, where it is fastened with two strings. It hangs to the knee, the right side often being open, or with the edges merely in contact, and is kept together by a belt of coarse plait or woollen cloth. Over it is worn a poncho, formerly woven from wild goats' or dogs' hair, edged with a fringe, and covering the arms to the elbows and the body to the waist ; now a blanket is more usual, and of these some chiefs have a store amounting to thousands. The loose garment of bear, wolf, or sea-otter skin,

thrown over all, has disappeared. The head-gear is a cap shaped like a truncated cone or an inverted flower-pot, woven like a fine mat of grass, variously painted and sometimes adorned with a button or with leathern tassels, which is tied under the chin. When it rains, the men throw a coarse mat over their shoulders. As the whole body is constantly rubbed with paint made of red ochre and oil, the raiment also acquires its share of grease and rancid smell. Generally cleanliness is not one of the virtues of these races.

Besides the everyday dress, there is one for festivities. To this belong the bear or wolf skins, girt in the usual way, but edged with broad strips of other fur, or sewn with home-made woollen cloth of flowered pattern; also rugs of goat's hair embroidered with mythological figures. The head-dress consists of a quantity of bast or half-beaten bark, which these people wind round their heads as the Polynesians do their strips of *tapa*. In this are stuck a mass of large feathers, especially eagles' feathers, or else it is sprinkled evenly all over with fine white down. The upper and lower halves of the face are painted each in a separate colour, so that the brush-streaks often look like recent wounds, or they are smeared with coloured tallow, in which a number of regular figures are drawn.



Cuirass made of wooden laths and rods, said to be from Nootka Sound, probably Thlinkeet—one-sixth real size. (British Museum.)

At times some divide their hair into little tufts, tied up with twine; others let it hang loose; others again tie it at the nape of the neck, and stick in twigs of cypress. Among the Haidas short hair is also found; a fashion which among the people of Nootka Sound is held a disgrace, fit for slaves only. Young Nootkas pluck out the beard. The filing of the teeth down to the gum has been referred to the habit of eating sandy fish and shell-fish, but more probably is the result of deliberate deformation. Tattooing was formerly much commoner, especially among the Chinooks; but the face and other parts of the body are painted black as a protective against the dazzling snow or the glowing heat of the fire, and also to enhance personal charms. Red paint is employed at feasts, in hunting, and on the war-path; white sometimes to give a repulsive or hideous appearance.

To adorn themselves they not only make a large opening in the ear-lobe, but also two or more in the outer rim of the ear somewhat higher up. In these are hung carved bones, teeth, quills sewn on a leather band, little snail shells, sharks' teeth, wool tassels, or thin plates of copper. More recently the Chinooks have worn whole strings of glass beads in their ears. Many also pass a thin string through the cartilage of the nose, on which are hung thin plates of iron, copper, or brass in the shape of a horse-shoe. Silver has become popular owing to trade; armlets and rings of native workmanship are more valued than gold, and are worn on the arm and on all the fingers. Formerly the north-western tribes used only to wear armlets of white beads cut from a shell-like substance, bundles of thongs with tassels, or a broad black shiny ring made from horn. The ankles also are adorned with crimped thongs or thick twisted sinews. Among some tribes

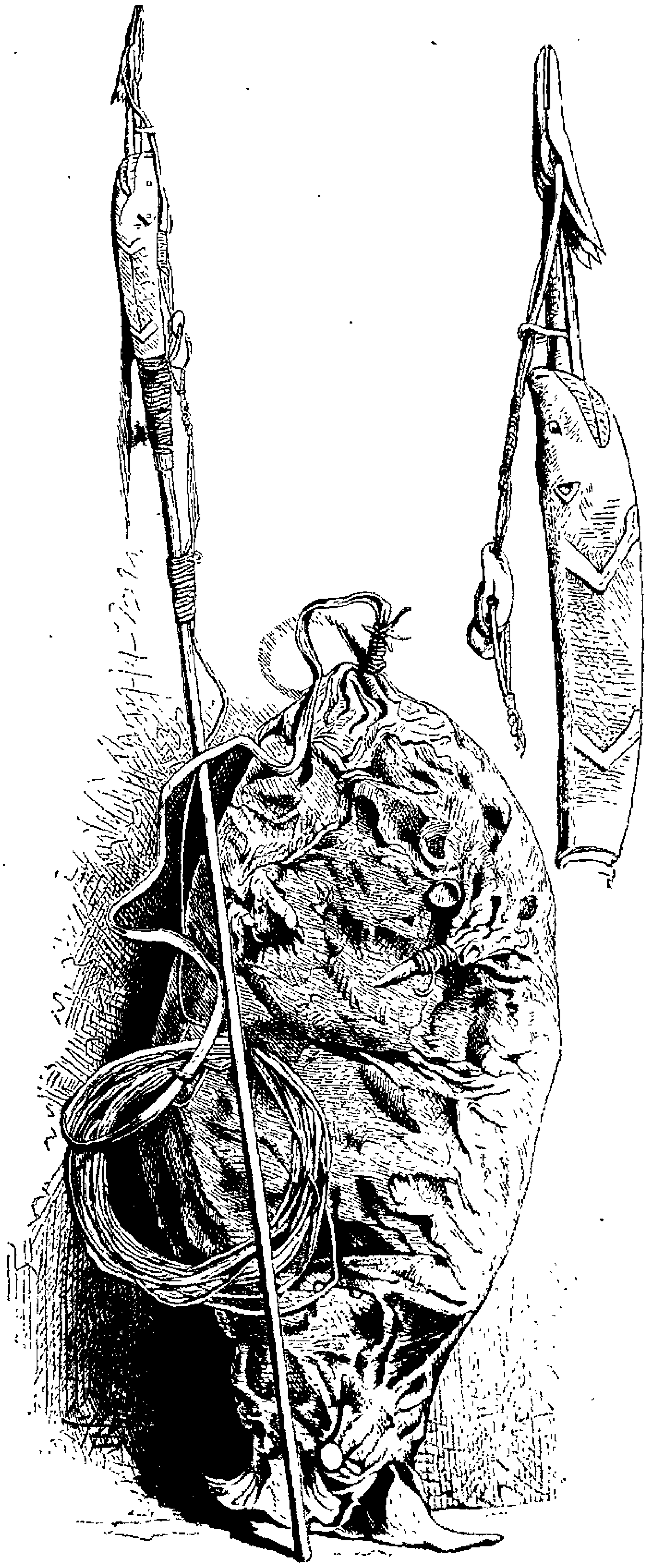
a plug in the lower lip is also usual. It used to be made of wood, as large as a dessert-spoon, broad and flat; but now, except in old women, it is a mere peg of silver. This is obviously a gift from the Eskimo; among the Thlinkeets this peg, furnished with a button, just as among the Eskimo of King William Sound, is merely pressed against the gum of free-born girls when they attain the age of puberty. Among the Haidas it was once larger and more general, commonly made of wood, and seems to have been worn by all women; now most of them have given up even the silver tube. The southern tribes do not have the lip-plug; it only extends to Millbank Sound. Women too are perhaps subjected more often than men to the deformation of the skull immediately after birth, by which it is made to take in some cases a flat, in others a conical or sugar-loaf shape. It is universal among the Chinooks, frequent among the Nootkas, rare among the Haidas; thus decreasing from south to north. Some tribes, like the Ahts, have given it up since they have been in contact with white men.

The weapons of the north-western Indians used to be bows and arrows in the first place, then slings, pikes, one to five yards in length, short bone clubs, like the New Zealand *mere*, and a small axe, similar to the tomahawk. The pikes usually had a long bone point; the arrows, bone heads with barbs; but even in Cook's time the Thlinkeets had procured iron knives either from the south or from the Asiatic coasts, and in some isolated cases had made iron arrow-heads. Russian and English firearms—the Americans forbid the export to these parts of breech-loaders—are found in almost every hut. The axe called *taavish* or *tsuskiah* is made from a stone 8 to 10 inches in length, pointed at one end and having the other let into a wooden handle, fashioned like a man's head and neck, the stone forming a monstrous tongue in the mouth; it is adorned with human hair. The considerable number of hand-weapons seems to show that fighting was often a hand-to-hand affair; each man carries a dagger. The Thlinkeets are reported to delight in battle and single combat, but the Haidas to be rather disposed towards warfare by stratagem. The dwellers on the Columbia river have a sword-shaped club nearly a yard long. The Nootka bow was carefully made from the wood of the yew or the crab-apple; it is over a yard long, and prettily recurved at both ends outside the attachment of the string. Among the Chinooks it is bound with sinew to increase the elasticity, and broadens towards the end like that of the Arabic races. The arrows are over a yard long, furnished with serrated heads of bone or stone, while the shaft as a rule consists of a short piece of heavy and a long piece of light wood. Among the civilized Nootkas bows and arrows have quite disappeared for forty years past. Now they are seen only in the hands of children.

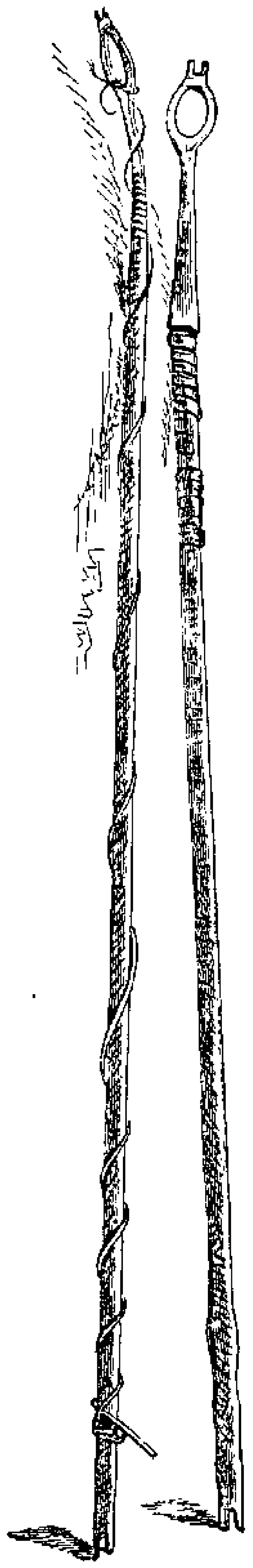
Defensive arms are rarer in the south than in the north. In Nootka, Cook observed only one cloak of tanned buffalo or elk hide with leather lining, covering the throat in front and reaching nearly to the ground behind. At times they were prettily painted in sections. They were thick and strong enough to keep off spears like a mail-shirt. In those days another kind of leathern cloak was worn, trimmed in perfectly straight lines with deer's feet, each hanging by a thong sewn all over with quills. Once at a feast, Cook saw the presiding official in a cloak of this kind, with a mask over his face and brandishing a rattle. The Chinooks had arrow-proof gorgets of leather, and cuirasses made of staves laid side by side, as well as helmets of birch-bark; according to Ross, also circular

shields of elk-hide. The Thlinkeets are still more plentifully equipped in this respect; like the arctic races of the west they have armour of wooden staves, and helmets of carved wood with a frightful face for the visor. Dance helmets with masks also occur; but these and the suits of armour cannot compare with those of their northern neighbours for perfection of workmanship.

Where the roaming life of the hunter and the fisher prevails, the dwellings are only temporary shelters of poles and bark mats set up near the hunting and fishing grounds. In that case, a distinction is made between summer and winter residences, as in the interior of North America, the former being frequently on small islands. Besides these, nearly all have permanent houses on the shore of the sea or of some river—if possible, on almost inaccessible cliffs. Every one of these serves a whole number of families simultaneously as a place of abode. The square ground-plan predominates. On Queen Charlotte's Island, Poole saw a house nearly 50 ft. square, which was said to contain 700 (*sic*) inhabitants; Lewis and Clarke saw one in the Willamette Valley 230 ft. long, divided by a long gangway into two rows of dwelling-places. At present, four to six families, numbering from six to eighteen persons, live as a rule in one house; among the Haidas, who still have the largest dwellings, Jacobsen found none existing more than 65 ft. long. In the north, and occasionally even on the Columbia river, houses are found the lower part of which is under ground. The gable-end is, as a rule, towards the water, and contains the doorway, which used to be round or oval, but now is square. A square opening for the smoke is left in the roof, which is of bark, and the interior is visible from end to end. The partitions for separate


Harpoons: one with float of seal-skin, from North-West America. (Frankfort Museum.)

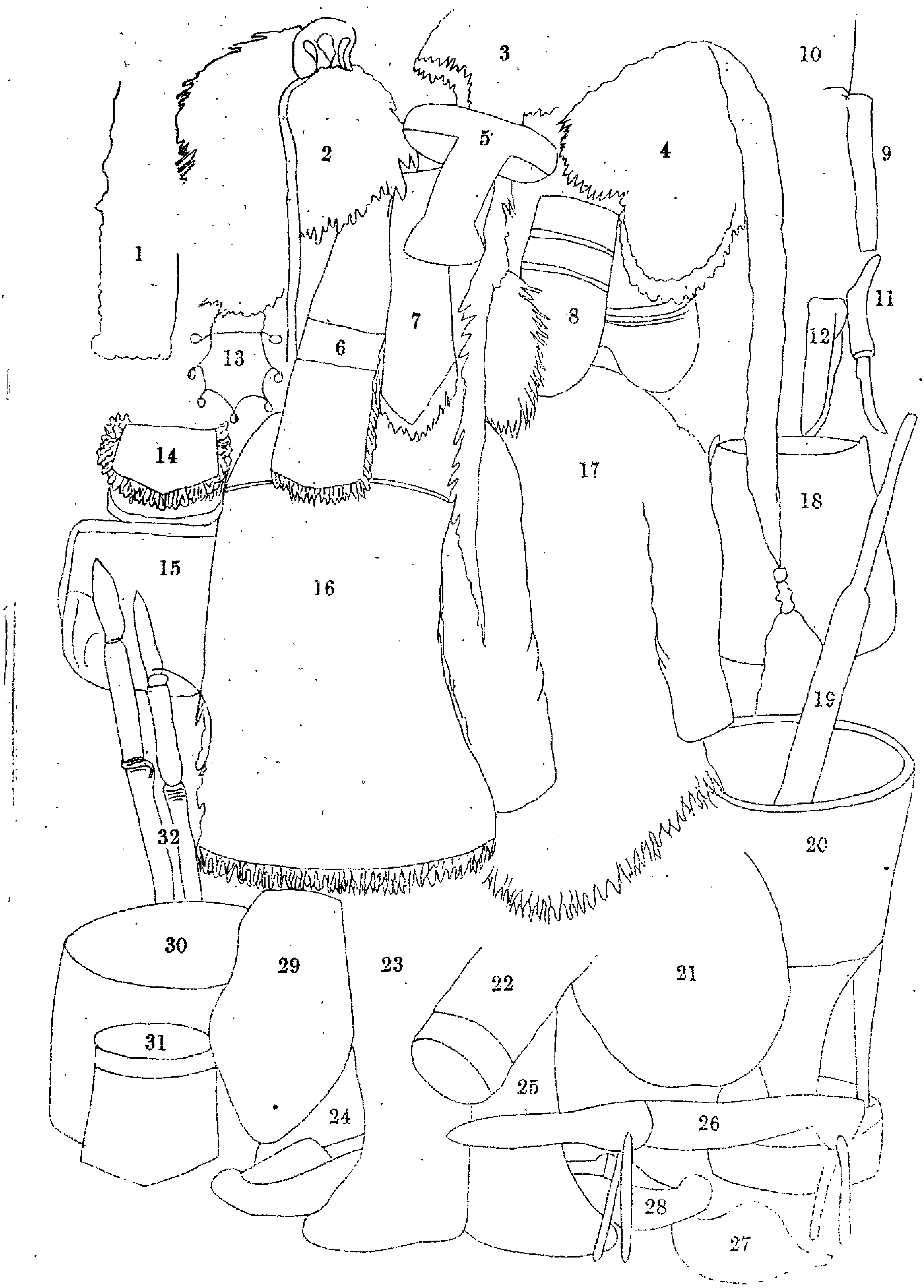
families and for store-rooms often consist only of bits of planking projecting from the wall to the middle of the house. In the centre of the floor a square fireplace is left, which in Haida houses is sunk. Over this is raised on poles a frame for smoking fish, drying clothes, etc. As the fire is kept uninterruptedly alight with dead wood, or at most with fallen stems, the atmosphere is bad, and causes frequent disorders of the eyes. Art is represented by carved totem-pillars between and in front of the houses, fantastic carvings on the inner walls, Shamans' graves gay with many colours. Cook describes a village which he saw on Nootka Sound as standing on rising ground which sloped steeply up from the shore to the edge of the forest; the houses placed in three ascending rows, one behind the other, the larger in front, the smaller in rear, and, in addition, a few scattered dwellings stood at both ends of the village. Between the houses in a row narrow alleys ran uphill at unequal distances; the streets between the rows were wider. The houses themselves are irregularly built, so that blocks of buildings, cut off on both sides by footpaths, may consist either of one or of more houses; partitions are not seen either from without or from within. They are built of long broad planks, placed edgewise one above the other, and tied here and there with bands of pine-bark. On the outside, poles or thin posts stand at some distance apart, to which the planks are likewise attached; inside are stouter poles or slanting shores. The front wall of the house is about 6 ft. high, the back a little higher, so the roof planks get a certain amount of tilt from back to front. They are not fastened, as the natives like to draw them to in wet weather, and push them apart in fine. Entrance and egress are obtained through some hole that has arisen through the accident of a plank being too short, or of the planks not meeting at some point. Irregular holes or windows are also cut in the planks, with mats hung over them to keep the rain out. In the southern parts of the Haida country, houses are found raised on piles to a height of 25 or 30 ft. from the ground. Vancouver saw one 70 ft. long, 30 wide, divided into three compartments, each of which had its separate access by means of a notched tree-stem. Among the Nootkas and Haidas the exterior of the houses is painted with fantastic figures of men and animals. Carved posts 60 ft. high, the top of which forms a totem-image, stand as heraldic signs in front. The entrance sometimes takes the form of a pair of monstrous jaws. The filthiness of the habitations is truly Hyperborean; the inhabitants attend not only to the smoking but to the cleaning of the fish within doors, and leave the entrails to lie on the floor. These dwellings, says Cook, are perfect pig-sties in the fishing season.



Fishing-rods from North-West America. (Frankfort Museum.)

The household furniture consists of a quantity of chests and boxes of all sizes, piled up against the walls. In them is kept the entire provision of clothes, furs, masks, and rubbish of all sorts. They are often painted black, and inlaid with all sorts of teeth, or decorated with a carved border and representations of beasts

IMPLEMENTS, VESSELS, AND COSTUME OF NORTHERN RACES.



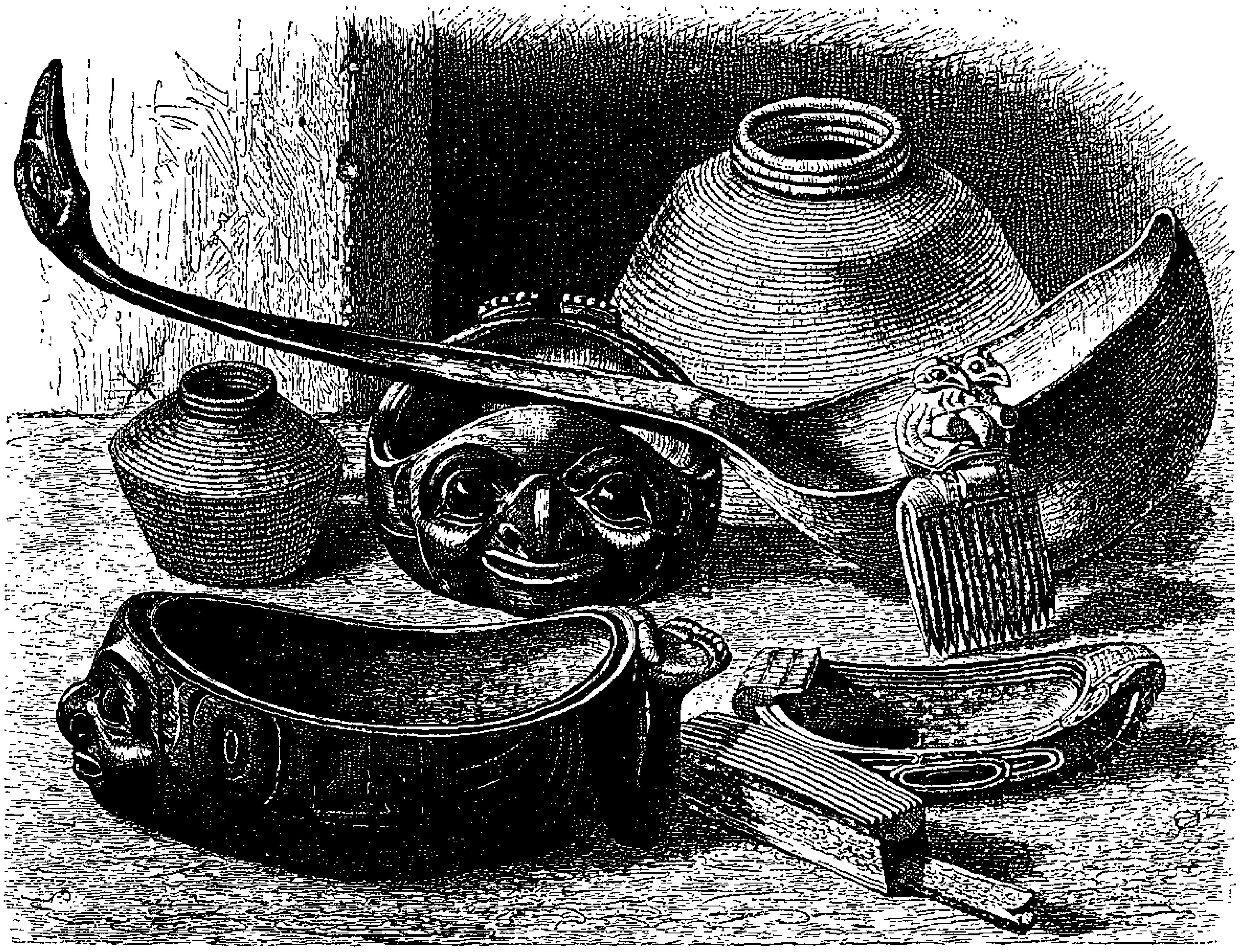

IMPLEMENTS, VESSELS, AND COSTUME OF NORTHERN RACES.

1. Head ornament : Dolgan Yakuts.
2. Fur cap : Yakuts.
3. Fur cap : Upper Samoyedes.
4. Cap : Cheta Yakuts.
5. Chin protector : Dolgan Yakuts.
6. Stomacher : Taimur Tungooses.
7. Glove : Nigidal Tungooses.
9, 10. Knife and sheath : Tungooses.
11, 12. Knife and sheath : Yakuts.
13. Tobacco pouch : South Tungooses.
14. Leather bag : Nigidal Tungooses.
15. Work bag : Nigidal Tungooses.
16. Skin coat : Assya Samoyedes.
17. Everyday coat : Tungooses.
18. Basket of birch bark : Upper Samoyedes
19, 20. Wooden pestle and mortar : Yakuts.
21. Knapsack of (?) eelskin.
22. Gaiters : Tungooses.
23. Women's leggings : Samoyedes.
24. Woman's shoe : [illegible]
25. Boot : Taimur Samoyedes.
26. Reindeer-idol.
27. Train-oil flask made of a swan's foot : Assya Samoyedes.
28. Man's shoe : Tungooses.
29. Koumiss pail : Yakuts.
30. Basket for tea things : Tungooses.
31. Basket of birch bark : Tungooses.
32. [illegible]

Nos. 2, 12, 18 [illegible]

and birds. We find also square or oblong tubs for water, round cups and dishes of wood, flat wooden troughs half a yard in length, out of which they eat, and lastly, baskets woven from twigs, and pouches of matting. Fishing tackle lies all about. Only the sleeping-benches are excepted from the general disorder; on them nothing may lie, save mats of fine workmanship, and they are kept much cleaner. The Shamans of the Chilgits use a prettily carved stool for the magician's head to rest on during his convulsions.

The canoes are simple; the Thlinkeets being the most northerly people who



Indian carved work from North-West America: horn spoon, basket, comb, train-oil bowls, baler, bark mallet—one-sixth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

make them of timber. The largest, with room for twenty men and more, are hollowed from a single tree, even to the adjuncts; canoes of this being run to 40 ft. long. Some have carved work upon them. The bow has sometimes an appendage like a great beak, painted with the figure of an animal. These boats are light, and being broad and flat, float securely without the outriggers used by South Sea Islanders and Malays; are better adapted for shallow rivers than for the deep sea, and, for this very reason, are of little use for long voyages. The paddles are small and light, pointed at the end, broad in the middle. Sails were unknown to the Thlinkeets and Haidas till Europeans came, but constant practice had given them great dexterity with the paddle.

The Chinooks, favoured by their position on the Columbia river, carried on a lively trade upstream as far as The Dalles, in fish, oil, shell-fish, and the *wapato*-root. Other tribes also have a tendency to hoard. The Haidas had considerable

wealth in two articles much in demand—otter skins and carvings in a fine soft black slate. The Queen Charlotte's Islanders in quite early times cultivated the potato enough to be able to dispose of their surplus to the tribes on the mainland. Otter skins used to serve as a medium for barter; now it is blankets and plates of copper from Alaska. *Dentalium*-shells also used to be a popular currency; and slaves, not captured in war but obtained from neighbouring tribes in the way of trade, were a favourite commodity. Square plates of copper, thickened at the edges, and having incised ornaments, called *Tlakwa*, form the principal treasure of the Kwakiutls on Bute Inlet.

The north-western tribes lived principally by fishery. No doubt the Thlinkeets (all except the Yakatats) and the Chinooks had an insuperable half-religious awe of the greatest of sea-beasts, the whale; although to the Nootkas whaling was the most popular form of sport, and reserved for their best men. Still there are plenty of other animals in the sea. From the vegetable kingdom they take nothing but a few roots, grasses, and berries, as summer delicacies. The catching of fish is the men's job, the preparing and curing, the women's. Their implements are varied, numerous, and good. Besides nets, hooks composed of wood and bone, harpoons, and spears for throwing, they have a paddle-shaped instrument 20 ft. long, 4 to 6 in. broad, and ½ in. thick. Both edges for two-thirds of their length are toothed with sharp bones, projecting 2 inches. With this, they strike into the schools of herring, sardines, and other small fish, which remain sticking on or between the teeth. The lines are made of bast, sea-weed, and sinew; the nets of nettle-fibre, and on the Fraser river of wild flax. Sea-lions are usually shot with arrows. The fish, after drying and smoking, are packed in bales with mats, for storage. The Nootkas stick herring-roe round small twigs of the Canadian pine; then this sort of caviar is kept in mats, where it undergoes fermentation. For boiling out the oil, especially from a kind of smelt, the Thlinkeets use canoes half sunk in the sand, in which water is heated by means of hot stones.

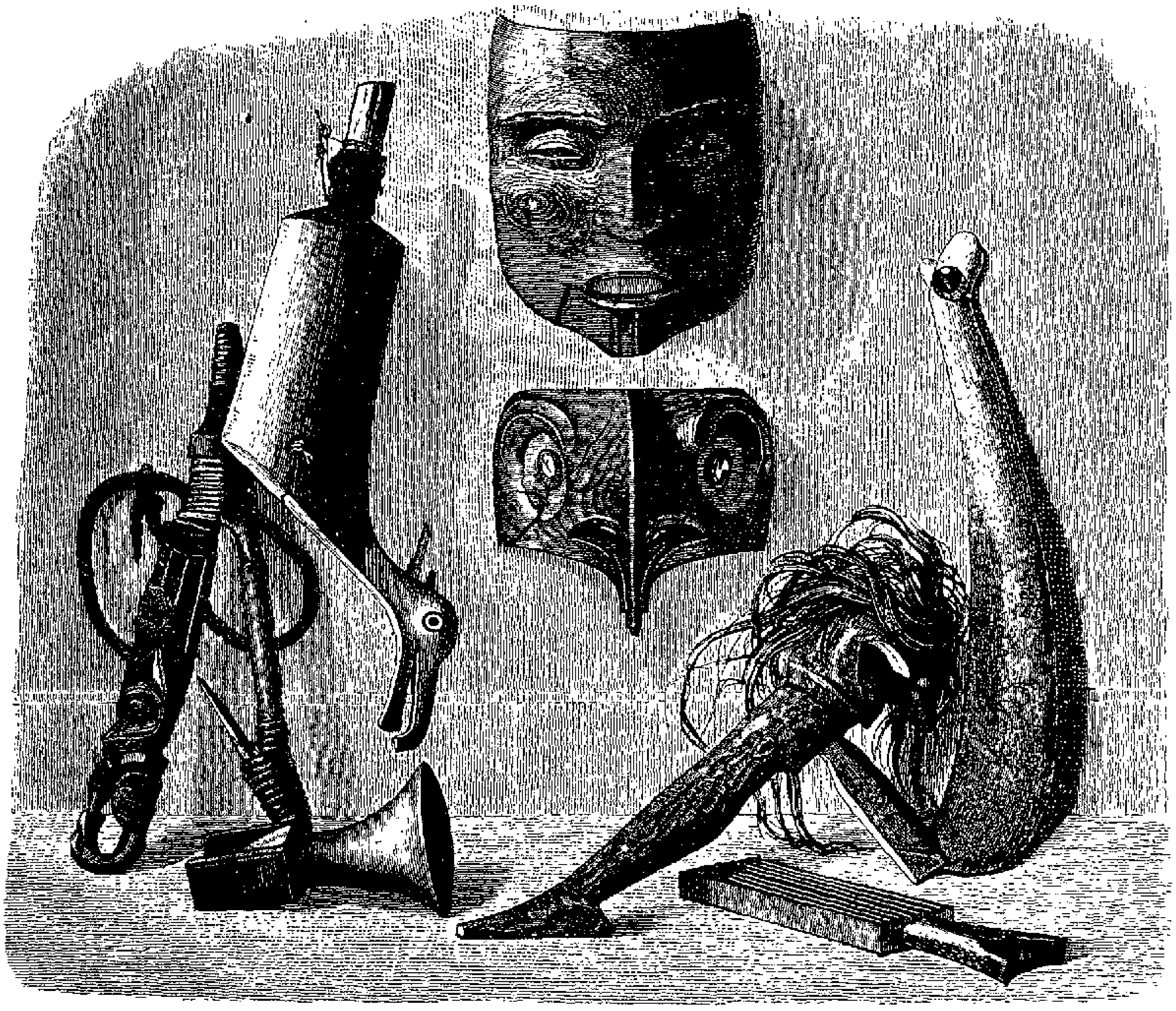
Food was formerly dressed by heating with these hot stones either in wooden vessels or holes in the ground, or by being steamed over hot stones, sprinkled with water, and tightly wrapped in mats. Now, iron pots are in common use, and consequently boiling over the fire. Small fish and shell-fish are stewed; fish-roe, and under some circumstances marine animals of various kinds, are eaten raw. Whales' and seals' fat is eaten with relish, especially when a little high. Some roots are chewed by the women before being dressed. Fire is produced by whirling a stick of cedar in a socket of softer wood. Tobacco is smoked through curiously carved pipes; but other narcotic herbs—among the Haidas a kind of poppy, among the Chinooks the bear-berry—were used even earlier for this purpose. Chewing the wood of the sugar-pine is universally regarded as a pleasant pastime.

Originally no attention was paid to agriculture, and even now it is generally inconsiderable. There is usually a potato-patch contiguous to a Haida's house.

A truly luxuriant ornamentation surrounds everything which proceeds from the artistic and industrious hands of these people. The industry which can achieve such important results with so inadequate tools is indeed admirable. By the wretched light of their oil-lamps the Thlinkeet women stitch elegant mocassins with sinews, manufacture durable nets from string, weave baskets and plait

hats from straw or the root-fibres of the cedar, and mats from its bast. The Haida women spin and weave the same bast, and also wild flax. Not less cleverly do the men execute fantastically adorned carving in wood and stone. Formerly they used to occupy a year in completing a weapon, a cup, a gaily-painted heraldic post with its grotesque animal and human figures, the clan-cognizance of the family. Recently, too, silver and copper have been worked with great ingenuity.

The carvings in horn and stone testify to the mastery that has been gained



Indian articles from the North-West: rattles, masks, hooks, bark mallet, club, and hatchet. The pestle on the left is Polynesian. (Cook Collection, Vienna.)

over difficult material; but the wood-carvings are still more various, and display still more clearly the uncommon style of their art. The bizarre effect of these tissues of grimaces is still further heightened by paint. The pillars that stand before the houses consist of a number of half-human, half-bestial figures crouching one above another. It does not matter if a figure here and there is upside down, nor if the boundary between human and bestial, between reality and fancy, is always preserved. The same features, or some of them, may do duty for more than one figure. Ornament penetrates every spot accessible to it. Everywhere there is a frieze to carve, an animal figure to represent: most frequently of all, a human face with prominent eyes. In the masks and human heads every smallest detail has its due balance and elegance in the execution. In other things the thoroughly realistic imaging of nature might suggest the imitation of European

patterns; but fidelity to nature is certainly no stranger to these people as they are of themselves. The copies of animals are far more accurately executed in the northern masks than in the southern. The first visitors to Queen Charlotte's Island got the impression as of a primitive Nineveh or Babylon. Thanks to Adolf Bastian the finest collection of North-West American ethnological objects is at Berlin.

The abundance and tendency of the ornament seems an echo of Polynesia, particularly New Zealand. Whether we are here in presence of the result of an ancient connection between geographically opposite portions of the Pacific population, or whether like causes have produced like effects, the phenomenon remains highly interesting.

If we look for models, the overcharged and tormented ornament of the stone pipes and the painted idols may find its prototype at no impracticable distance in Mexico and Central America; nor are the stages by which one passed into the other far to seek. But one is struck by the occurrence of genuine bone mallets with the handle in the shape of a bird's head, agreeing perfectly in form with those of New Zealand, the ornamented handles of which, even though the theme may be varied, further confirms this correspondence. Another striking feature is the habit of inserting pieces of mother-of-pearl as eyes in grotesque figures of wood or bone; they are not set in such an artificially annular shape as with the Maoris, but with their ground have a very similar effect. Other evidence may be seen in the occurrence of carved wooden vessels in animal shape, especially those of birds and tortoises, gaily painted. The most noticeable detail is the *eye*, which may be said to be ubiquitous. On robes and weapons, on utensils, and in the ornament of huts, it gazes at us in its typically distorted form, looking as though a certain awe prohibited too faithful imitation. Here, as well as among Peruvians and Polynesians, the belief in the evil eye, common to all mankind, seeks to find a protection in the representation of the eye. The absence of pottery is also notable, especially for America.

## § 28. THE ESKIMO

Nature of the arctic islands; life in the ice—Uncertainty of limits—Means of livelihood—Psychological influences—Origin, and formerly wider extension of the Eskimo; Asiatic and American relations—Race—Language—Character and mental dispositions—Family and tribe—Dress and ornament—Tattooing—Weapons; missiles—Walrus and seal hunting—Diet—Trade—Dogs and sledges—Women's and men's boats—Work in bone and stone—Snow-huts and tents—General impression of Eskimo life.

A GROUP of races, having affinities physically with those of North-Eastern Asia, linguistically with the Indians, ethnographically with North-West America, are found on the north coast of America, from the point where the 60th parallel of north latitude meets the west coast by Mount St. Elias, to that where the 50th crosses that of Labrador over against Newfoundland. So far as the islands lying off this coast, particularly Greenland, are inhabited, they contain the same population; which, in spite of its wide dispersion, shows itself to be one and the same race, held together by the bond of a mode of life adapted to the severe climate, and its dependence on the pursuit of sea-mammals and fish. The unique position

of its abode marks it as the true polar race of the earth. Coasts and islands such as are uninhabited in Northern Asia and Europe, are in North America the seat of this border people. On the Chukchi Peninsula, where we first come across the Eskimo, we also meet with those permanent coast-villages, pushed forward as near as possible to the sea, which extend to East Greenland.

Dependence on the animal life of the sea is the fundamental law governing the distribution of "nearctic" man. It is a meagre, easily shaken, hazardous existence. He is not surrounded, like the Polynesian, by water, but by ice; if it advances, it cuts him off from his sources of supply. Between sea-ice and land-ice the basis of his life is tightly straitened. The hunter who ventures out too far on the ice-fields is driven away and lost; only rarely, when the ice is set in movement, does his race with death end fortunately. Deaths by misadventure hold a prominent place in the bills of mortality of the far north; eleven per cent of the deaths in Greenland are violent. Perhaps as the total numbers decrease, these losses get to be more felt than formerly; for here and there we find a tendency to give up seal and walrus-hunting for coast and river fishery. That is a retreat, a surrender of the battle with bracing forces, a contraction of the field of vision. But the large sea-mammals are ever diminishing; the competition of white men, who carry on their whale and seal-fisheries as a great industry by the aid of larger vessels and better weapons, has paralysed the bold and cunning hunter of the ice-regions, and substituted want for plenty—another blessing of civilization.

An Eskimo of Labrador, probably a half-breed. (From a photograph.)

An existence of this kind demands an enormous amount of time, force, and life. Think only of the process of melting ice or snow in a stone kettle with a train-oil lamp. "A whole year under this zone means little more than a month in ours," says Ross. There can be no doubt that the severe climate has a directly destructive effect; death by cold and hunger has often enough been recorded here. Since the dwelling-places of the absolutely small number of human beings in these regions must be limited, this struggle against adverse conditions of life leaves clear traces in their extension; advance is followed by repulse, and every withdrawal means at the same time a retreat of the frontier of mankind. The extreme limits of the Eskimo were in the time of Lane and Hayes still near Foulke Bay. In 1872 Bryan found numerous remains of Eskimo huts on Offlay Island off the mouth of Petermann Fjord; and the Greely expedition were able to establish a whole series of points as former places of residence. On the other hand, the Eskimo of North Devon or of the Princess Royal Islands did not deliberate long before pursuing the reindeer and the wolves and foxes that followed them in their northward journey along the east coast of Grinnell Land to the furthest limit of their distribution, and staying there as long as sealing and hunting could support existence. The difference of length between the polar night, which in latitude 82° lasts for 137 days, and that prevailing in the almost

permanently inhabited settlements of Itah, five degrees further south, affected them mentally not at all; materially, as may be supposed, through the greater consumption of train-oil. Probably such overflows of small waves of arctic mankind have often taken place. Even further south life undoubtedly rests on a tottering basis; in the Parry Archipelago, in the neighbourhood of latitude 70°, there are poorer districts than the average of Grinnell Land. But to the south, the settlements lie thicker, especially where a yearly recurring migration between the mainland and the adjacent islands doubles, as it were, the sources of supply;

Chief nutrition plants of the Polar countries: 1, Iceland moss; 2, reindeer moss; 3, cranberry—natural size.

or on the shores of straits where the frequent clearing away of the ice by powerful tidal currents offers more favourable conditions of existence to seals and walruses. Such dense juxtaposition, however, as is found in Prince of Wales Straits, does not recur north of 75°.

The available land in general decreases pole-wards. The soil, covered for the greater part of the year with snow or ice, is of little value; in Greenland perpetual ice covers all save some narrow patches on the coast. The scanty plant-life cannot produce much mould. Some berries and herbs are eaten; according to Kjellmann the Namollos in the neighbourhood of Kolyuchin Bay use twenty different plants for food. Provisions of berries and of the reindeer moss, rich in starch, are stored up for the winter. Other plants are made to undergo a process of fermentation, like *sauerkraut*, others are boiled with seal-bacon. For firing,

Drawings on bone, probably journals, of the coast Chukchis. They appear to have served to carry pouches by.
(Frankfort Museum.)

woody stems and roots are used. But the diet is mainly animal. All the operations of the Eskimo are dependent on the arrival and departure of the seal and the walrus. When the winter comes, and the Eskimo moves into his snow-hut, the sealing is nearly at an end, and fish takes the place of meat in his food. Hard times come with the cold weather. In the spring, dearth of food is less frequent; and at that time copious takes of seals and fish are occasionally made. Then they take to the tents. Summer and autumn, however, are the real sealing time, also the time for berries ; then gluttony prevails. Then they return to their houses, and this is, in Greenland, the time of the highest mortality. How to pass the winter without risk from cold or hunger is the great economical problem, which the utmost efforts are not always able to solve. It is not in these purely material conditions, not in peculiar features like sledges, skin-boats, snow-shoes, train-oil lamps, that we shall meet with the profoundest working of natural causes ; these lie in limitation of space and time, and in mental and moral influence. Even if we may not feel inclined to gauge the effects of an increasing approximation of seasons of greater warmth and more light by the finer sensibilities of civilized man, it is certain that even an Eskimo's soul is not insensible. The nomad of the *tundras* and forests of northern Asia comes back from the Arctic Circle as the sun begins to get low ; but the majority of the arctic races of America have a long sunless period to live through.

At the opposite ends of America, peculiar branches of the American race have developed. Pushed to the verge of the inhabited earth, Eskimo and Fuegian alike wage a hard struggle, which has called into existence kindred traits ; and if, nevertheless, the Eskimo is sharply distinguished from the neighbouring Indians who live under similar conditions, causes other than soil and climate must be in operation. After an American population was already fully developed in more southerly regions, the north got peopled, not merely by the advance of the Indian tribes. A later and special immigration from the border-lands of Asia and America must have exercised an influence there. Mongoloid features are so recognisable in the character and bodily conformation of the Eskimo, that attempts have even been made to separate him entirely from the Indian ethnologically. Eskimo, too, are settled on the northern coasts of Asia, while they first appeared in Greenland possibly within the historical era, and there is much in their stock of culture to induce a comparison of them with the Asiatic Hyperboreans, nay, even to remind us of the European. Nevertheless, we connect them here with the Indians, as it seems too hazardous to rank them with the true Mongoloids. But North-East Asia is unquestionably a region of transition which finds its continuation in northern America.

The bodily frame of the Eskimo shows but little variation in different districts. His skull is long and high. It should be noted that the Chukchi head is short, the northern Indian of not more than average length. The facial expression is determined by a strong development of the jaws and maxillary muscles, and a considerable distance between the inner angles of the eyes, as well as between the eyebrows and the apertures of the lids, also by pretty well-marked prognathism. The slit eyes and the position of the cheek-bones are Mongoloid. The true Eskimo have black hair, dark eyes, and reddish or yellowish brown skin. If here and there, especially in Greenland, traces of a fair type appear, they doubtless proceed from a crossing with ancient Norse or modern Danish

blood. The hair of the head is straight and comparatively long; the beard, which is developed almost solely on the chin and lip, is among the pure Eskimo of scanty growth. The skin is thick and coarse on hands and face only, elsewhere soft, thin, and smooth. The reddish tint of the cheeks and strong red of the lips give a fresh look to the face. The stature is low, without being dwarfish. On the average of a large number of measurements made by Ross, the height of a man at Cumberland Sound comes out at 5 ft. 2¼ in.; at Behring Straits about 2 in. more. Virchow's individual measurements of full-grown Greenlanders gave 5 ft. 2¼ in. and 5 ft.; of a woman 4 ft. 10 in. Labrador men were on the average 5 ft. 4 in.; women 5 ft.

A greater contrast to the Indians appears in their character. The dull gloomy expression of the Indian might well have been expected, in the heavy

Eskimo women of Labrador. (From a photograph.)

struggle for a wretched existence under the murky skies of the polar regions, to have been intensified into sullen melancholy. Not at all. It seems as though these extreme outposts of mankind have had to develop another character in order to exist at all. Fellow-members of a family draw close together in good-humoured comradeship, and find in a cheery recklessness a counterpoise to Nature's severity. Instead of a downcast pitiable creature we see a stout, plump, sleek fellow, with a good fund of humour, who, apart from the normal courage and acuteness with which he earns his daily bread, has developed, as Clarence King says, certain gifts which we are apt to regard as the privilege of civilization.

Even though the Eskimo's artistic productions hardly attain the level of the works with which it is usual to compare them, the carvings turned out by the men of the Drift Age, even in these he is superior to the Indian. He can sketch clever maps of his own home; the Holm collection in the Copenhagen Museum contains slips of wood upon which are incised stretches of the coast-line with the islands, forming a chart. Hunting incidents are related on long bones, as in the cut on p. 103. There is a great predilection for narrative poems and satirical songs.

Life in the family and the community also presents a combination of features found among American Indians and the arctic races of Asia. Traces of matriarchy are almost wholly lacking, and in general the position of women is not favourable. At the same time polygamy rarely occurs, so that it is sometimes possible for the wife to acquire supremacy in the house. The marriage ceremony retains only the form of capture. Great regard is paid to the ties of kindred; but childless widows are entrusted to the generosity of those to whom the husband's property passes. In Greenland the eldest son inherits the tent and *umiak*, or women's boat, equivalent to house and premises, and has to maintain his mother, brothers, and sisters; otherwise these fall to the next of kin. The earnings of the younger children belong to the mother.

For the birth of a child a tent is set up in summer, a snow-house built in winter; the former being placed within the family hut. When the woman gets up again she puts on entirely new clothes. The child's first clothing in Baffin's Land consists of a bird's skin and feathers; afterwards of reindeer-skin. Still-born children are carefully preserved to serve as material for amulets. As long as the mother is lying-in, she may eat only meat that has been taken by her husband or son. A woman may not go out through the door, but must have a special exit made for her. There are seldom more than three children in a family. The mortality among newly born children is high, and the numbers are further kept down by the practice of suckling for three or four years. Infanticide is rare. The good-natured contented temper of the race is conspicuous even in the children, who reconcile themselves to the most uncomfortable situations. Of toys they have no lack; many of the artistic models of ships and sledges, and the figures of animals, to be found in our museums, have been made by handy parents for their children, and the children's graves are full of touching trifles of this sort. From his tenth year the boy is practised in the use of the *kayak*, in fishing, bird-snaring, and shooting with the bow, till at fifteen the slaying of the first seal affords the occasion for a festival, at which he is declared fit to carry weapons. Tattooing is performed at the same time. Towards his twentieth year he will bring a maiden home, but remains nevertheless under the parental roof. Children are looked upon as their parents' most valuable treasure. Adoption is not rare, and a widow with children is sure to be provided for. The child is named either after some recently deceased person, or after the first who enters the hut; but the name is often changed, and if a relation dies, his name is given to the youngest child.

In spite of the absence of any defined authority, the moral influence of age, talent, and decision is emphatic. The householder of most consideration, who inhabits the north end of the house, sees to order and cleanliness, and is encompassed with respect and deference, mainly because he has the best understanding of the weather and the chances of a catch. On migration, the most intelligent man is followed, though there is no compulsion. It is clear from Franklin's description of the Eskimo tribe near Fort Churchill that a distinction is certainly made between the eldest and other members.

The tribes are everywhere small. Among their neighbours, the Ojibbeways, comprising two hundred persons capable of hunting, are reckoned a large tribe; but the Eskimo standard is lower still. North of Barrow Strait there was, so far as Boas knew, no tribe comprising more than ten huts. From Igdlotuarsuk in East

Greenland, probably, with its thirteen huts, the largest of the settlements in that part, to Cape Farewell, there are fifteen such settlements, none of which contain more than one or two huts. Many tribal names again indicate a totemistic subdivision as among the Indians. The entire number of the Hyperboreans is estimated at 15,000 in Greenland and the north of America, and 12,000 in North-West America above King William's Sound. The figures are liable to uncertainty in details, owing partly to the removal of habitations, partly to the excess of deaths over births. One seems compelled to assume that peaceful relations subsist among these scattered people; yet their traditions tell of strife and war. At present sanguinary contests are rare; possibly the picture has been thrown, in magnified dimensions, on the grey wall of oblivion which conceals their history, by the fancy of these hot-blooded children of the ice. The "international" relations of the Eskimo are so regulated that one may even speak of law in regard to them. Tribe does not fight against tribe, but even when whole tribes are at variance, a few selected champions meet each other. To sacrifice more would be folly. Boas has made it probable that in the last forty years a mixed race has sprung from Ugjuliks and Reichilliks. The former lived in King William's Land and the Adelaide Peninsula, the latter in Boothia Felix. Reichilliks as individual immigrants settled in the Ugjulik territory, many being attracted by the fact that their own women were fewer than the men.

It is curious what a dread the Indians have of the Eskimo. When in their neighbourhood they will light fires only with the utmost caution, they avoid the beaten tracks, and depict the treacherous character of their neighbours in the darkest colours. Even in their legends the land of the Eskimo appears as a distant island to which an occasional Indian is carried off for a slave. Still there are authenticated instances of mutual contact. The Eskimo of the mainland have a word for Redskin. Trade dealings between the two have long been going on; and therewith a certain influence from more southerly races has passed over the Eskimo. The intercourse in the far west and in the east has assumed a political character. The Koniags of the Kadiak Archipelago, who had faced the Russians heroically, were subjugated by the Koloshes, established on the north side of Kadiak, and were compelled to take hereditary chiefs from among them. It is among these people that forms are found showing the greatest modification from the Eskimo type, together with artificial deformation of the skull. More recently peaceful intercourse has further allowed Indian customs, like the use of masks, to become engrafted upon arctic races in the neighbourhood. The Eskimo of Labrador have similarly been often hard pressed by their Indian neighbours. Now a state of repose prevails, both sides having become weaker and dwindled.

If we ask whence they came, Asia seems most obvious, since between the American and Asiatic coasts of Behring Straits, intercourse has always been ventured upon even in the rudest skin-boats. But we have an equal right to suppose a migration from America into Asia. The coast Chukchis who dwell between the East Cape and Cape Chukotskoy have adopted Eskimo habits, which may be due to their being hybrids between Chukchis and Eskimo; it is perhaps for this reason that the other Chukchis will not recognise them as fellow-tribesmen. And the Eskimo who dwell from Behring Straits to the Anadyr, though not understanding the language of these coast Chukchis, yet regard them as alike to themselves because of their agreement in externals. A more accidental

phenomena are the settlements of coast Chukchis on the American side north of Port Clarence.

The Asiatic pipe is found among the Eskimo as far as Cape Bathurst, and also the casting-net weighted with stones, as known in Siberia. Here we may draw the frontier between East and West Eskimo. The more recent philological inquiries assign a greater antiquity to the western division, who have remained in their old seat. Rink, who divides the American Hyperboreans into six families,—Greenlanders, Labrador tribes, Central Eskimo, Mackenzie tribes, West Eskimo, and Aleutians,—regards it as certain that they once dwelt together in a narrower space, and that first the Aleutians separated, and then the other branches in reverse order. Boas too seeks for the point of departure somewhere west of Hudson's Bay. But no one ventures to decide whether their original home was in Asia or America.

Ethnographic indications also point predominantly to the west. In the language of Greenland certain fabulous beings, supposed to be the inhabitants of the unknown interior, are denoted by the same terms as the Mackenzie tribes employ for hostile Indians. Words for tools and operations which are quite foreign to the modern Eskimo have maintained themselves stoutly. Thus the South Greenlanders are perfectly well acquainted with the dog-sledge, which is never used among them; also with snow-huts, and implements or methods of hunting now only in use to the far north on the other side of Davis Straits. A fundamental fact in Eskimo mythology is its near kinship with the legendary world of the Indians. The myths of the storm-bird, the four winds, the bear, the training of the priestly class, form a close bond in the intellectual domain between Indians and Eskimo. Common points, which emerge in the material elements of culture, are the ignorance of coin and finer metal-work, the use of hammered copper, the industrial use of steatite, the possession of the spliced bow made in three pieces, skin-boats, stick-armour, and leather clothing; not to mention local points of agreement between Aleutians and the North-West Americans, or between West and Mackenzie Eskimo and the Tinnehs. The views held by the Eskimo themselves of their own origin are of too local a character to be adduced without more ado as grounds for deciding. But if the tendency of their legends is compared, the preponderance among the Greenlanders and those dwelling east of Hudson's Bay speaks for a western, among the Alaska tribes for an eastern origin.

No less difficult would it be, by help of the traditions, to arrive at the least certainty with regard to the date of individual immigrations. Greenland, which came earliest into relation with Europe, was from the first the seat of the same population which we now find there. Nothing in the Norsemen's reports gives any reason to suppose that the "Skraelings," as they call the Eskimo, made their first appearance in Greenland in the fourteenth century. From their remains it would rather appear that both in Labrador and in Greenland they were once more widely distributed than they now are, and perhaps they extended even to Newfoundland.

The Eskimo language, from East Greenland to the Chukchi Peninsula, shows at bottom little difference; though there are dialectic variations and differences of pronunciation. Jacobsen states that Greenlanders and Alaskans have less trouble in understanding each other than exists between speakers of

Low German and Bavarian. As with a large number of the American languages, the type is agglutinative. Even Paul Egede indicated, as the chief difficulty of learning it, the habit of combining many words to form "one complete meaning." It also tends to make suffixes; adjectives, participles usually, pronouns, prepositions, and particles of augmentative and diminutive signification, are tacked on at the end. The dual is clearly expressed, but there is no distinction of gender.

Eskimo family from Labrador. (From a photograph in the possession of Herr Hagenbeck.)

On the other hand, inflections are copious, and the vocabulary is increased thereby. There are appropriate names for all the varieties of shape, sex, and age in animals, for the pursuit of every kind of fish, for every imaginable form under which ice and snow can appear. Abstract conceptions and numerals are poorly represented. Striking points in the pronunciation are the deep guttural *r*, the avoidance of *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *l*, *r*, and *z* at the beginning of words, the ease with which terminations can be altered—thus women like to form terminations in *ng*—and lastly the varied effects, hardly to be imitated, which are produced in conversation

by the play of features, light breathings, and the like. They do not speak pompously like the Indians, but simply and clearly, though similes are in favour, and the *Angekoks* like to use circumlocutions. Both in the former general peculiarities and in the latter as limited to a few, American affinities are seen. Lucien Adam has recently rejected any suggestion of Malayo-Polynesian relations, but without weakening Whitney's view that the American type of language

Eskimo woman from West Greenland. (From a photograph.)

is more clearly expressed in the speech of Greenland than in the Nahuatl. Rink sees in the polysynthetic character of the Eskimo idiom more likeness to the American than to the Ural-Altaic tongues.

Clothing is universal, by reason of the climate, but in the warm huts is often laid aside till only the smallest relic of it is left. It is so sensible both in material and in make that Europeans have found the greatest advantage in adopting it. The lower garment for both sexes is a pair of trousers, usually worn tighter by men than by women, and tied with thongs over the ankles or the boots closely enough to prevent water from entering. Above is worn a kind of shirt reaching to the knees, though the South Greenlanders cut it off at the waist. In Alaska

the women wear trousers and boots in one piece, as well as stockings of leather, woven grass, or salmon-skin. The jacket or tunic has no collar, so that the throat and upper part of the chest remain uncovered in the hardest frost. The East Greenlanders leave stomach and hips bare. On the other hand, throughout Greenland the jacket has a hood. Helmet-like fur caps are usual for both sexes. The women's jackets or *amauts* have a deep pouch behind for carrying small children. Luxury is not excluded. The clothing of an Eskimo woman is always more embroidered or decorated with beads than a man's. Their best clothes have the hair outside. In very cold weather an outer jacket is worn, and the skin boots which ordinarily reach to the knee are replaced by others coming up to the body. In wet weather both sexes wear over their usual clothes overalls provided with a hood, made from the entrails of seals, as waterproof as the best oilskins and much lighter. Besides this, when at sea they have a covering of sleek black seal-fur, off which the water runs.

The material varies according to the manner of life. The coast people have sealskin, dogskin, or that of the arctic fox; also birdskin, especially among the southern Eskimo. The cut varies in different places, but everywhere all unnecessary apertures are avoided, so that the garment is always put on over the head; the woman's dress usually has appendages before and behind like the tail of a dress coat. They are fond of adding trimmings of fox or squirrel skin, eider down, or the skin of musk-rats and long-haired dogs. Among rich people, clothes from the skin of unborn reindeer calves are highly valued.

A leathern belt with knife and tobacco-pouch completes the men's attire. In Alaska this is usually made from the skin of a wolverene's leg, the tail being left to hang behind. The Aleutians wear a wooden cap like an eye-shade, oval, sticking out in front, with a rim to fasten round the head. It is usually painted green, and stuck round at the top with long bristles from the sea-lion's whiskers with glass beads hanging to them. A little bone image is stuck in front. To escape the dazzling reflection from the snow the Eskimo also wear spectacles of mica.

The feet are protected by boots of coloured leather adorned with embroidery, and leather stockings. Snow-shoes, used especially in Alaska, are made of narrow hoops of wood, strung with thongs, and are very similar to those worn by the neighbouring Indians.

Tattooing is almost universal among the Eskimo women; but among the men it is going out, or quite gone. Tribe and rank have their characteristic tattooing of the face, the methods of which have passed over from Asia to America. The Chukchi women have two longitudinal stripes on the nose, and ten or twelve on the chin, besides some stripes and figures on the cheek and forearm. Here it is performed on children of nine and ten years old by means of needles, and a thread is often drawn through. The colouring material is commonly soot. In Alaska only the chin is thus decorated, and especially between Kotzebue Sound and the Ice Cape. About Point Barrow there are three stripes, the middle one being some centimetres [?] broad. Women of the higher ranks have instead two vertical lines at the curves of the mouth. Two bands running parallel with the eyebrows adorn the Labrador woman's face, and her forearms are also tattooed.

The mode of dressing the hair varies among the men. On the east coast of

Greenland and on the Mackenzie River it is worn long and loose; but kept together with the highly-prized forehead and chin straps. In Labrador it is cut smooth over the forehead; on Kotzebue Sound it hangs in plaits on both sides; while among the coast Chukchis we find the single tuft, the monkish tonsure, or the European style. The women wear their hair in plaits, and cut square over the forehead; while in Greenland it is in knots adorned with ribbons and beads. The custom of indicating, by variously coloured ribbons, the condition of life, whether maid, wife, or widow (or not exactly any of them), is said to have been introduced by the Moravian missionaries. In Labrador the women part their hair and lay it in two plaits round the ears. In several districts false hair is described as worn, or the natural hair is stiffened by using sinews. The weak beard is usually plucked out.

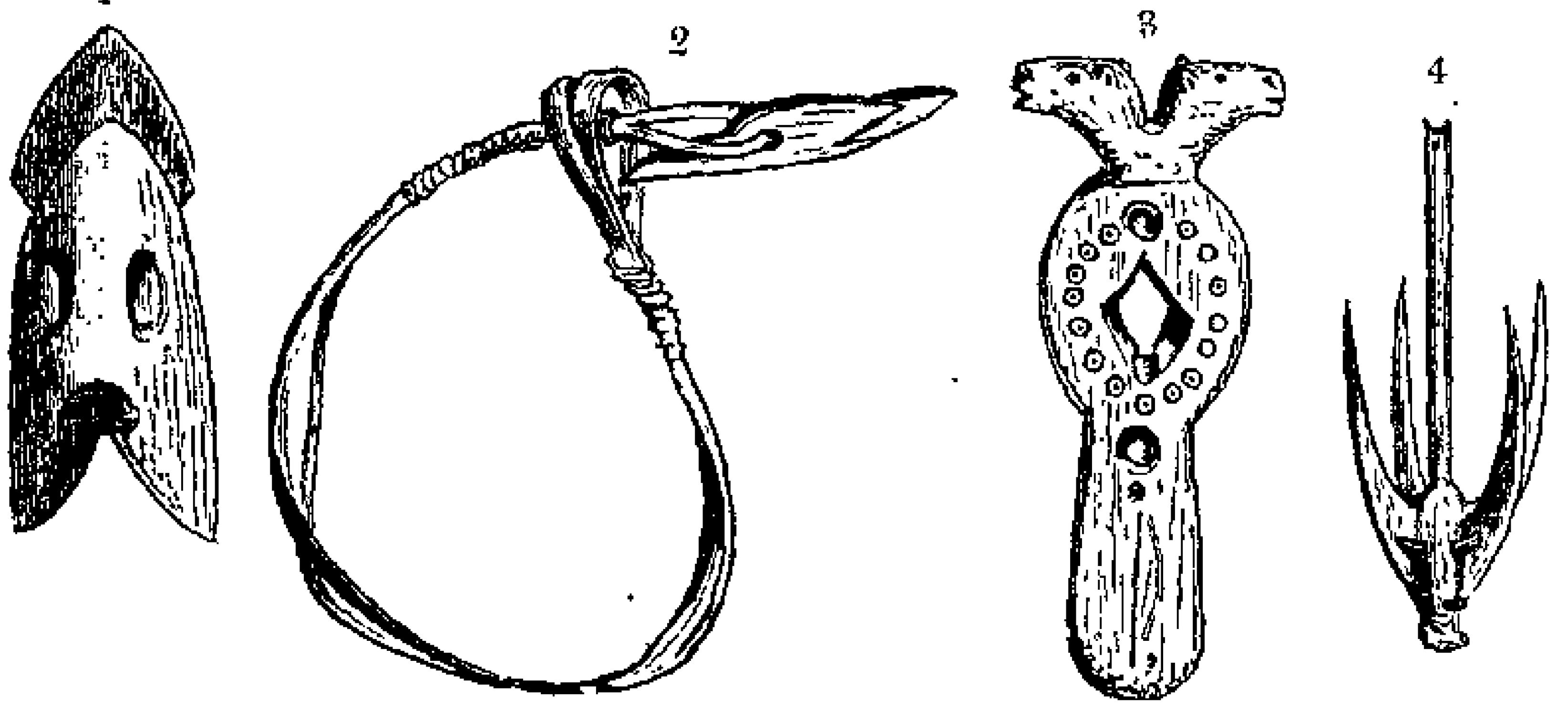
Ears, lips, and nose are covered with finery. Rings, quills, beads, or plugs inserted in the nose are universal, also perforated and polished shells strung on a flexible wire 4 to 6 in. long. On Prince William Sound both sexes make several perforations along the lower edge of the ear, and hang therein little bunches of beads, consisting of perforated shells, just like the ear-ornament of Nootka Sound. Chukchi men wear round their arms and legs sundry leather rings, which have a mysterious significance, and besides these, round the forehead a strip of cloth or leather set with beads, corresponding in number, it is said, with the foes whom they have slain. The Eskimo of the north-west make a transverse slit below the under-lip and insert a narrow flat ornament made of bone or shell. Other forms of lip-adornment occur in Alaska. Many tribes have a row of holes bored through the lower-lip, the inserted buttons of shell looking like a second row of teeth. Hence the name "tooth people" given by the old observers, who used by this ornament to distinguish the Eskimo of the Chukchi country from his Asiatic neighbours.

The reproach of uncleanliness often levelled at the Eskimo does not apply everywhere. Climate and clothing naturally prevent a very copious application of water; but in almost every large settlement in Alaska the festival hall serves also as a bath-house. In their vapour-baths they use urine as a substitute for soap.

The great importance of the chase in the life of the arctic races brings weapons into such prominence that they may be reckoned among the best-armed of mankind. Bows and arrows have quickly given way to firearms; when they still exist they are treated with respect, and not readily bartered away. Even yet the bow is the chief weapon over a wide region between Greenland and Behring Straits. It is always the bow described by Cranz, six feet long, bound closely with tough thread, and the string of twisted animal fibre. In the west, where weapons and utensils are on the average better, bows are so too; but according to Markham it is not found among the "Arctic Highlanders" north of Smith Sound, while among the Aleutians it is replaced by the throwing-stick. It is in the west that the most elaborate form of bow is found, with the middle piece bent and the two side pieces straight or nearly so; it may be designated as Asiatic, since it also extends across from Asia to Africa. Parry speaks of a method of strengthening by means of a piece of bone ten inches long, also by binding with sinews, and insertion of wedges. There are also bows compounded of two to five unequal pieces of bone, tightly bound round, as in the cut on p. 6, vol. i. The bowstring is made of several sinews twisted together. According to Mackenzie

the Eskimo bows, as long as a man, have a head fixed to them and are used as spears; similar mongrel weapons were possessed by the North American Indians of the Missouri when the Prince of Wied was there.

The most highly-developed weapons are the missiles, especially those of the nature of harpoons. These are all essentially alike—in Prince William Sound as well as in Greenland. The difference is only in the material. The spears and harpoons on Prince William Sound are heavy, those of Unalaska light and less carefully finished. In the Mackenzie district, where wood abounds, spears of cedar-wood are found over 6 ft. in length; elsewhere they are short. Besides the bow, velocity is gained by means of throwing-sticks like those of South America, with notches and holes for the insertion of the finger.



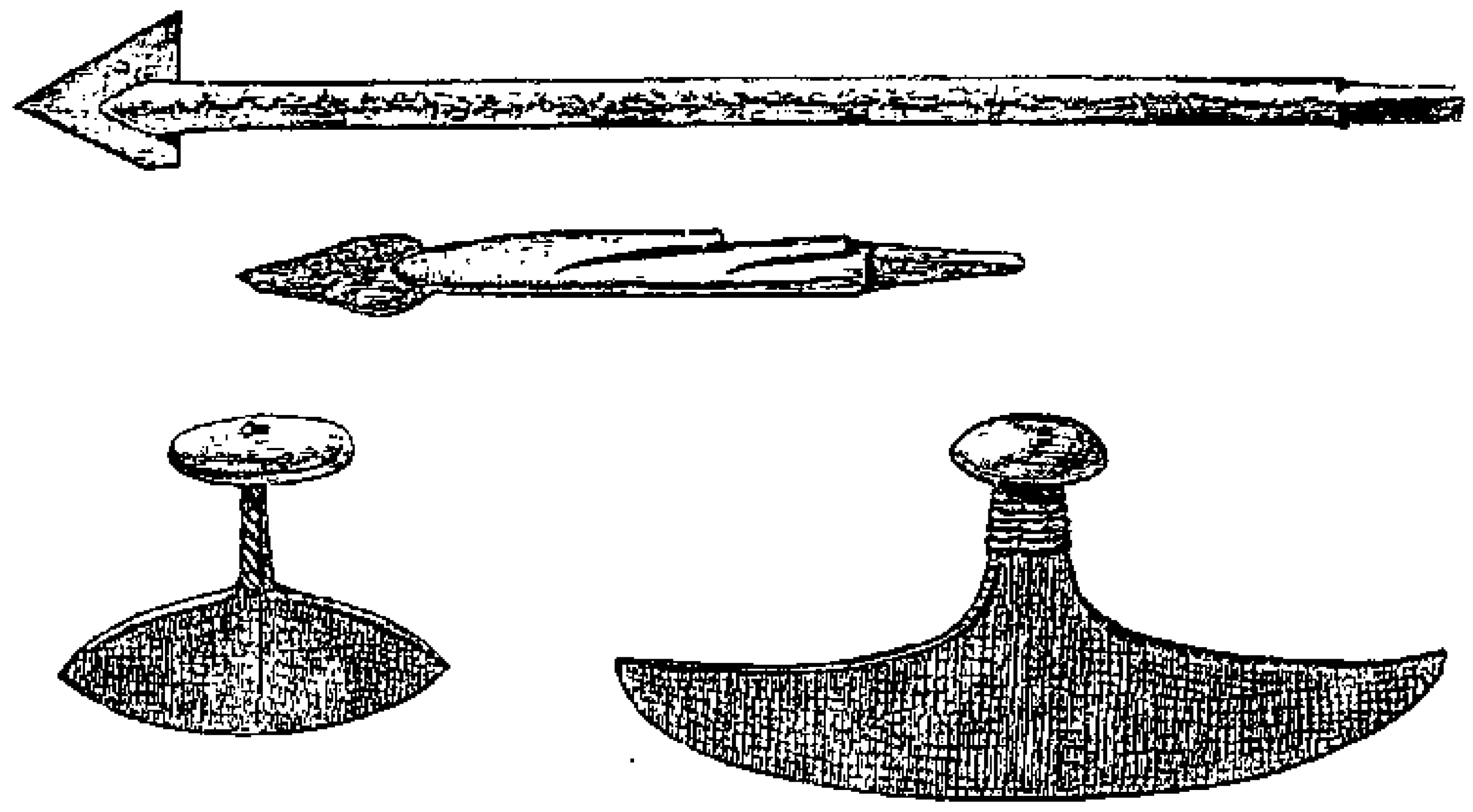
1. Harpoon-head; 2. harpoon; 3. instrument for polishing arrows; 4. fish-hook, used by the Eskimo. (British Museum.)

The better kind of arrow consists of three pieces—a wooden shaft, often not feathered, a head of stone, bone, or walrus-tooth, and a bone piece between. Bone arrows, barbed or not, and three pointed, are used—blunt for small birds, as sharp as needles for other game. All the stone arrow-heads are roughly and unevenly worked. The best, comparatively speaking, are those from Behring Straits and the west of North America; the least finished those of the Greenlanders, where only such as are made of polished slate are at all on a level with the rest of their work. Heads of obsidian or chert are made with a squeezer and a peg of reindeer-horn—by pressure only, not by tapping. In order to prepare heads from reindeer horn, it is softened in warm water and straightened with an instrument, the counterpart of which has been identified among Stone Age finds in Europe. The commonest form of arrow-head is that of a somewhat broadened willow-leaf, such as has been also found in Newfoundland, Illinois, and elsewhere. The test of good workmanship, the raised middle-rib, is often well marked. The feathering is by preference done with the feathers of the raven. It is uncertain whether arrow-heads of better workmanship, finely polished, with four quite flat edges, such as are found in graves in East Greenland, belong to an earlier time or to this district only. Shooting at a mark is a popular diversion.

The Eskimo lance, *aglikak*, is a yard and a half long with a head some ten inches in length, easily detached from the shaft to which it is fastened by a leather thong. The float is usually a bladder having a bone mouth-piece and a stopper. The *unak* is a light rod armed with a narwhal-tooth as point, on which is fixed the head, attached to a line. If two diverging slips of bone with barbs are added to the point we get the *nuguit*. This has a shorter shaft, and is adapted for the capture of birds. For large sea-beasts all the missile weapons are of larger dimensions; the shaft, two inches thick, carries a rod of bone, on which is the bone harpoon, with an iron point where possible.

To bring down a flying bird five or six lines are thrown, attached together and weighted with bone balls to entangle the wings.

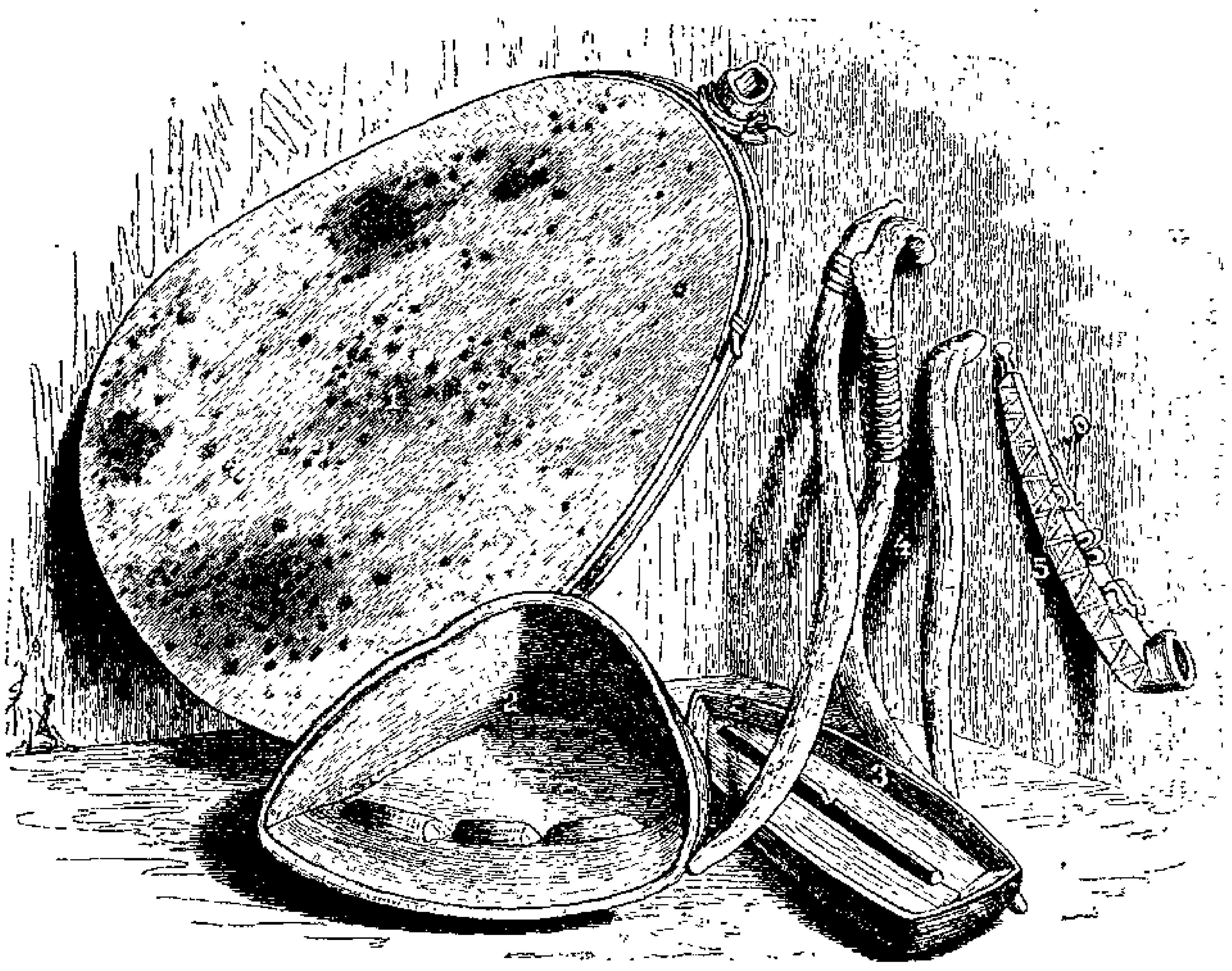
The West Eskimo early obtained iron by barter, but only in small quantities. Iron spear-heads inlaid with brass, such as Nordenskiold found among the coast Chukchis, and Beechey among the Eskimo of Cape York, are probably of Eastern Asiatic origin. Steller also mentions iron needles from an European or Chinese source among the Kamtchadales. At present iron is employed least of all in East Greenland. Elsewhere large quantities of it have found their way even among the most central Polar races from Hudson's Bay or the Canadian Lakes. Then we meet with it here and there, but always only occasionally, as a means of strengthening the bone or stone which forms the basis of the tools and utensils. Copper too is not uncommon, but as with the American races, always hammered. The Eskimo of the Churchill, like the Copper Indians before them, used to make yearly expeditions to the Coppermine River in the neighbourhood of which native copper appears.


Bone arrows with copper heads, and spokeshaves used by the Eskimo on the Coppermine River. (British Museum.)

The introduction of fire-arms has considerably modified the mode of hunting on land, while aquatic animals are still harpooned, captured, or knocked on the head. Hares and foxes are shot, the latter are taken in traps. The sportsmen proceed with great caution so as not to waste powder. Reindeer are lured to grassy clearings where the hunter lies in ambush. Even mice, of which some species extend to the northern limit of the continent, are not despised by the arctic hunter. From one year's end to the other the Eskimo is busied with hunting and fishing; these form his favourite and most perilous occupations. Walrus and seal are important from the value of their blubber for food, heating, and lighting. Walruses are shot in spring when they lie in herds on the ice. The carcases are cut up and brought to land, then piled up at a distance from the water and covered with skins. There they remain till the household supply is exhausted. Seals are usually killed on the ice. The best season is when holes and openings appear in the ice, through which the animals emerge to breathe; and the place of residence is determined by the position of the fixed ice. To entice the seals a noise is made with the scraper shown on p. 121. More difficult is the sealing with harpoon and lance in the open sea. Fishing-tackle and lances lie handy in their thongs, all in regular order; the harpoon with its bladder aft, its line forward. The Eskimo tries to approach the animal quickly at the back of a wave, with the sun at his back and the wind in his face. At a distance of from 6 to 10 yards he launches the harpoon, holding his paddle in his left hand. There is danger of the craft capsizing through the fouling of the line or the vigorous movements of the beast; or again the line may get into a noose round the hunter's wrist or neck and drag him with it. When the animal is exhausted he is killed with the lance, his wounds are plugged that the blood may stay in him, air is blown in between the skin and the flesh to make him lighter, and he is towed home on the port side of the little craft. Stronger and more active

animals are hunted in parties; this is especially necessary in the case of sea-bears and walruses, and these assemblies are socially important. The distribution of the catch follows established rules. The man who gave the first wound gets all or half the skin and the chief part of the entrails; the second, the neck and the rest of the entrails, and so on. Polar bears are often hunted up with dogs and speared.

The seal-fisheries in Behring Sea have become of importance in the general life of the arctic races. On account of it alone the Aleutians have removed to the Behring Islands, which were uninhabited at the time of their discovery. The labour of this seal-killing is not heavy. K. Neumann saw one of the two places where, according to the natives, half a million of seals make their fighting-ground; of these, at a stated time, two thousand are clubbed to death with oak cudgels;



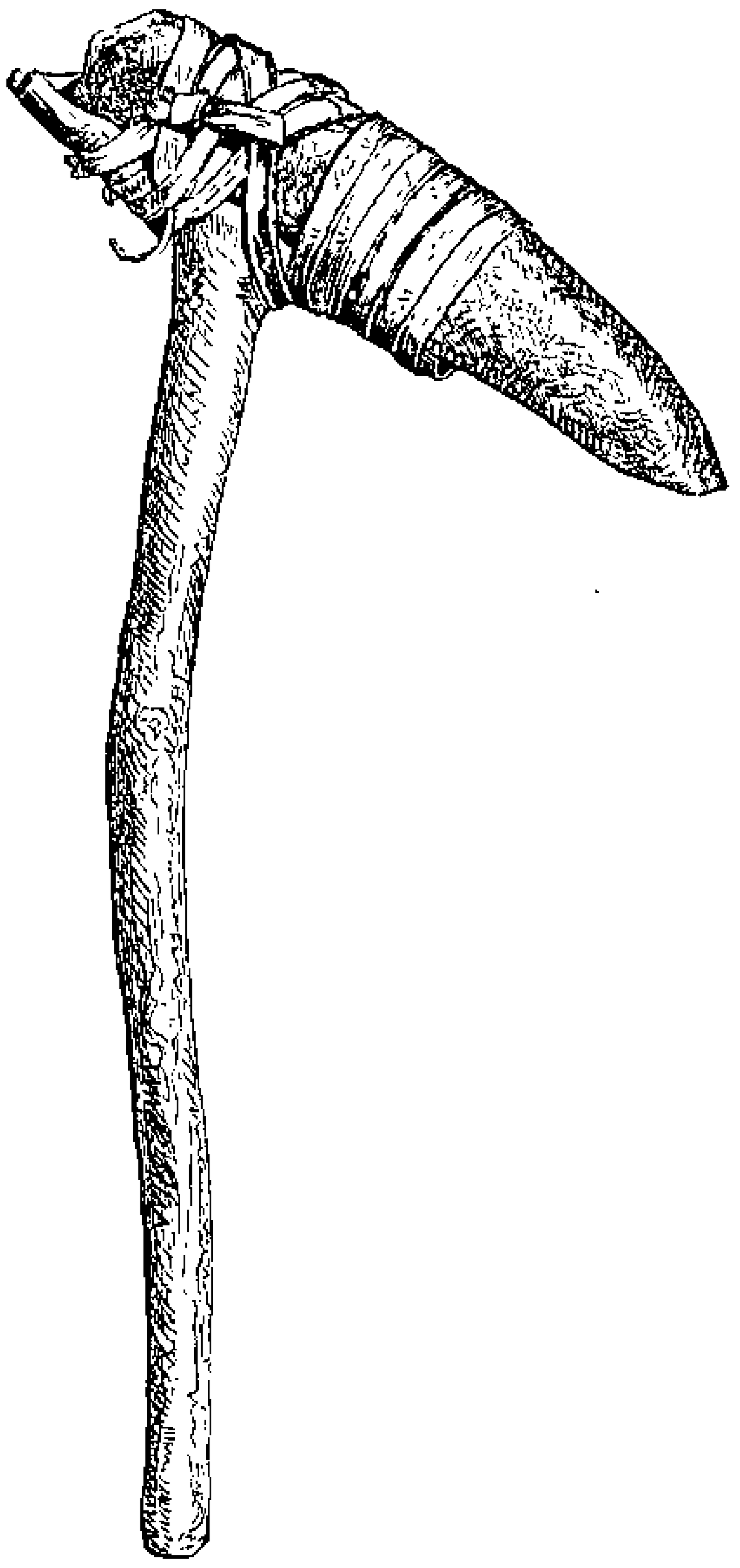
Utensils, etc., of the West Eskimo: 1. Tambourine; 2, 3. Stone Lamps; 4. Instruments for cleaning clothes; 5. Pipe of walrus tooth. (Berlin Museum and British Museum.)

the whole herd having previously been driven together, so that the most suitable individuals can be selected. The hunters get a present of money, huts and churches have been built for them, and the American Company maintains a schoolmaster for their benefit. It is the same on the Komandorski Islands. But with this new management, the balance of these races has, as always happens in such cases, been disturbed, and their wants increase faster than the means of satisfying them.

Beside spears, the Eskimo use also nets, hooks, and guns. The hook is made of bone with barbs, or of a bright stone stuck in split wood and serving to attract the fish; the line is of sinew, thin sea-weed stalks, or the fibre of willow or nettle, and their small nets (which are not found everywhere) of similar materials. On the lower Coppermine River the Eskimo fish with spear and hook only. The use of narcotic vegetable substances to take fish is unknown, but the Aleutians use a plant with an acrid smell as bait. It is principally among the Greenlanders

and the Central Eskimo that sea-fishing takes its place next after the pursuit of large sea-animals; not so much in parts where there is so great an abundance of river-fish as on the coasts of the Behring Sea.

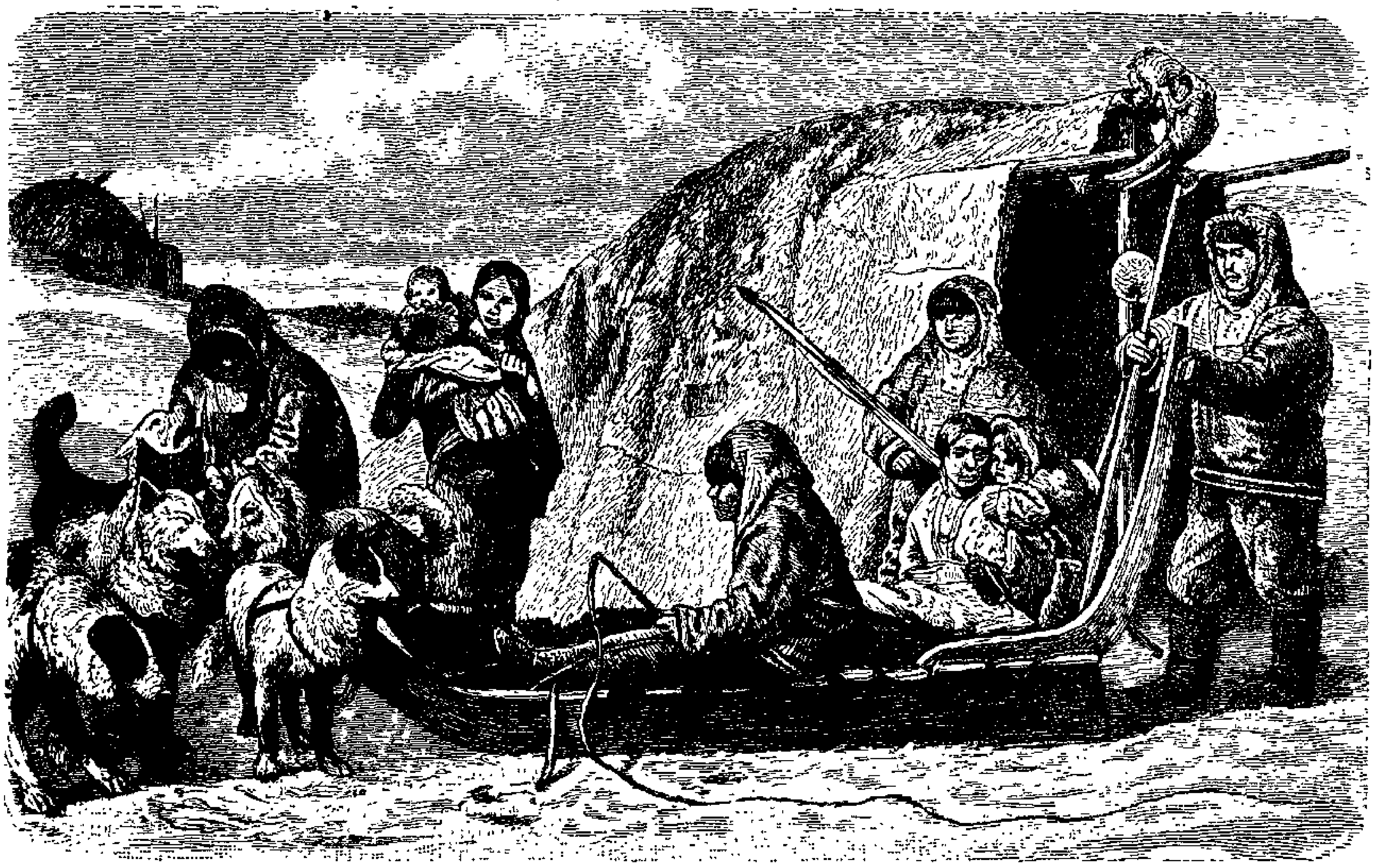
The chief meal-time, at which the food is, when possible, hot, is towards evening. In winter they go to bed as a rule immediately afterwards, and get up very early, often at 2 A.M., to partake of a cold repast. When it can be managed, that is when food is not, as it often is, scarce, the five meals fill up the greater part of the day. Nothing is eaten raw, unless necessity compels—at most an occasional bit of blubber. The meat is thrown into a wooden trough a yard long, and cut up small by the lady of the house; and then all fall to with their fingers. The broth is served out in little wooden bowls or tin pannikins. The favourite viands are the flesh, dried blood, or contents of the stomach of a reindeer, a mixture of fresh and half-hatched eggs, angelica roots and cranberries, the heads of freshly-caught fish, and the like. Neighbours send each other little delicacies as presents. The story of drinking train-oil was exploded long ago by Cranz. Before spirits found their way hither, fresh water, often cooled with ice or snow, was the Eskimo's sole drink; it is kept in wooden tubs, prettily inlaid with plates and rings of bone, and a dipping-cup is always at hand. Tobacco is much smoked, often mingled with native herbs and even wood. The people on the Behring Sea did not perhaps first hear of it from Europeans; they smoke it fine-cut in little pipes which a few whiffs suffice to empty. Jacobsen in fact assumes that the Western Eskimo get their tobacco from Manchuria, through the Tungooses, Yakouts, and Chukchis. South of the Yukon the Eskimo only snuff.



Aleutian stone-adze. (Frankfort City Museum.)

Though local activity has been limited by the influx of superior industries from abroad, trade goes on briskly, most conspicuously so between the coast and inland tribes, the former taking as a rule the more active part. The people on the Chukchi Peninsula in the neighbourhood of the East Cape go westwards every winter, as few vessels sail from those parts. In the summer, too, the Alaskan natives barter wooden vessels for reindeer-skins. The coast tribes having themselves no reindeer must take trade-goods, by preference oil, along with them when they want skins or meat. Trade was in no way called into existence by contact with Europeans. Its chief article at the centre of the Eskimo country, among the Reichilliks of King William's Land, is drift-wood and pot-stone; in return for these, pyrites, used for striking fire, is brought from the east coast of Boothia Felix. The Eskimo do not forget to indicate their roads on maps drawn for Europeans. Unbroken lines of communication run both from Labrador in the south to Smith Sound in the north, as well as in an east and west direction. No doubt scarcely any individual will traverse the whole of these, but the roads encourage mutual

acquaintance. Thus the Eskimo of Cumberland is quite well informed about the north coast of Labrador, and has at least heard of his kinsfolk on Smith Sound. In more spots than is generally known market-places exist, which are visited at times by a great number of traders, as for instance, in summer, the island of Alluk, near the most southerly point of Greenland, where the West Greenlanders barter skins with those from the east coast for European goods. On some islands of the Arctic Sea a trade is done in Russian goods, especially tobacco by the Chukchis for the beaver, marten, and sealskin brought by the Karagauls; and besides this they have trade relations with the Eskimo on the east coast of Behring Straits, to whom they sell reindeer-skins and tobacco for peltries and



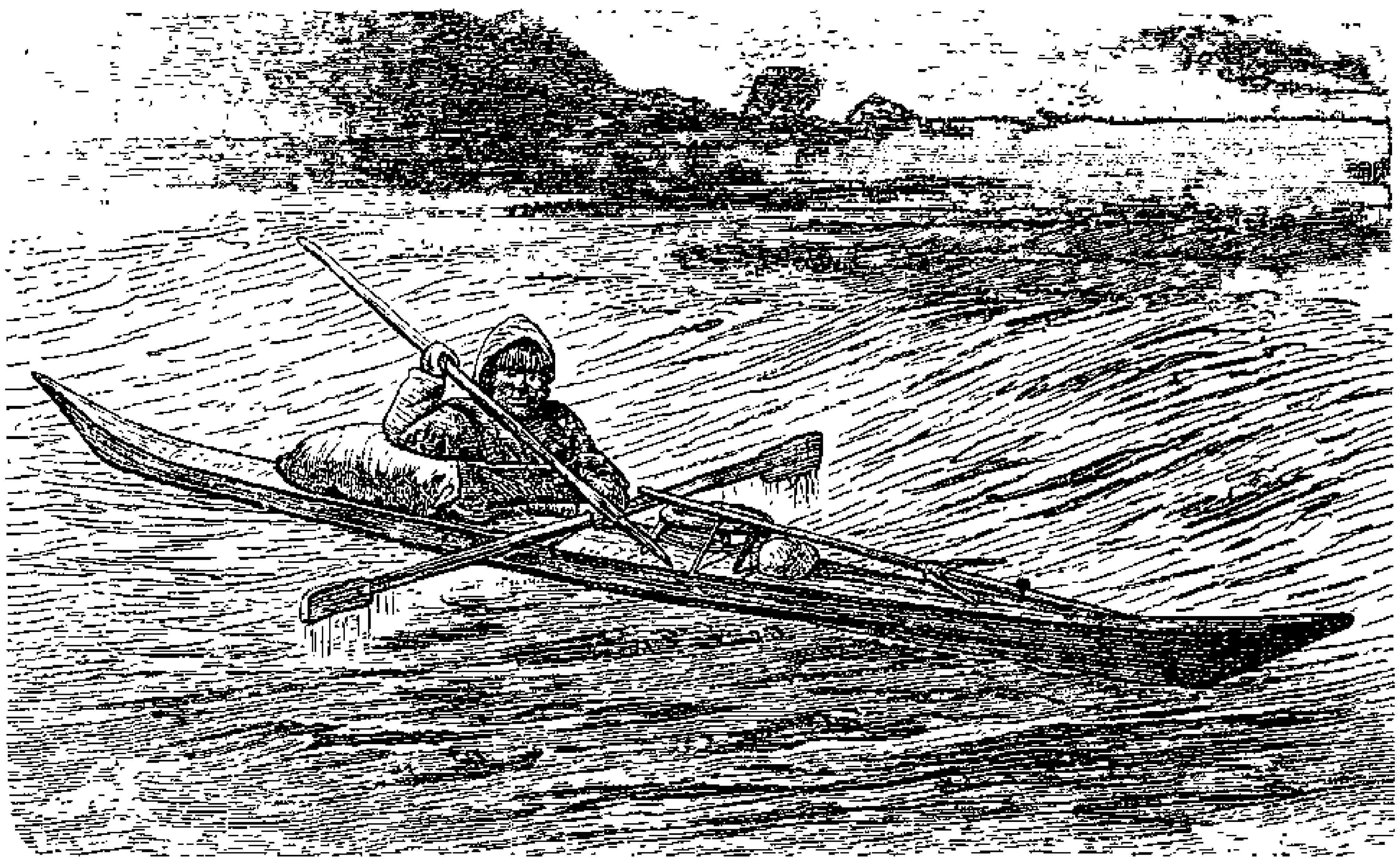
Eskimo camp in Greenland. (From a photograph in the possession of Herr Hagenbeck.)

spirits. Spirits and tobacco indeed have made many of the coast people more of traders than hunters or fishermen; and herein lies the danger of this trade, since, once in the interior, no further control can be had over the "fire-water." But besides trade, changes come about owing to the assemblage of numerous whalers in Behring Straits. Every season they take on board natives from Plover Bay, from Indian Point, from St. Lawrence Bay, and from the East Cape, and often do not land them again till they have gone a long way, which accounts for the mixed languages so widely understood.

We meet with the dog in America, Greenland, and Asia sometimes as a beast of draught, sometimes kept for eating, or again as a companion of the chase. Although the breed is not everywhere the same, yet a special character is given by the sharp nose, pricked ears, bushy tail, fawn-coloured or white hair, height varying about 32 inches, and general wolf-like points, as well as by the mode of feeding and the great endurance. They are fed on offal, but when travelling on fish and meat. Before long journeys the dogs are better fed and are trained to run

fast, till for a short time, and when the cold is not too severe, they can do from 60 to 90 miles in a day. Their feet are protected from injury by fur shoes. A good team consists of about twelve dogs; the harness is made of bear- or seal-skin. A trained leader often runs in front unharnessed. The senses of locality and smell are highly developed, and they have a keen instinct for safe or unsafe ice. During their summer canoe-journeys the Eskimo often put their dogs on small islands, whence they cannot easily escape, while able to get food for themselves. But they are not treated as the services they render would deserve; it is not uncommon to see a leg disabled by a blow, or an eye slashed out by the whip. They suffer too from the ravage of frequent epidemics. Owing to the unsuitable nature of the ground, dog-sledges are not used in South Greenland.

The Eskimo sledge, like their canoe, the *kayak*, has come to be used by



An Eskimo *kayak*. (From a photograph in the possession of Herr Hagenbeck.)

civilized mankind. Both are exactly adapted to the requirements of nature, and scarcely to be beaten for the purposes to which they are applied. Two runners of bone or wood, with cross-pieces attached by thongs to allow of shifting, and overlaid with whale's bone on the under side, form the whole structure. The size varies. With great cold, the snow assumes a hard, crumbly, sandy consistence, from which so much friction results that the whale's bone often requires wetting; this produces a thin skin of ice which makes travelling easier. In Greenland and Labrador the dogs are harnessed in such a way that each has his own trace; in Alaska, where the team may have to travel through dense forest, they are attached in pairs to one main rope which serves as pole, while a specially intelligent leader draws in front.

The Eskimo boats consist of a framework of wood and bone covered with skin. Iron is still avoided owing to its liability to rust and wear through; and the parts are put together with wooden dowels, fish-bones, and sinew. As a rule two forms occur. The women's boat, called *umiak* in Greenland, adapted for goods and for longer journeys, is 25 to 33 feet long, 5 feet broad, and is an elaborate structure, with keel, longitudinal ribs, cross-timbers, and rowing-seats. In Greenland, only the women go about in these; and they also attend to the

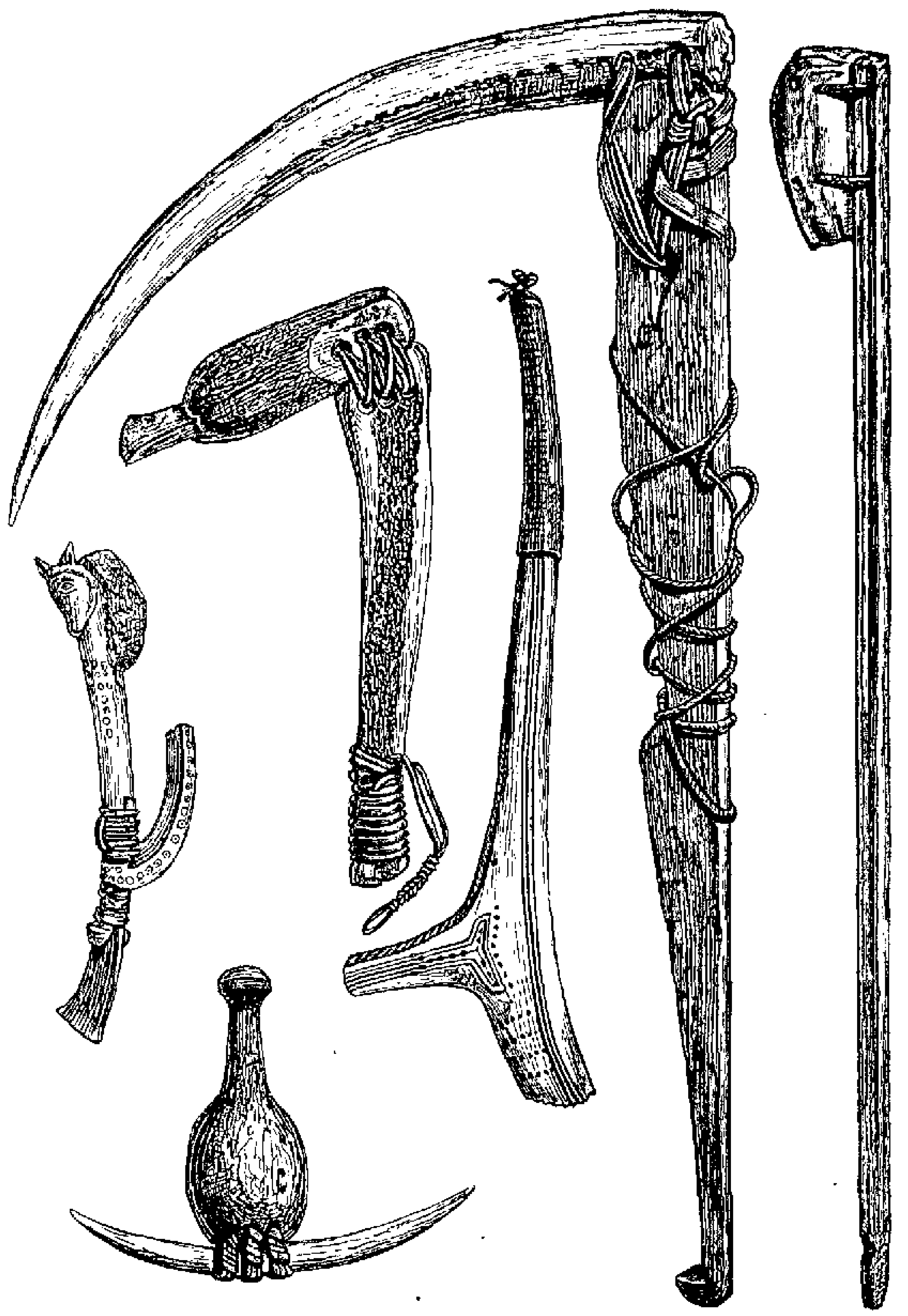
covering with sealskin, while the framework is set up by the men. The short spade-shaped paddles hang in leather loops, and a paddle is used for steering. A party of 15 or 20 persons, with tents, furniture, and dogs, can easily make a journey of several hundred miles in one of these craft. In former days two or three *umiaks* used to bring every year 1000 pounds of seal-blubber, 6 polar-bear skins, 12 foxes' skins, and 200 sealskins to sell at Pamiagdluk. A few men generally accompany a transport of this kind, to give help if wanted. More recently the lack of strong skins in West Greenland has quite put a stop to the building of these boats. On Kotzebue Sound the elder men steer, and when they are not working, may occupy the after-seat. Sails cannot be often employed because of the ease with which the boats capsize, though they are mentioned in Greenland and the north coast of Asia, and Cranz speaks of them as made from the entrails of seals.

The fishing or men's boat, the *kayak* of the Greenlander, is narrow, and seats only one person. It is one of the most perfect inventions of any "natural" race, and the most important assistance in maritime hunting and fishing. Without ballast or keel it draws hardly any water, and to manage it demands great practice and coolness. Yet the *kayaker* ventures out into a sea which would smash an ordinary boat to bits, and dashes through breakers which from one moment to another bury him. The *kayak* is found throughout Eskimo countries. The framework of this craft, which is from 16 to 20 feet long, and never more than 20 inches broad, is made of as many as sixty wooden or bone spars and laths fastened with sinews or fish-bones bruised to fibre. The covering of sealskin envelops the whole boat save a round opening in the middle—the Aleutian boats or *baidarki* alone have two and three openings. In this the paddler sits, and can button it round himself with the waterproof fur so close that no wet can get in. Tightness is ensured by fine stitching and frequent rubbing with whale blubber. Suppleness and lightness are additional points. The numerous artfully-fitted portions of the frame and the elastic covering make almost every part pliant. When a man is starting out, he carries his *kayak* down to the sea laid across his back. Lances of different kinds have been fastened by slings to the deck in such a way that as he sits in his little hatch he can easily take up any one, and with the throwing-stick, which also has its place, hurl it with force and precision. An Aleutian *baidarki* laden with 70 lbs. of weapons and ballast, and an 11-stone man into the bargain, can, according to Erman, do 125 miles in twenty-four hours, a distance which a similarly laden pedestrian would take several times as long to cover. Accidental holes are plugged with blubber or sewn up; for which purpose the boat is drawn up on shore, and turned bottom upwards, supported by some wooden blocks, which form part of the outfit.

A peculiarity of the Aleutian *kayaks* is that the bow has one point above water and one below; in other respects they are like those of Greenland. The double paddle—Eskimo *pautik*—made from drift-wood, is one of the most valued forms of property, and has bone round it to give a better grip. In the event of a capsize it is used as a purchase to bring man and boat again into equilibrium in an upright position. Danger only arises when the paddle is lost, and then the occupant makes haste to unfasten himself. But with his paddle he can right himself and his craft in half a score of ways, having practised the art from his youth. Strangers seldom acquire sufficient skill to manage one of these little

boats in any but quite smooth water. The form of the paddle is alike from Alaska to Greenland; the differences are only in details, and from these the Eskimo can identify the tribe in a moment.

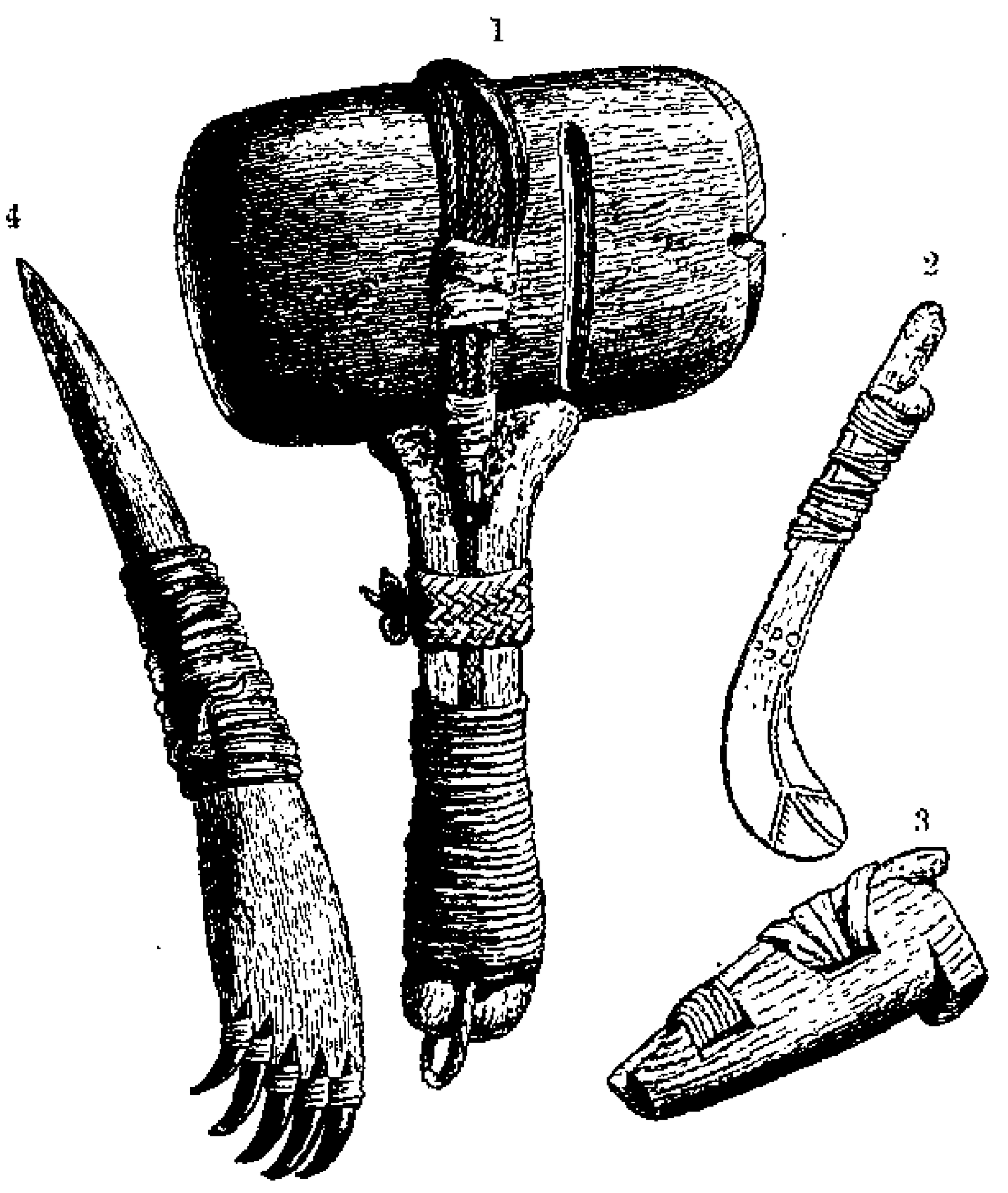
Intelligent in design and invention, the Eskimo makes nothing that is not also finished in detail, and shows industrious and patient work, and often a lively sense of beauty. Considering his condition, his position, his wretched materials and appliances, we must admit that so far as cleverness and inventive power go, he could at least rival all other nations in handicraft. At the same time, devoid as his life is of the firm supports of agriculture and cattle-breeding, there can naturally be little question in it of division of labour.



Eskimo hatchets, hammers, and mattocks of bone—one-sixth real size. (British Museum.)

In no other region does bone find employment in so many directions as here. Stone is also used; metal in a less degree. The latter is only obtained when wrecks of European ships come ashore, or very rarely in a native form by digging, and stone is in many places buried under ice and snow for the greater part of the year, but animals yield their bones at all times. This is the material in which the Eskimo revels. It is at his disposal in inexhaustible abundance, and of kinds the beauty of which, as in the cases of walrus and narwhal tusks, calls aloud for artistic workmanship. Thus an art of bone-carving has grown up amid the ice of the arctic regions, which in its own way flourishes with no less wealth and variety than the wood-carving of the sunny Fiji or Solomon Islands. Lance and weapon heads, hammers, staves, and sceptres, drills a foot long for making fire, pipes, knife-sheaths, various small articles like knife-handles, mouth-pieces, fish-hooks, floats, instruments for smoothing leather, awls, combs, shuttles for weaving nets, everything in short is made of bone. Prominent ornamentation is as a rule excluded, but polish, neatness, and adaptation are all the more con-

spicuous. Indeed, the finish of the bone-work is all the more striking by contrast with the general primitiveness of the stone articles. A fine sense of symmetry also prevails. The ornament consists of engraved straight lines, rows of dots, lozenges, small circles burnt in, as on the African ivory rings, and this chiefly on the fire-drills—huts, boats, men, reindeer, often repeated a dozen times. Instruments for drawing the bow are sometimes adorned with similar designs. The East Greenlanders do not know this quasi-painting; their artistic faculty finds expression in carved work and coloured embroidery. Nor indeed do these small conventional pictures show anything like the acute conception and bold drawing of the animal figures found in our caves of the Drift. There is more artistic value in the carvings from Nature, in which seals, walruses, dogs, bears, are the favourite subjects, and which are made either for pastime or to be used for inserting fish-hooks and such things into. The shapes, especially in the case of seals, often pass into ornament again. Carved human figures are found as amulets, especially in East Greenland; dolls too, for the entertainment of female youth, and ornamental carved figures, which are only conventionalised variations of the seal form. Peculiar are the rings made from small birds' claws, and in the west the buttons of rare stones, often turquoises, for sticking into the lower lip. Special cleverness is shown in the chains carved from a single piece of walrus-tusk, and the handles of various tools. Very perfect are the water-tight dipping-cups, made of pliant wood sewn together, and the wooden dishes with square or round stones inlaid in the rim.



Eskimo utensils: 1. Hammer of jadite; 2, 3. Implements for making quartz arrow-heads; 4. Ice-scraper. (Christy Collection.)

The north-western tribes are great weavers, using a fibre from the haulms of a kind of *elymus*, which is prepared like hemp. In the cave burial-places of Santa Catarina, Dall found artistic mats, with feathers after the Maori style, and reindeer hair woven into them. The hats of the dwellers on Prince William Sound are woven from rushes so closely as to be impermeable—often double, with a crown inside and the real hat outside, and painted with the same hardly intelligible figures that are found on all their utensils. No less excellent are their impermeable baskets of bast-fibre, exactly like those that recur among the Indians, the artistic powder-boxes in which they keep the cormorant's down used for powdering the hair, and the like. In Alaska, nets are woven of nettle-fibre.

As in North America, sinew is split up and divided with coarse combs. Hair-combs, which among the Eskimo are often prettily ornamented, are much finer and closer. Sewing is done with bone needles, very industriously and cleverly; few civilized sempstresses could, even with the finest needles, do such fine and accurate work as these Eskimo do with awls of bird-bone. Their wood-work also deserves admiration, less for its perfection as for the cleverness with which

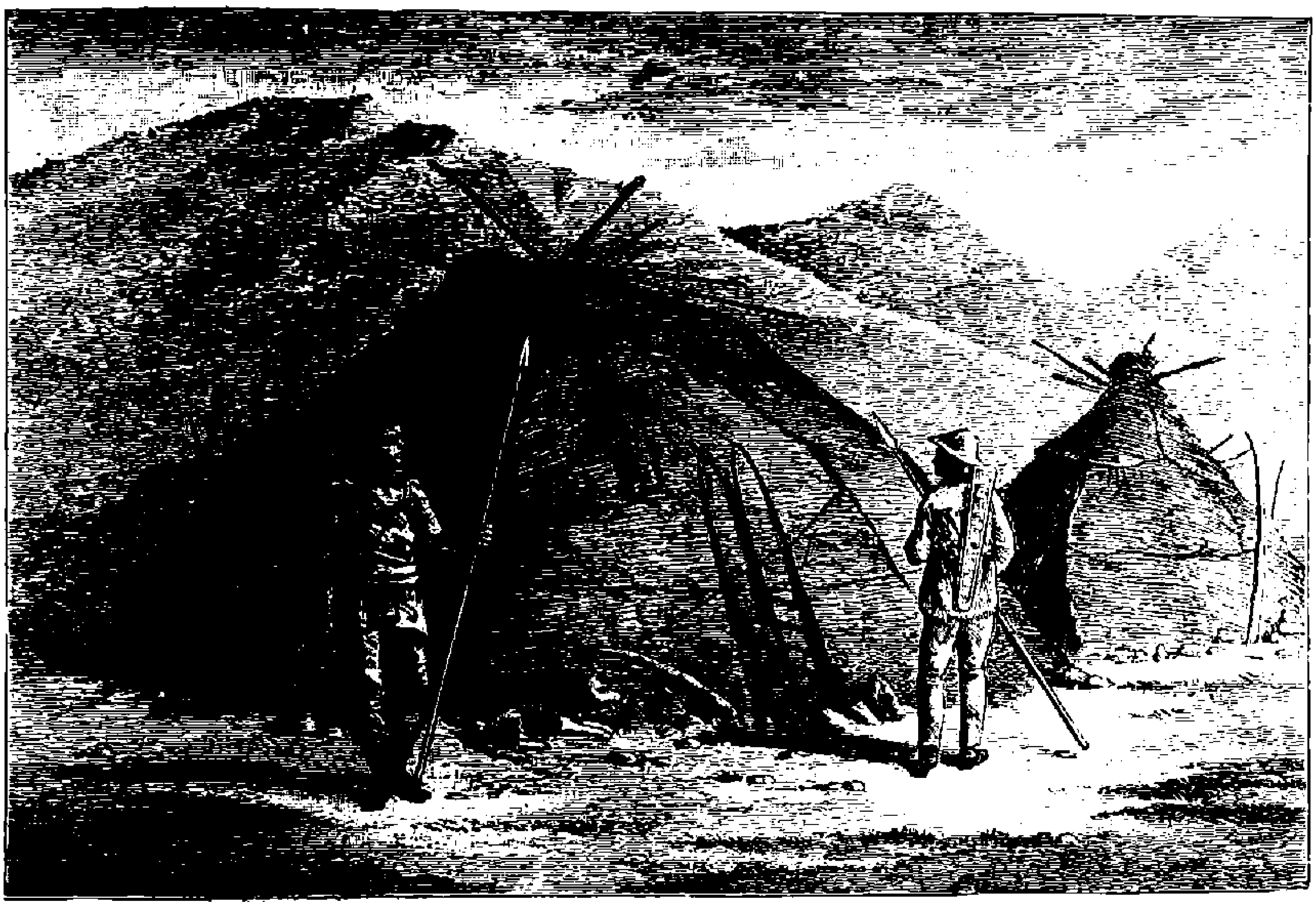
the smallest scraps of drift-wood are often converted into useful articles, and combined with larger pieces. It is the want of drift-wood which keeps the Eskimo of North-West Greenland at a lower level, by depriving them of the means of making good instruments of capture.

The architecture of the arctic races aims at the production of tightly-closed dwellings. West of the Mackenzie River, where drift-wood is plentiful, we find wooden huts; eastward as far as Hudson's Bay, where both this and mammals to furnish bones are lacking, there are snow huts. The most obvious means of shelter from the inclement climate is to dig into the ground till the frozen subsoil is reached, and to erect a hut projecting little above the surface, with rafters of drift-wood or whales' ribs, and covered with skins, earth, and turf. In this the impulse to concentration naturally leads to a circular or oval ground plan; but this is not universal, for in North Greenland, Koldewey found huts of rectangular plan. In order to admit the indispensable air, the hut is connected by a covered or underground passage, the *pak*, with a second excavation, which serves as the entrance shaft, and is protected by a cover. You go down by a ladder, and make your way on hands and knees to the hut proper. These anterooms also serve for taking off frozen and snowy clothing, and for keeping utensils, also as a kennel for the dogs. Corresponding to them in the Aleutian huts is that one of the two rooms where the fireplace is, and which serves as kitchen. The huts are placed near the sea, facing when possible south or south-east. Larger groups of huts are always sheltered from the north wind. The Aleutian huts are half underground, and built of turf, strengthened with some beams of drift-timber. They are sunk into the ground so far that the small windows are on a level with the soil. The high-pitched turf roofs, luxuriantly overgrown with grasses of all kinds, make them look more like graves than the dwellings of living men. In size they resemble the "long houses" after the Nootka fashion, and hold ten times as many as a large Eskimo hut. The entrance is through the roof; the shorter sides are turned in the direction of the prevailing winds. Where quantities of drift-wood or forests allow of large fires, there is an opening of a yard square in the middle of the roof, through which the smoke escapes; it is closed by a skylight of seal blubber. At the present day comfortable American log-huts have been put up for the natives on the Copper and Behring Islands. The Greenlanders never allowed their huts to exceed 50 feet in length, nor 5 or 6 feet in breadth. About forty people on the average live in a hut. These huts stand in the open on rocks or stony ground, where melting snow can easily run away, the walls are of stones, earth, and turf piled up. The storehouses are curious oven-shaped chambers vaulted with stone; hunting and fishing-tackle hang up in the open by the boats, often on special frames of bone or wood.

The Eskimo of the American Archipelago pass the winter in snow huts, and the summer in tents. The former are built as follows. From the hard surface of the snow, which storms have bound close and firm, they cut blocks 16 inches square and 6 inches thick. These are laid in one spirally-ascending course, so as to form a dome-shaped vault. Two such domes side by side represent the entrance hall (where the dogs are kept) and the dwelling room; while a third serves to keep utensils in. A gallery excavated in the snow serves for entrance, and a slab of snow closes the door; so that it is quite possible to be comfortable in a snow hut.

With an exterior height of somewhat over 8 ft. a man of average stature has room to stand upright; light is admitted by a transparent pane of ice; and the outside is made smooth and tight by plastering with snow. Even the pillar-like stands for the lamps are made of snow, and the bed-places; the latter being covered with skins or brushwood.

The nomadic life causes not only the earth-built hut, but also the tent, if it be only during the short summer, to be in use as a temporary family residence. The numerous stone-circles, which arctic travellers have taken for the relics of races long gone by, are in fact only the remains of summer encampments, which are occupied when the melting snow threatens to drop through the turf roof of



Huts of the coast Chukchis. (After Cook.)

the winter huts. But by September they have mostly gone into their holes again, to remain there till May.

For lighting their "long houses" the Aleutians and Alaskans generally made a hole in the roof, and covered it with thin skin. The Greenlanders made the opening beside the entrance. All Eskimo use for lighting, and warming as well, a lamp made of a slab of stone with a platter-shaped depression at one side. Oil is placed in this, and dry moss or grass used for wick. Men and women warm themselves by putting a lamp between their legs and squatting over it for a few minutes. When a lamp is burning in every family compartment of a "long house," the warming effect becomes, in course of time, by no means inconsiderable. Over the lamp hangs a caldron for melting snow. Besides this may be perceived a water-butt, [illegible] for hanging up damp clothes, or as racks for weapons and utensils. [illegible] Europeans, the inevitable vessel containing the unsavoury fluid in which [illegible] soaked before tanning is apt to be disagreeable. A general impression [illegible] domestic life is given by Cranz: "One often is at a loss

which to admire most: their really well-contrived housekeeping packed into a limited space, their contentedness under poverty—they deem themselves better off than us,—or the order and quictness perceptible in such narrow quarters."

## § 29. THE FAMILY AND SOCIETY IN AMERICA

Marriage and wedlock: traces of older forms of the family and growth of the idea of consanguinity; position of the wife—Children: their number and bringing up—Division of labour between the sexes—Morality—Ceremonies at puberty—Women's rule and mother-right—Forms of property—Society: kinship and totem—Conditions of subjection: slaves, men in women's clothing—Chief and Council; fighting and hunting societies; authority and revolution—Warfare—Small size of the tribe; confederacies; frontiers—Names of races—Peaceful intercourse.

THE family has gone through no peculiar development in America. The same stages between clan association and the patriarchal family, the same survivals from a state of "mother-right," which have been preserved in Australia and in the Old World, may be established in America; a sufficient testimony to the close affinity of mankind in general.

Marriage among the Indians is a private affair of the kindred. Polygamy is allowed almost everywhere; but the limited number of women, and the difficulty of feeding them; makes it a privilege of opulent persons and chiefs. Martius thinks that, in South America, polygamy prevails among the stronger races, like the Botocudos, and among tribes living in hotter climates. But we learn from the Wintuns of California that in circumstances of poverty the increased labour thrown upon the wife gives her increased rights; for then she extorts monogamy. For this cause too, they seek wives not for their beauty, but for their strength and willingness to work. Among the monogamous Iroquois, the clan system may have had a limiting effect. More than two wives are very rare in the North-West.

Purchase of wives has almost everywhere replaced the crude forms of wedlock, and in many cases the high price is a hindrance to marriage, so that among the Abipones, the youth cannot as a rule think of marrying before twenty-five, the girls before nineteen or twenty. The ceremony is often very simple, but even so are held perfectly binding, especially the silent exchange of presents. Capture in the mild form, in which the bridegroom does not ask the bride's consent, but simply pays the price and takes her off to the woods, seems to now occur rarely. On the other hand, the forms of reluctance, refusal, delay, on the part of the bride,—among the Abipones she has at last to be brought to her spouse in a sack,—have maintained themselves here and there. At the same time, agreement between the pair is the usual rule; indeed, according to Muster, marriage among the Tehuelches is always based upon it. In most cases the wedding-feast is a simple drinking-bout, during which the couple declare their consent. Among the Americans of the North-West it coincides with the presentation of the gifts or the payment of the price, and long ceremonious speeches are made; heads of maize or bananas appear as the bride's symbolical gift in return, and among the Ojibbeways she receives a piece of meat. The Abiponian bride bore her furniture and her loom to her new house in a solemn procession, walking under a robe held up by her companions. Among the Orinoco tribes the bride fasts before her

wedding. On Millbank Sound the wedding gift is handed to the bride on a platform resting upon canoes, and wealthy people have a great feast on the occasion. Among the Macas, a boat's crew goes through the business of a whale-hunt, with harpoon-throwing within the enclosure of the new house. On the borders of Canada, the custom was for the couple to hold either end of a stick a yard long. An elder then made a speech, and broke the stick into as many pieces as there were witnesses. Many customs refer to the duty of proving ability to maintain a family. Thus among the Muskoks a candidate for marriage had to build a house, reap a field, kill a head of game, and the wife was not bound to him till the results were handed over to her. Among the hunting races of North America the hunter sent his best game to the maiden, and she, if inclined to accept him, sent a piece back cooked, with little love-gifts. On the other hand, a celebrated warrior was wooed by the girls; among the Osages, by the offering of an ear of maize. A go-between is almost indispensable. Among the Thlinkeets, the wooer bargains with the parents as to the purchase-money; and then the bridegroom, in presence of his relations, brings his present, and claims his bride. Old aunts are preferred for this office; but among the Ojibbeways it is promoted by the respective mothers. Prices rise according to rank. Among the Chavantes of Brazil, Martius describes a mode of courtship by a contest in tossing the caber. Marriages also serve to further political aims. Not only among the Incas of Peru, as Garcilaso relates, was it usual for princes to give their female relatives in marriage to deserving men; elsewhere it was difficult to refuse one or more daughters to a powerful neighbouring chief.

Hindrances and facilities come about wherever the family is still based on "mother-right," and totemism is respected. Here the stock from which the wife has to be chosen is imperatively settled; as this is seldom very large, the choice is limited. On the other hand, marriages are possible which in a "father-right" family would count as most grievous aberrations. The children look to their maternal uncle as their sole male protector, so that a father can marry his own daughter. But in North America this system is nearly extinct; while the "levirate" has maintained itself more stubbornly in that very part. Another group of kinships springs from endogamy. Among small tribes, in which the men have to look for wives to the women of their own clan, marriage between brother and sister is very common. We must regard this as a relic of promiscuity, but must assume that it arises ever afresh under the constraint of circumstances. Martius alleges that morals become purer as the numbers of the tribe are larger, and points out, as specially corrupt, the Coerunas and Nainumas, who in his time were on the verge of extinction. A third source of clan-marriage is the custom by which mother and daughter, in a family that has been captured in war, are made over to a single man. Lastly, this takes place even in time of peace, as among the Naymas of Guiana. We know that among the Caribs of the Antilles, a man could be married simultaneously to a mother and a daughter, or to two sisters. The instances which occur of isolated restrictions on intercourse between mother-in-law and son-in-law may be referable to simple-minded attempts to put a stop to this undesirable state of things.

The *totem* system in full rigour exists only in isolated groups of tribes; but the custom of marrying only into a strange stock turns up in many places. Thus the Atuas and Koloshes of the Kenai district are divided into various exogamic

clans. Among the ancient Iroquois totemism was magnificently developed. Every nation was divided into eight stocks, distinguished by the symbols—*totems* in Algonquin—Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Tortoise, Roe, Snipe, Heron, Falcon. All persons bearing one of these names were regarded as brothers, related by blood, and upon this rested the firm bond between the nations. In old days, the first four were allowed to intermarry only with the last four, and conversely; afterwards it was sufficient if man and wife belonged to different stocks. The children were reckoned as belonging to the mother's, and all property, dignities, and rights passed in the female line. In what were called "guilds" in South America, and based on mutual intermarriage and exogamy, it was the same thing; among the Indians of Guiana the bridegroom passed into the bride's tribe. Inequality of age is very common; young men marry old women, while the elder men claim the youngest girls. As the wife grows old, the husband as the junior is compelled to marry again, and in this way polygamy comes in. Reports as to the laxity of the marriage-tie seem on closer investigation not always to be confirmed. When in Brazil the men offered their wives to strangers, these were often really only slaves captured in war. The Carayas maintain quasi-husbands for widows at the public cost, lest they should be a source of disturbance to the general peace. Among many Indian tribes adultery was in old days heavily punished.

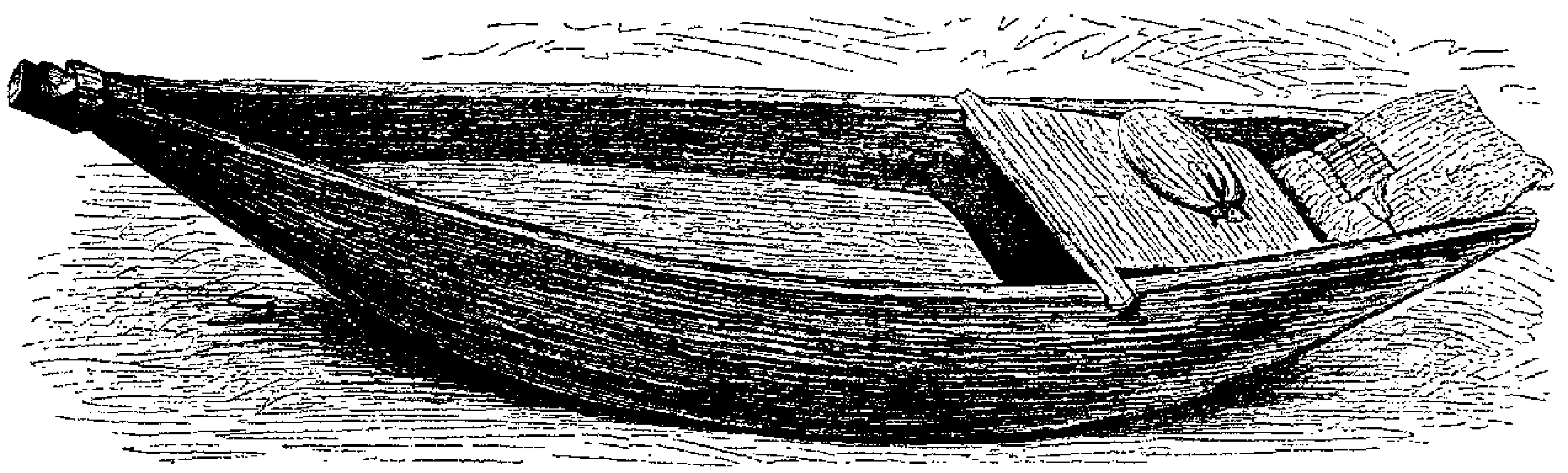
The number of children is as a rule small. In monogamous households this is no doubt due to the fact that the mothers suckle for three or four years; but even in polygamous families the wives dislike to be deprived of their husband's company for long periods, and many means of abortion are resorted to. According to Azara the Guana women on the Paraguay do not bear children till they are thirty. Exposure of children and infanticide are not uncommon. The Wintuns of California hold a deserted wife justified in killing her child, on the ground that a fatherless child is the devil's property. Dobrizhoffer remarks upon the danger which attends childbirth among the women of the riding tribes. The *couvade*, or custom by which the husband lies in, is extremely widespread in America, and was first studied there with any precision. As soon as the wife is about again the husband affects to be ill. Often he has to lie up for a whole month, and eat only cassava or little fishes taken by means of the *nicou*-plant. Any breach of the rules may result in the child's dying or growing up vicious. Even the whites in some so-called civilized places on the Amazon believe that the child will not thrive if the father does not remain some days inactive in his hammock. From the beginning of her pregnancy the wife stays in a room apart, if possible a hut. No man may approach her or touch her food. This is the rule with the Wintuns on the Mosquito coast, and among the Tinnehs of North-West America. After delivery she is often put into a vapour-bath. The Thlinkeet woman awaits her confinement, even in winter time, in a snow hut behind the house. This is no brutal isolation, but really a kindness in comparison with remaining in the close and noisy family dwelling. When the child is not more than a few weeks old it is bathed daily in cold water—both a matter of bodily cleanliness and a ceremony of expiation. Among the Kwakiuts the cradle, when the child has done with it, is carefully packed up and put away in a cleft of the rock, never to be touched again.

Whether the new-born child is named at his initiation, or not till the declaration of puberty, is not definitely known. Plant and animal names are very

frequent. Among the Caribs and the Brazilians both parties change their names at marriage. Often the "medicine man" acts as giver of the name. Among the Tinnehs father and mother alter their names to that of their first-born son.

The treatment of children by their parents is affectionate, though little petting takes place. Corporal punishment is, however, equally rare. Little children are mostly fastened to a board or a cradle, which is often prettily decorated and hung round with toys and amulets; the mother carries it about with her wherever she goes or whatever she is doing. Among the Natchez, says Adair, boys used to be laid on panther-skins, girls on those of buffalo-calves, that they might acquire the disposition of those animals. Stories as to the sale of children are met with in isolated cases.

The transition to maturity in both boys and girls is the occasion of a festival. Formerly the girls used to be shut up for some time in a little hut; among the Thlinkeets, in old days, for a year. In this they might at first keep nothing but



Brazilian Indian cradle, with arrangement for flattening the head. (Munich Ethnographical Museum.)

water, and be guarded above all from the sight of fire or of the sun, on pain of being eternally disgraced. Among the Macusis the girl with her hammock is relegated to the extreme point of the dome of the hut, which she might only leave at night; and at the same time she had to fast. After some time the maiden is allowed to occupy a small space partitioned off in the darkest corner. In the morning she must cook her own meal of manioc-porridge in her own pot at a separate fire. Not until the *Piai* has exorcised her may she leave the hut and take a bath. After her return she is whipped by her mother during the night, on a stool or a stone, with thin rods till the blood flows, but must not utter a cry of pain. Among the Caribs her hair is singed off, and two deep incisions are made by the *Piai*, as she stands on a slab of stone, running down her back and from shoulder to shoulder, cayenne pepper being rubbed into them, which has to be endured with like stoicism. After that her arms are tied and she is placed in a hammock and an amulet of teeth hung round her. After three days' fast she is carried back to the slab, her feet not being allowed to touch the ground, her arms are untied, and she is put back in her hammock, where she has to live for a month on raw roots, cassava bread, and water. These severe tests have to be gone through once more before the girl is admitted among the women. In many villages there are sacred huts, where women at certain times live apart from the community. Among the Chinooks the girls, upon attaining maturity, must for a certain period bathe every day and rub themselves down with hemp; nor may they eat fish or berries. If they go out of the hut when the south wind blows, the thunder-bird appears and

brings a storm. In South America also it is believed that a girl will in such a case get goitre and ulcers, and that women, who at such times go into the forest, will be attacked by snakes. The Juri and Tupi girls, so long as they are maidens, wear cotton threads on their arms and loins.

The boys also have to show themselves worthy of admission among the men by enduring pain and privation. Among some of the Orinoco tribes wounds are made on their breasts and arms with wild-boar tusks, or a toucan's bill. Among the Macusis and Wapisianas the *Piai* brings a square net of *calathea*-stalks, about half a yard wide, in the narrow meshes of which some 60 or 80 large biting ants have been forced. This is laid close upon the naked body, so that the boy or girl gets the benefit of the insects' bites. The Apalais and Rukuyenns use this ceremony as a form of welcome to strangers; Crévaux had to yield to the urgency of the people, and apply the ant-poultice. This is the *maraké* referred to on p. 24; it can be done equally well with wasps; and whoever has gone prosperously through it, has further to hit a target set up behind his back, three times running, with little cassava-balls, which he flings over his shoulder. The same custom is also found among the Guaraunos of the Orinoco Delta. Among the Gualaquizà Jivaros a great festival is the introduction of a child at three or four years old to the act of smoking. The whole family assembles, their head extols the virtues and feats of the child's ancestors, and expresses the hope that he may vie with them. The pipe then goes round the circle, and the affair ends with a carouse of *chicha*.

All over America we find that girls wear less clothing than women, often going quite undraped till they grow up.

Ideas about sexual morality vary very much. Among the Mundrucus young unmarried men live in separate huts: among the Chavantes they are closely watched that the girls come to no harm. But most Brazilian tribes attach no value to the preservation of a girl's virginity, just as among the old Peruvians maids were less sought in marriage. So again in the more or less influential "guilds" or bands, a woman who purchased entrance from a lower into a higher guild had to surrender herself to those who sold the privilege. In North America the Huron girls were found to be utterly dissolute.

The position of the women is not in all cases one of oppression. In normal relations the apportionment of work is strictly regulated. If any one expects a man to do a woman's job, or *vice versâ*, he will not get what he wants: in all probability he will not be understood. Far from the men occupying themselves with hunting and fishing, and leaving all the house and field work to the women, we find that, as for instance among the Rucuyenns, the cultivation of the manioc and banana is the men's work. The women bring home the crops that the men have gathered, or fetch the game from the edge of the forest. They may even be seen helping with the paddle, but never in building a hut. Among the Haidas too, and other north-western tribes, the division of labour does not turn out, as sometimes happens further inland, to the disadvantage of the weaker sex, a fact no doubt due to the custom of inheritance through the mother. When the wife attends to clothes and cooking, she is often among wealthy or conquering tribes relieved of this duty by slaves. Among half-civilized or broken-up tribes the man is always lazier than the woman. But also the barbarian Macusis are credited with leaving to their women all the field-work from sowing to harvest,

the preparation of food and drink, the fetching of water and firewood, in addition to looking after the children and spinning cotton for hammocks. Their women always eat apart, and must be thankful to get what the men leave. But the burden of labour is heaviest on the women of nomad tribes.

Among the North Americans labour was in general divided so that fighting, hunting, building of houses and boats, manufacture of weapons and gear, fell to the men, everything else to the women. Boys and old men rendered a limited quantity of help in the women's tasks—the tilling of the land, the gathering of wild fruits and roots, the preparation of hides, and the pottery. Field or house-work

An Araucanian Family. (From a photograph.)

was dishonourable to a man among the Iroquois; though young men, as Adair found among the Catawbas, worked for unprotected widows. But among the Choctaws and Muskoks, and on the Ohio, men helped in the field work, and among the Natchez even the warriors would labour on the land whose crop was destined for use at the harvest festival. Nor was hunting a mere pastime; though only enthusiasts for the Indian can claim that the men bore the heaviest burden. When a race is on the decline, the burden always increases on the women's shoulders.

Though it is no doubt true, as von den Steinen says, that the woman, finding it easier to maintain herself and her arts under conditions of constant war with this apportionment of work, exercises a great influence in the progress of culture,

yet the main reason for the often prominent position of the female sex lies unquestionably in the matriarchal clan-system. This preponderance was most clearly expressed when a stranger to the clan sought a woman's hand. He had to enter the alliance and work for it some time without thereby acquiring any property, and often became independent only after the birth of a child. Among the Iroquois and other tribes having a clan-organisation the matrons had the appointment of the *sachem* or peace-chief, and the Wyandottes had, says Powell, a government consisting of four women who chose the chief from their own sons or brothers. His deposition was also the affair of the women of a clan-assembly in which they had a right to vote. The female managers of the festivals, the "maintainers of religion" as Morgan calls them, had the duty cast upon them of keeping an eye on customs and religious exercises. Even in councils relating to war or external affairs the women either spoke themselves or had a special deputy to speak for them. In urgent cases they held an independent council and sent out their own messengers with *wampum*. Many barriers which once confined them have now fallen; where, as among the Bakairis, the women may look on the "bull-roarer" with impunity, even the mask-dances are no longer concealed from them.

The ideas of property are more developed than is often supposed. Great importance is attached to possession; and standards of value, which permit of the accumulation of capital, are universal. The history of colonisation in America shows how well, in spite of their desultory agriculture, the natives knew the value of good land. Here as elsewhere wealth gives influence; the Haidas purchase the favour of their medicine-men with money, and punishments can be commuted for a fine. Even if the land of the tribe was common property, and let out to individuals only for a period, we know how each man feels himself to be a co-proprietor, and how strictly rights of property are adhered to as against strangers. The manner in which the Haidas have partitioned the Queen Charlotte Archipelago among themselves, and made it over to families subject to well-developed laws of inheritance and assignment, forms a great difficulty in the way of European encroachment.

The majority of Indian tribes had already reached the status of district community, all land being common property in the sense that every man might plant and sow thereon. For hunting purposes the tribe divided its land among the families, and every hunter set up his hut in the middle of his piece. The cultivated land lay mostly in one strip, and the village field of the Iroquois often comprised several hundred acres. Work on the land created a title in a family group, a single family, or an individual, but this could never over-ride the older rights of the tribe. Where the woman, as the cultivator, was almost the sole creator of property in land, she held in respect of this also a position of advantage. In the transactions of North American tribes with the colonial governments many deeds of assignment bear female signatures, which doubtless must also be referred to inheritance through the mother. Title depended on permanent uses of the property, which could be sold or bequeathed. In Nicaragua a person who was giving up his estate could, says Gomara, dispose of it only in favour of his nearest relatives. Detached dwellings are private property, while in common huts posts in the wall mark the boundaries of the separate homes. The *chinamit* of the Guatemaltecs, the *calpulli* of the Aztecs, by the very signification of their

names, "enclosure," corresponding to the Quiche *yai*, show the close connection of the family with the soil. Not only consanguinity binds the family together but also common possession, the *milpa communal*, as it has continued to exist in Spanish America. On this system the population could have attained a great density; wherever, as in the state of New York, an estimate of it can be formed, it cannot have reached a two-hundredth part of the present numbers. Famous tribes often reckoned only 200 warriors all told.

We often meet with traces of almsgiving; but arising more from precaution against future want on the part of the community than for pity. Some tribes had store-houses, such as the Cherokees called "the chief's barn," to hold voluntary offerings of provisions to which any one had free entry whose own were exhausted, who had to entertain strangers, who was going on the war-path, or wished to support indigent neighbour-tribes. The Iroquois had a public store of maize, dried meat, and wampum. Superfluous corn was usually buried; the Hurons kept it under their roofs, the Tensahs in woven baskets or large gourds.

Society among the Americans rests on the *totem*-system of clans distinguished by animal and plant symbols. We need give only one example. The two most eminent clans of the Thlinkeets are those of the Wolf and the Raven; and to these are attached the Bear, Whale, Salmon, and Frog clans. A Raven man may only marry a Wolf girl; the children follow the mother and succeed the uncle on the maternal side. Thus family-property always remains in the same clan. For this cause a nephew must marry his uncle's widow, even if he has a wife of his own. Here and there mother-right has been broken through, and that most frequently by inheriting what has been acquired from the husband. The Ojibbeways have express inheritance on the male side. A newly-born child can be given to its paternal aunt to bring up if the father's stock seems to need strengthening. "Son" and "grandfather" are denoted by patronymic terminations; thus the Goajiros of Lake Maracaibo have "the Grandfather of the King of the Turkey Buzzards," "the Son of the Jaguar." *Totem*-designations quite hold the place of our family names; and besides them each has one or more appropriately assigned name—warrior-names, for instance—for the men. By subdivision of the two original stocks, sub-clans spring up from any exogamically-connected pair of which a new group may come into existence. Gatschet says that the Creeks or Muskoks, formerly in Alabama and Georgia, can show twenty totemistic clans, while, according to Petitol, the Tinnehs have twenty-eight. Florida too was permeated by the totem-division even more than northern North America, but side by side with it was a caste-system on strongly endogamic principles. Where it does not exist in so marked a degree, it may be inferred from the two, four, or eight-fold subdivision of the tribes, lines of kindred always running by couples together; and also from traditions. Even to this day small differences in clothing, in which Stolle sees remains of *totem*-marks, may be found among the inhabitants of certain villages in Guatemala.

Slavery was customary among all Indians; but only rich men, perhaps only noblemen, owned slaves. They were mostly prisoners of war; though it happened among the Chinooks that men would gamble for their freedom and lose it. The slave had his hair cut short, might not flatten his children's heads, was used when required for human sacrifices, and when dead was thrown into the sea or flung into the forest. It was usual to treat them cruelly, but their work was not

oppressive, and in certain circumstances they might be emancipated. Slave-women were leased to white men for immoral purposes. In 1878, says Dawson, the cost of a Haida slave was 200 blankets. Among the genuine hunting-races of North America slaves were scarce; even the Iroquois did not enslave neighbouring enemies, but obtained them—Pawnees exclusively—by way of trade from western races. Prisoners of war were also allowed a position in the tribe, married, and regarded as members, but not with full rights; and inheritance through the mother gave them a standing inferior to their own children, as they belonged to no kindred. Almost every tribe in North America seems to have kept some men in female dress. According to Marquette, among the Illinois and Nadowessis, these might only carry clubs in battle; while among the Mandans and Minnitarrees they performed all the women's household work. At games and dances in honour of the Calumet they were not allowed to sing, though in council their voice was as good as another's, and among the north-west tribes they ranked near the priests. On the other hand, among the Guaycurus of Brazil they were called *cudinas* or eunuchs, and held in small esteem.

The flow of slaves tended to be from weaker to stronger tribes; whole clans, nay whole tribes, stood in the position of masters and servants. According to Dobrizhoffer, the Chanas who once dwelt on the Paraguay, were the recognised lords of the large or industrious race of the Mbayas. Of the three tribes in the Maracaibo peninsula, the Goajiros took members of the Cocinas into their employment. The Arawaks, artistic people and advanced agriculturists, are, by a kind of compensatory civilization, neighbours and subjects to the powerful but rude and uncultured Caribs. A great deal of South American ethnography is based on this principle. In the north too, there were certainly tribes with a developed agriculture who did not go on the war-path. Where war, with short intervals, filled the whole of life, relapses must often have taken place. The Iroquois tradition, that before they came into New York State they cultivated the soil where Montreal now stands, paying a tribute of their crops to the Algonquins, and receiving in return a share of the Algonquins' game, is fully worthy of consideration. Perhaps when Penn concluded his treaty with the Delawares in 1682, these stood in a similar relation to the Iroquois; as a people they were allowed neither to go to war nor to dispose of their land.

Those who know Indian ways say that nothing is harder to understand than the government of an Indian tribe. No doubt the complicated medley of despotism, oligarchy, democracy, and gynecocracy is universal among mankind; but there is something peculiar about the treatment of warlike affairs, and in the strongly-marked character of the *totem*-system. In many cases the chief's office is hereditary, and in the north of South America the heir receives chief's honours while still a boy. The same rank may be attained by marriage with a chief's daughter. At present, however, the office has for the most part only a tendency to be hereditary. History shows many cases in which a chief has attained the first place through valour only; and the Araucanians are said to have chosen as leader in war the man who could longest carry a great beam on his shoulder.

Revolutions are not rare, especially since white influence has broken up the former unity. Subordinate chiefs of small groups, as the number of their adherents increases, contend for influence in the tribe. Chiefs and sub-chiefs are alike exposed to the possibility of desertion; nor is it possible to get at a man

from the moment that he has reached the huts of another tribal group with the view of belonging to it. An unpopular order from the chief leads even to desertions *en masse* from among the tribe. If the habit of domination often allows the chiefs to make short work with the opposition, yet on the other hand the Comanche chief Santana, after making peace prematurely at Washington, died in degradation and neglect.

The more warlike a tribe is, the higher is the authority of the chief. The Prince of Wied rightly rejects, as applied to Indian chiefs, the use of the term *Cacique*, which he alleges to be borrowed from a higher political rank. Gomara even applied this Carib term to the West Indian kings, whose power was scarcely greater than that of a Botocudo chief. On the other hand, economic insight is often of more importance to the prosperity of an Indian race than valour in war. Thus it was that works like the "mounds" came into existence; nor need we, on the ground that no true despotisms exist there, refrain from regarding the inhabitants of that district as the direct descendants of the mound-builders. A large hut, extensive fields, copious food, hospitality, festivals, and a family hoard equally contribute to exalt a man's influence.

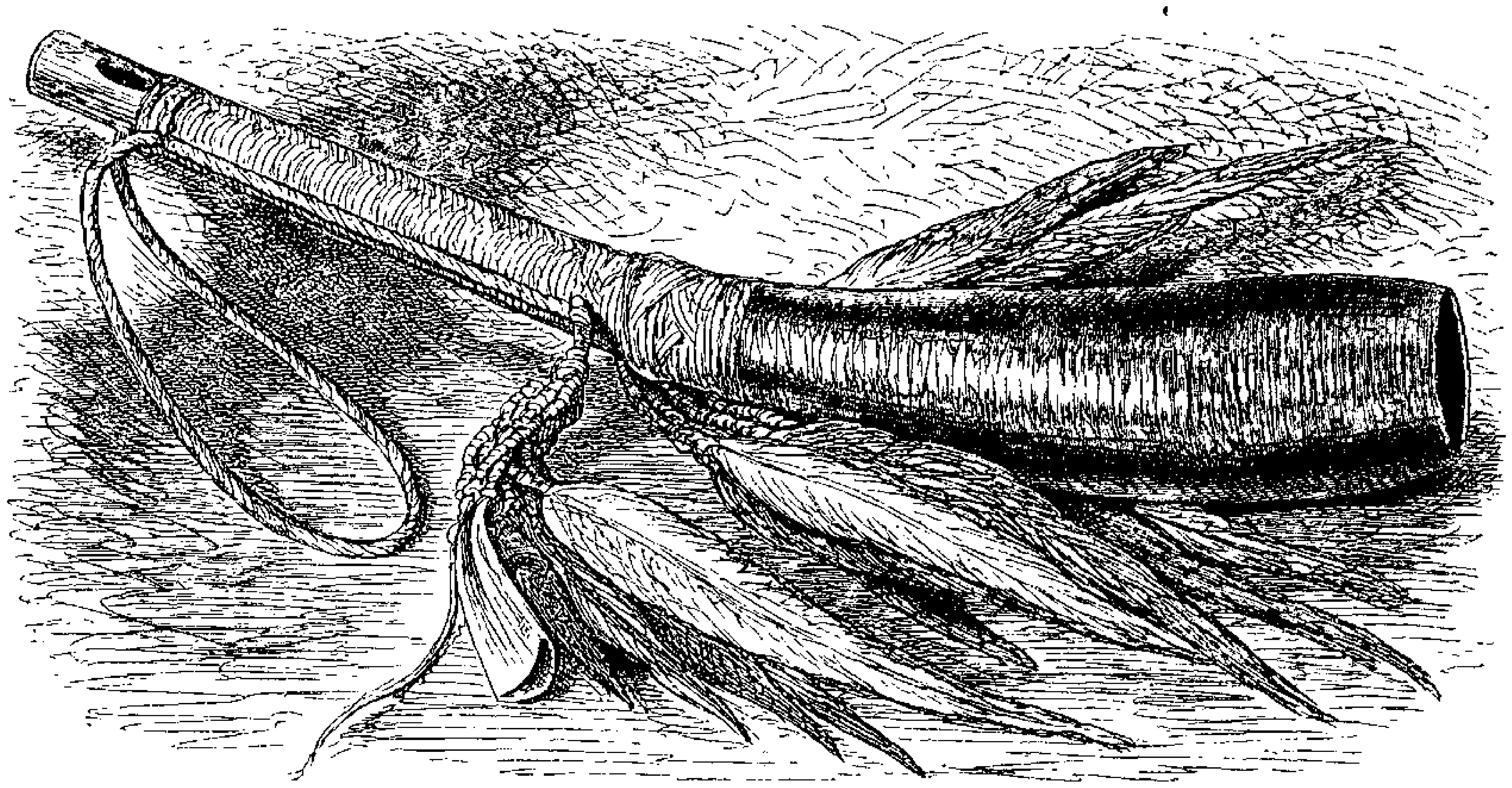
His office of judge is an essential support to a chief. He punishes transgressions, and is expected to do it quickly, so long as he knows that he has the tacit approval of the general council. Yet he cannot well dispense with the aid of an extensive organisation. Revenge and party-settlements further traverse the chief's jurisdiction. Among the Carayas the chief judges only men, his wife taking the women's cases. In the case of offences against the person, blood-revenge was valid, but it could be atoned by a money payment if the avengers were distant relations of the injured person, and belonged to his tribe; and it must be carried out, if at all, within a definite time. If the malefactors were members of another tribe, it led almost necessarily to war, and many cases of the mutilation of prisoners may be set down to revenge for blood. Some tribes had places of refuge, such as the chief's hut, or a pole set up in the village. Theft, rare within the tribe, was generally punished by the chief. With the Incas, the Caribs, the Araucanians, and the Darien tribes, it was a capital offence; in Nicaragua, the thief was sent into slavery till he replaced the stolen goods.

Less often than in Africa and Polynesia is the chief's power augmented by a close connection with religion. We have to remember, however, that religion and superstition increased with every higher stage of existence, and were more easily laid under contribution even by chiefs than by common people. The Calo chiefs enjoyed divine veneration, and took counsel in person with the gods. It is useless for the modern American spirit to please itself by regarding the quickly decayed civilizations of the western highlands as exotic plants in a democratic soil, for here as elsewhere the monarchical system quite naturally developed in the direction of theocracy. Otherwise even among the ancient civilized races of America the princes were responsible officials. He whom the Spaniards called *El Rey*, the king, was only the first man in the tribal council.

The North American races may be divided into a peaceful and a fighting half. This is partly division of labour, partly a caste-separation. The peaceable class may eat only vegetable food till they have come to an agreement with the warriors about the purchase of meat. In the ceremonies by which a campaign is initiated, the peaceable party had to be represented in warlike matters by

persons belonging to the fighting men. It must be expressly insisted on that the *totem* organisation runs as a purely social classification all through the tribe, untouched by this political organisation.

This appears as a further development of the privileged position enjoyed by the warrior-guilds, which were often further subdivided. Among the Missouri tribes all the men of the tribe, in definite classes according to age, were comprised in as many as six bands, but they were also distinguished by names of animals and external cognizances, an invasion from the *totem*-system. Each band had its special dances and songs, and the women were similarly distributed into bands. Since a man could pass by purchase from a lower into a higher band, these institutions tended to equalise property. It may also occur that a peaceful tribe



Brazilian Indian war-trumpet—nearly one-fifth real size. (Munich Museum.)

of this kind sets up for itself; which will explain the Wintun tribes of the Tien-Tiens and the Hupas, who are connected by exogamy and take no scalps.

It is only tribes who have come down in the world, or have quite split up, that have no chief at all; or those who rely upon Europeans. The Woolwas live thus, scattered into groups of two or three huts together. On North American reservations, on the other hand, the chiefs have in many cases maintained their leading position with credit, as smiths, teachers, assistants in missions, model agriculturists, or cattle-breeders.

The chief often is little distinguished externally, unless by the natural insignia of lordship—strength, stature, and when possible goodly bulk. Feathers and other finery in the hair denote victorious fights and slain foes. Among the Blackfeet a flat wooden club, hung with bison's hoof, formed the decorated insignia of the warrior caste. In South America, before the Europeans introduced staves of honour, sceptre-like carved staves or clubs, and also feather-sceptres, seem to have been borne by the Mundrucus, short-handled axes by the Crans. Besides this, the most frequent decoration was a rosette of coloured feathers in the forehead, or a diadem of alligator-scales. Vasconcellos speaks of nails like talons as a sign of rank. Crescent-shaped breastplates of shell, nephrite, and other

materials, often worked so thin as to give a clear note when struck—musical plates,—resemble Polynesian breast-ornaments.

The council in the great tribes and leagues consisted of the heads of clans, while in the smaller it seems to have embraced all the free men in the tribe of full age and able to bear arms. Among the Iroquois the young warriors and the women held their own separate assemblies, which communicated with the council of warriors through delegates. Among the North Americans a fire in the midst of the circle is indispensable; the South Americans hold their meeting by preference at night or by torchlight. Tobacco is smoked on these occasions, and strong liquor consumed: indeed, the Abipones are usually drunk by the time that a decision is arrived at, though this does not interfere with its being faithfully carried into effect. Dodge describes the importance of the council in the public life of the Indians as being supreme, alike as to internal and external affairs. There is no voting, but the question is decided by acclamation, whence the great influence of the talking men, especially among the Iroquois. Important matters are kept strictly secret, and those who know the Indians best confess that they have obtained little accurate information about them, even from the most intelligent natives. The old men who are intrusted with the tribal traditions, together with the custody and interpretation of the *wampums*, enjoy great respect.

Next to the chief and the council, great influence is possessed by the hunters' union of the tribe, a guild which in its own affairs can judge and order without appeal. Dodge calls it the "stomach" of an Indian tribe, the head and heart having to be sought in the other two authorities. But as the demands of the stomach are more permanent than those of the heart or the brain, the influence of this league often reaches deeper than that of the chief or the deliberative assembly. It embraces the younger chiefs, the hunters and warriors, the entire male working power, that is, of the community; it procures the food and guarantees the defence. It acts as overseer of the village, settles the place of camps and outposts, looks for hunting-grounds, and organises the chase; and since game has decreased in quantity it arranges the close time. Among the Tinnehs the preponderance of the hunters reduces the chief to the position of regulator of the hunts and commercial traveller, and lately he has been a nominee of the Hudson's Bay Company. In Brazil, we also find hunting expeditions of several days under the leadership of the chief; while among others, at least the fixing of the hunting-time belongs to the chief's functions.

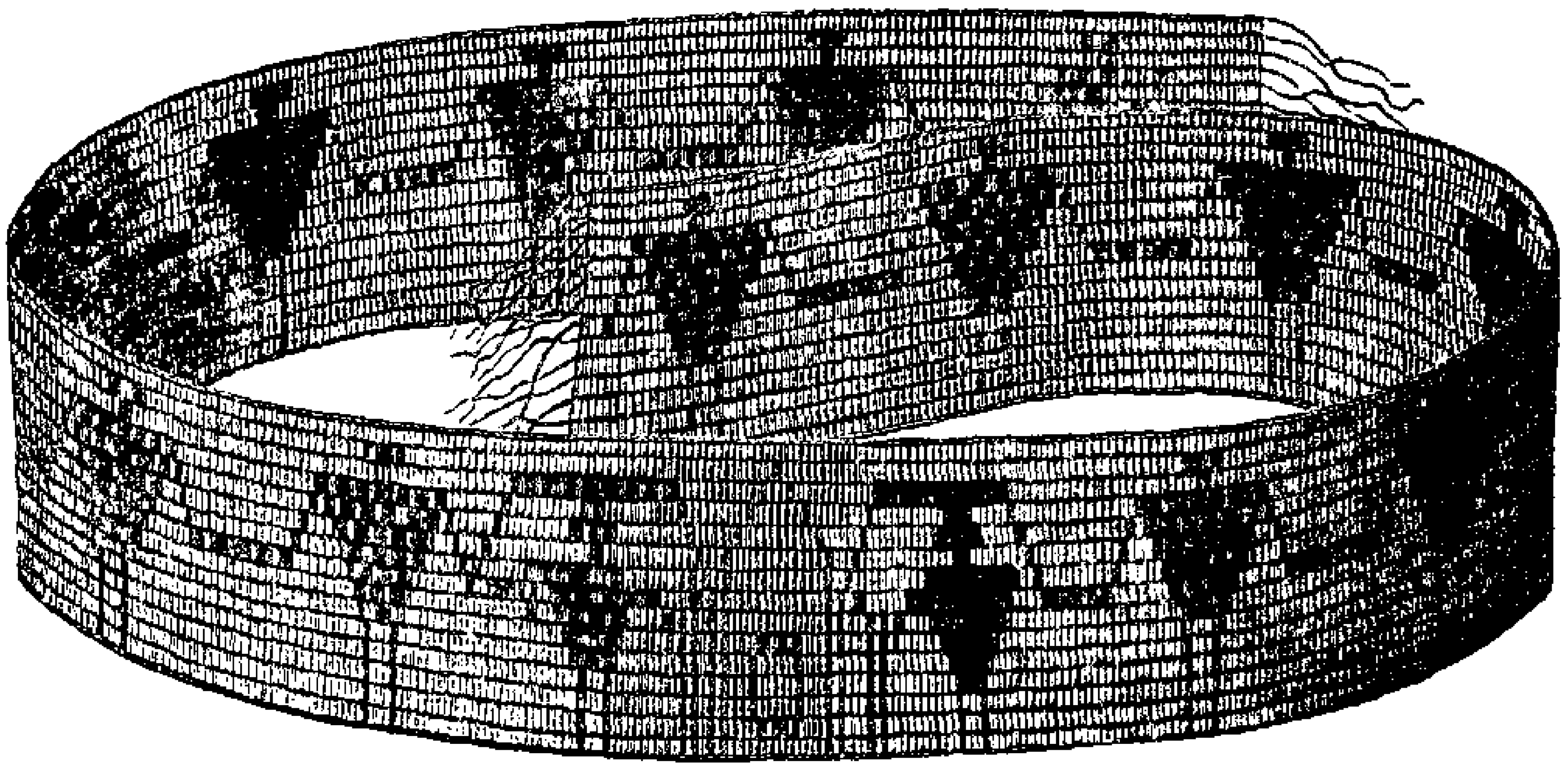
Outside of the great countries which possessed a civilization, we find no sign of any formation of dominant states. Confederations for war, or protection against more powerful tribes, were formed temporarily, as a rule between tribes of the same stock. The only important exception that can be named is that of the Iroquois League, based on a firm treaty; but it was principally family ties that bound the "Five Nations" together; and the Tuscaroras, who joined later, never became fully privileged members, and the attempt to strengthen the failing power of the Iroquois by union with other tribes always failed.

The Ottawa League on Lake Superior comprised only three kindred tribes. In large groups, like the Chinooks, the only state was the village. The Thlinkeets again had a patriarchal commonwealth, maintained by common agreement and strict observation of tradition, while the chiefs claimed only a limited influence.

Among the Nootkas the chief was only allowed the position of leader in a formal way. Often tribes that are half destroyed combine with others, as the Missouris with the Ottoes.

Dispersion brings with it a number of little enemies, and it is just the tribes who belong to one and the same people that have the fiercest feuds. The Botocudo tribes, who were by no means strong, were all at strife with their neighbours, to such an extent that the Malakis and Maronis could only maintain themselves by putting themselves under the protection of the Christian priests and officials. On the rivers of Guiana these conditions form a sensible hindrance to intercourse. People block the roads leading to their villages with sharp stakes, which they stick in the ground so as to be concealed.

Simple marauding raids are undertaken without formalities, and varying numbers of persons share in them. Wars on the contrary, frequent as they are, are always carefully prepared for; and besides this the larger tribes always have



Onondaga wampum-belt, of 9750 beads. (After Powell; Onondaga Agency, Onondaga County, State of New York.)

their own fighting caste. Scouts, especially in North America, attain a high degree of detective power, and skill in adaptation or disguise. On their return the council meets, and decides the question of war over drink and tobacco; but arms are never taken up, says Dobrizhoffer, unless victory is practically secure. The declaration of war, if it amounts to more than a raid, is conveyed by means of such symbols as the hurling of an arrow or spear into the enemy's territory, or sticking it up on the frontier, or else by messenger. The summons to war is given by drums or trumpets, a whole string of ideas being often expressed by notes in particular sequence. Among the Mundrucus, and also the Iroquois, every subordinate chief pledges himself to serve by cutting a notch in a staff that is handed to him. The custom of digging up the war-hatchet engraved with memorial hieroglyphics, and carrying it round with dances, belongs to North America, like the short-handled Brazilian *tamarana* or to the Carib *butu*, it is probably at once a war-standard and the insignia of the chief. On the march the scouts are constantly active. The camp is pitched in defensible spots and guarded by picquets: while within it division into clans prevails, according to the organisation of the tribe. Marches are often made at night. Bivouac fires are multiplied in order to deceive the enemy as to the numbers.

On great campaigns where all the warriors take part, which in North America come off only in summer, several days before setting out are spent in dances, such as that shown in the plate, and in ceremonies. Magicians are indispensable on these occasions. On the fourth day the braves march out in two columns. The Osage "campaign of the holy sack," in which few take part, is obviously an obscure practice connected with revenge or expiation. A person in mourning smears his face with earth, and enters the village, where he chooses a man to be his servant. He builds a small hut in the vicinity, in which the mourner lives in retirement. Presently he sends his servant out to look for two standard-bearers; then the warriors are invited and the campaign begins. If an enemy is killed, the honour of his slaying is always ascribed to the mourner, and the scalp is his property. A hasty retreat is made; but before they reach home the trophies

A Caraya village. (From a photograph by Dr. P. Ehrenreich.)

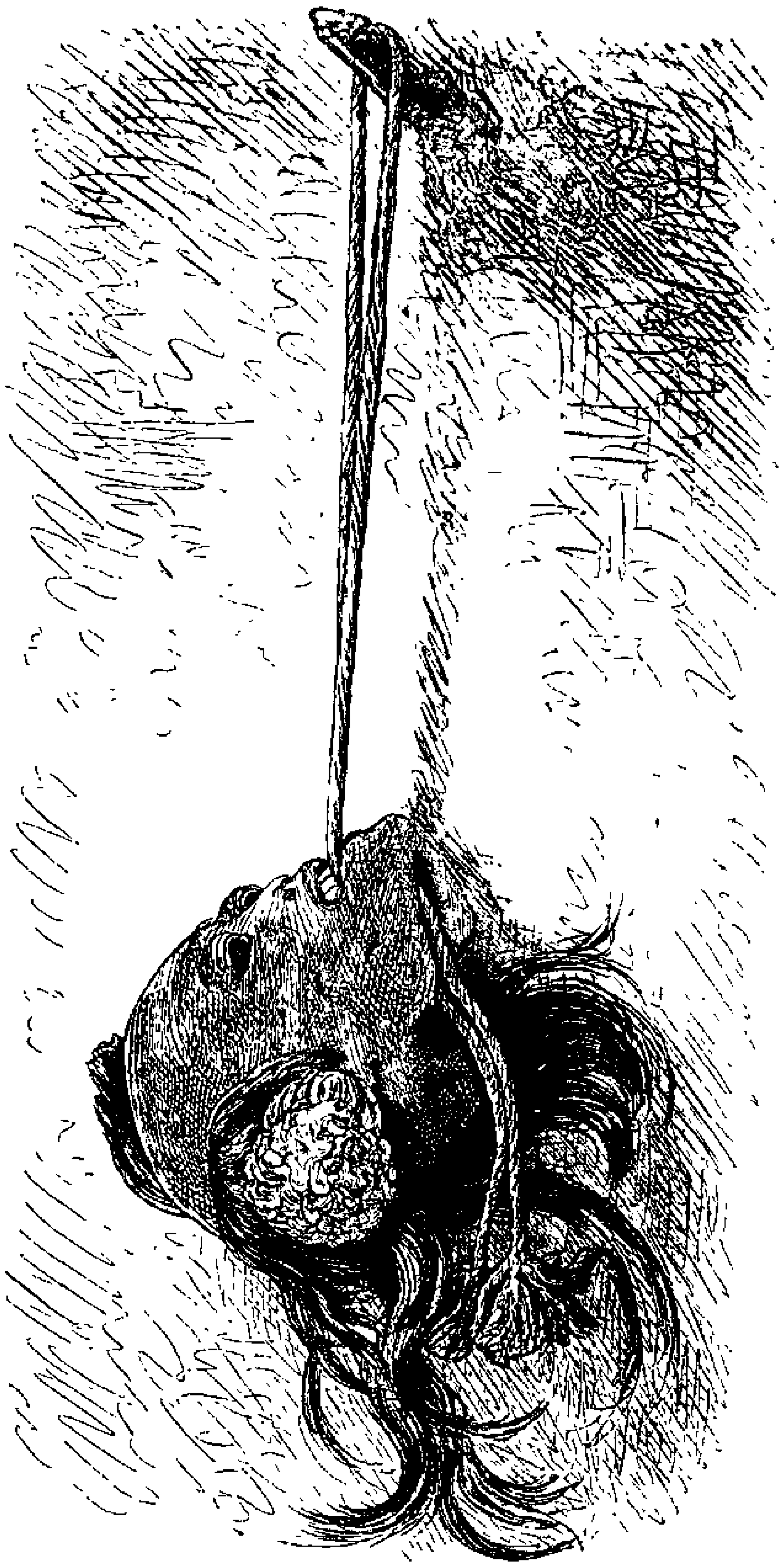
and the scalp are tied to a post, and four shots fired at them. Elsewhere small fights between kinsfolk of one and the same tribe are settled with stakes and cudgels.

Where prisoners of war were not enslaved, they were sacrificed to gratify either revenge or superstition. Among the Hare Indians of North America, and the Mexicans, the process was as follows:—The prisoner was laid upon his back, and a sharp stake driven through him at the navel. His breast was then opened with a stone knife, and his heart torn out and given to the women to eat. Even prisoners who were to be adopted into the tribe were often exposed to tortures and insults, or made to prove their valour by single combats or running the gauntlet. The conditions of peace were, however, sometimes easier. Charlevoix quotes a treaty of the Utagamis in which they promise their enemies to hand over a number of slaves equal to that of the warriors whom they had slain. Conquered people were designated as women, or old women: they could not dispose of their own land, and had to pay a tribute of elegantly carved bows and

arrows. The "pipe of peace" was not only the ratification of the treaty of peace, but the symbol of subjection.

Wars often extended over wide districts, and if they caused devastation they also contributed to shake races up with one another, and to bring them into contact. The Iroquois of New York followed the war-trail as far as the

Dried human head, skin artificially shrunk, Macas Indians, Ecuador—two-ninths real size. (British Museum.)



Mundrucu skull-trophy. (Martius Collection, Munich Museum.)

Mississippi; the Mandans from Pembina to the Rocky Mountains. Displacement through war was the regular state of things. Within a few generations the Omahas were pushed from where St. Louis now stands to Bellevue in Nebraska, to the Pipestone Quarries, to the Poncas Reservation, to Ponca, to the place now called Homer, to the Elkhorn River, to the Republican River, and at last on to their reservation. Have they found rest there?

The array of great warriors is held long in honour. Tribes who have removed far apart, as for instance the peaceful Pimas and their revolted war-like tribe, keep a point of union in such recollections. Many tribes have joint

meeting-places, which may be connected with this. Thus the widely scattered Wintuns have their Mecca in the Cottonwood Valley. Districts of this kind were often the starting-points whence a race migrated, and its scattered members meet as it were at its cradle. But otherwise, also, ties subsist between tribes at a remarkable distance apart, as the Puris of the Espiritu Santo and the Minas.

Scalping is undoubtedly connected with skull-worship. The skin of the head was preserved by drying, and when stretched on a hoop, formed, with the skull, the chief ornament of a warrior's hut or of the place of assembly. The Dyak "head-snapping" was common over a great part of North and South America; and what the Canadians in later days called *faire coup* corresponds pretty nearly to it. Here also it was preceded by fasting and prayer, with smoking the sacred pipe. In northern Peru and Catamarca the heads were prepared just as now among the Jivaros. Brain and bone were removed, and the skin of the scalp and face was packed with hot stones until it had shrunk to the size of a small monkey's head. In the Cauca valley and in Darien we hear of dried human skins, while among the Chibchas the skeletons of warrior chiefs were borne in front of the army. The Panches hang the heads of slain foes for an ornament on their doors. A Mundrucu regards it as a duty to his people to cut off the head of a Parentin, a poor weak creature, wherever met with, in order to make it into a trophy.

Professional fighters, the completely detached warrior-caste as it were of a tribe, *Indios bravos*, recognisable by their self-made isolation, are scattered through all countries in America. A clear light is thrown on their origin by the episode in the history of the Pimas which shows how an entire section of the tribe seceded. In North America the Comanches and Apaches live in such constant feud with the old established tribes of Arizona and New Mexico that they shoot each other like wild beasts. For this reason the Pimas hold an Apache warrior to be unclean; and whoever kills one has to separate himself from his companions and perform various ceremonies before returning. The acquisition of European horses and weapons has especially favoured the rise of such peoples. On the frontier of Brazil and Colombia native slave-catchers armed with European weapons undertake raids on the rivers, attack tribes armed only with bows, kill all who resist, and carry off the rest to the dealers in human beings on the Brazilian side. White settlers in New Mexico and Arizona have employed a similar method to meet their requirements in the way of servants. The *Gaucho malo* of the Pampas may be regarded as a half-European variety of the *Indio bravo;* a species akin to the most savage Cossack of the steppes or the Hungarian horse-herd, who has advanced from the position of horse-breaker and bull-tamer to that of robber and murderer.

The Indian's eye, keen within a narrow horizon, seems to lose in keenness when it tries to embrace the wider circle of tribal interests, at least when they present themselves as a question of extent settled by frontier. The United States have been obliged to acquire the soil of what is now Illinois twice over, in parts even three times, in fourteen treaties. The only guide to the area of the tribal territory beyond the land immediately appropriated by cultivation, and the eviction of it, is the extent of the hunting-grounds. Even if there are also traditions or treaties relating to frontiers, which are marked out with the assistance of the magician by clouts, rags, pieces of bark, and hurdles, or follow the

line of mountains, rivers, or large trees, on the other hand there is a valid rule that when one people does not use all its hunting-ground another takes possession of it. Some of the South American rock-sculptures have in recent times been interpreted with much probability as boundary marks. Even if the seizure of territory and the colonisation of America by European powers involved so complete a practical denial of all title to the land on the part of the Indians, that

A Wayo Indian. (From a photograph.)

even in the huge changes of ownership which followed the peace between England and the newly-formed United States no question was raised as to the white man's sole right of disposal of even undiscovered territories, an equitable judgment of the circumstances could not but lead to the admission that a right in the soil belongs to the Indians as the former inhabitants. Thus came about the treaties made since Washington's presidency in 1789, with the most various confederations of Indians. But the relations of the tribes dwelling within the United States were simultaneously defined, to the effect that they were not to be looked upon as foreigners, but as "domestic dependent nations." The Spaniards and Portuguese proceeded more consistently and more humanely when they

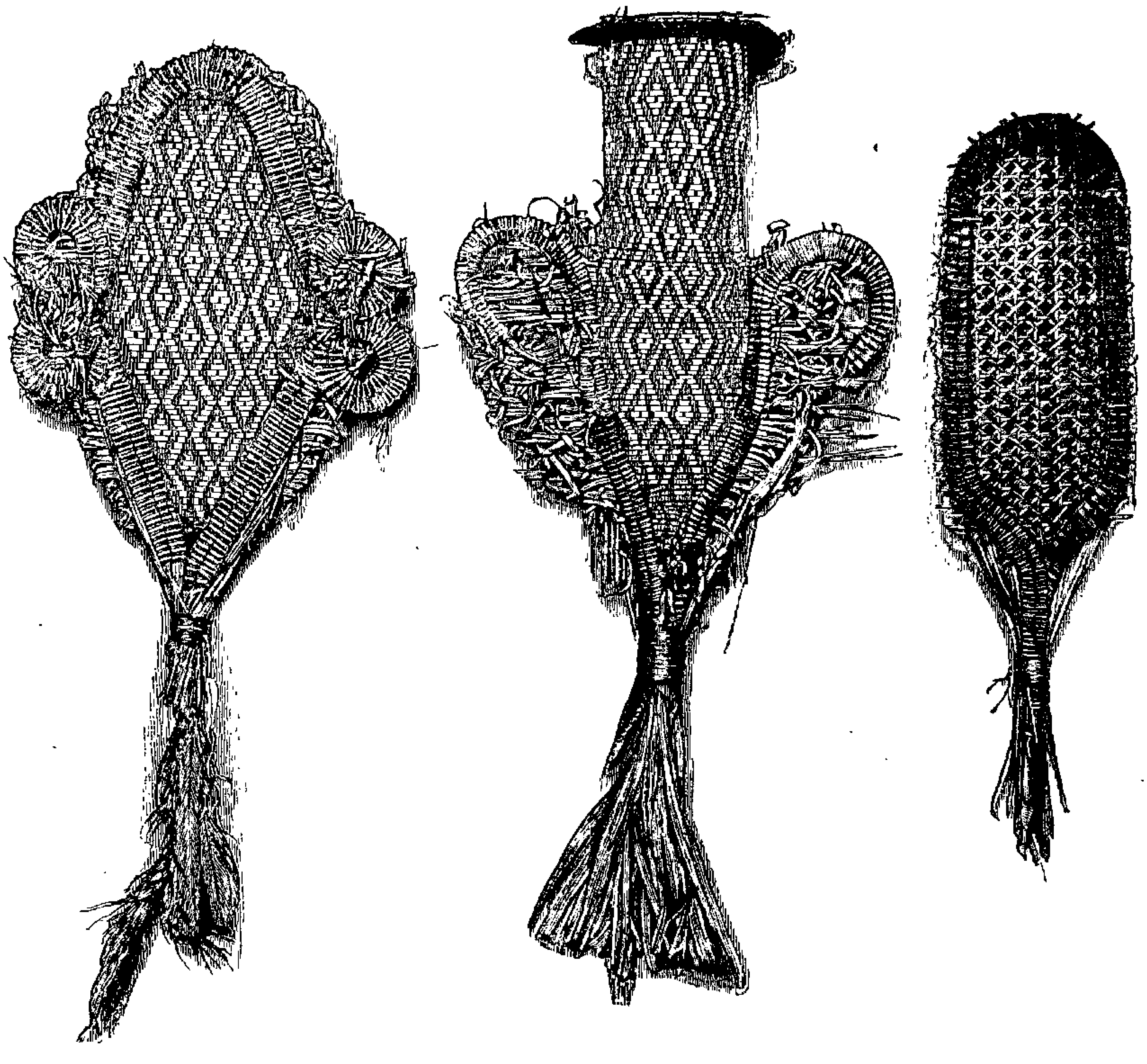
simply treated the Indians as minors, *gente sin razon*, "unreasoning beings," and placed them under the guardianship of the Church.

The names of natives are formed in the most various ways, from quarters of the sky, leaders, physical characteristics, or distinguishing titles.

Peaceful intercourse is embellished by a long list of ceremonies. The Oyampis are so fond of using among themselves the word *banaré*, "friend," that their neighbours call them by that name. Among them, as among the Rucuyenns, the chief has to present the drink of honour to the friendly guest; while among the Apalais and many North American tribes tobacco takes its place. The greatest honour that can be shown to a guest consists in letting him take a few whiffs at your half-smoked cigar. Among the Ipurina tribe we find another case in which the fear of secretly prowling ghosts causes the visitor to rush into a village with warlike cries, and to be received with feigned hostility. In social gatherings the entertainment is lively enough to make the alleged moodiness of the Indian character unrecognisable. Their curiosity is great, and they will hasten to bear news of the most trifling incident to other settlements. Hospitality is in high esteem; but a copious entertainment takes place only when a return is certain. Invitations to share a meal must not be declined. The north-western tribes, and the Chilotes, when nearing a friendly coast, strike up songs, which are answered in the same way. Old World customs connected with eating recur unchanged in America, such as that you should not look at a person when he is eating. In North America gorging competitions recall the outrageous gluttony ascribed in the Bible to heathen tribes, which would seem, as among Indians, to have had a superstitious object.

Numerous and manifold are the festivals to celebrate important periods in life, in labour, or in nature. The Indians of Akoma rejoice when the sun reaches his lowest altitude at the winter solstice and the disk rests upon certain rocks in a position ascertained by experiment. There are rejoicings at the summer solstice, and at every change of moon; rejoicings and dances at the planting of the maize, at the sowing of the wheat, at the bringing-in of the harvest. Every birth and wedding is an occasion for joy. In winter there is a dance every week, often on several days. But when the yellow winter sun has ceased to prevail, and the "green" sun of summer resumes his rule, the dances cease, and the story-reciters are silent; for the rattlesnake has come out of his hole, and woe to any one who utters an untruth. Many of the festivals have a religious character; but the common kinds are held for the entertainment of guests, who make their acknowledgments by dancing. Masters of the ceremonies see that due privacy is maintained, and heralds bear ceremonial invitations. The food is put by the friends of the host straight into the mouths of the guests, who are placed round the fire, and what is not eaten must be taken home. In the North-West the Haidas keep a feast at the closing of the salmon fishery, before which the chief, who is also the magician, has had some conversation, in a costume of bark and bearskins, with the spirits in the forest. The Nootkas have some representations, in which entire hunts and battles are depicted, or the movements of seals and other animals imitated. At the conclusion of one of the Thlinkeets' festival dances, a dancer makes an address to which an outside spectator replies. Among the poorer and socially less-developed tribes to the south, like the Chinooks, the feasts pass in simpler style, without heralds, invitations, or festive

dances. Presents are distributed, with singing, and with attention to degrees of rank. Among the Haidas these have become a fundamental economic institution, since in place of them assistance is given in house-building or figure-carving; or even direct money-payment. Often a man gives or exchanges away his whole portable property with which he can dispense. In the inland regions of North America the feast of the first-fruits or of the green corn was kept by Gulf Indians, Hurons, Algonquins, and the tribes west of the Mississippi. It was



Conventionalised animal figures, used by the Indians of Guiana at festivals as dancing-ornaments. (Stockholm Ethnographic Museum.)

preceded by two days' fasting and separation of husband and wife; and the "black drink" was made from *Ilex cassine*. On the third day food was taken in the morning, and towards sunset, amid a universal solemn silence, the priest began to make fire by rubbing, whereby those present were absolved from all trespasses short of murder. The food was placed upon the altar in an earthen pot, into which the priest poured a libation of the "black drink" and offered the new fruits of the field, smeared with bear's-grease, to the spirit of the fire. Then every housewife got fresh fire to dress her food, and the men enjoyed themselves at the place of assembly, the women and children in their huts, while the absolved neighbour-villages paid each other visits with songs and dances.

Besides paint and clattering ornaments, the chief dancing property consists of a rich assortment of artistically carved masks, which are fastened in front of the face, or worn on the head. Some are human faces, with hair, beard, and eyebrows; others, the heads of eagles or sea-birds, wolves, stags, and dolphins. They are usually far larger than life, and are in many cases painted or covered with leaves of tinsel. Even great pieces of carved work are often worn on the head, for instance the forepart of a canoe. The North-West American masks carved from soft wood often show great sharpness of carving, and certainty of touch, and are nicely polished; showing clearly the tendency of the race to accurate imitation of nature. Animal masks and figures made of plaited bast, strongly reminding us of Melanesian types, are found frequently in North-West and South America.

Among the South Americans—the same may be observed elsewhere—drink plays a great part in festivities. In Paiwari they are often nothing but drinking-bouts. It is easy to understand that as a rule they end with intoxication, since those who take part in them pass days in dancing and making a noise. The Indians of Chili lap wine, as they lie, from a hole in the ground lined with sheep-skin. By the warlike Abipones and their allies also no public business can be decided without a drink. This tendency to drink is fatal. In no country in the world, with the possible exception of New Zealand, have spirituous liquors had so disastrous an effect. The decadence of whole tribes in North America went on unchecked until the trade in whisky was brought under supervision. But in spite of all preventive measures, spirituous drinks continue to play a fatal part in the life of the Indians. Their mischievous effects outweigh all the good introduced by Europeans. It is essentially their operation which dooms the Indians, even where they have recovered their freedom, to a state of economic and political dependence.

## § 30. RELIGION AND PRIESTHOOD IN AMERICA

Again the enquiry after a God: sun-worship—The assistant creator; the fire-bringer—Creation—Yehl—Deluge-legends—Winds and regions of the world—Production of races from the earth; migration-legends—Beast and totem worship; beast-legends—The world-tree—Mountain and stone-worship—Animistic and spiritual belief—The next world and the under-world—Idols; temples—Priests and medicine-men; pharmacopœia; animal magnetism—Water as a means of purification—The corpse and the grave; uniformity and variety of funeral rites; disposal above and below ground; mummification; death-masks; preliminary interment; graves and vaults; presents put with the corpse; funeral feasts.

No race of America is devoid of religion. We find the belief in one or more higher beings and in a host of inferior spirits, we find legends of creation and ideas of another world. The notion of a single Deity floats indistinctly above sky or sun-worship. Nahua terms, like "endless Almighty," "Soul of the world," "Creator of the universe," indicate at least surmises striving to find expression. But the mass of mankind did not rise to such an elevation, and degraded the great spirit, the creator and orderer of the world, into foolish beast-semblances and ignoble anthropomorphisms. Here again the rendering of our idea of "God" has offered the greatest difficulty to the missionaries; wherever an adequate abstract conception is found, it can be met only with "soul," "spirit," "shadow,"

or merely "wonderful." But all this is embraced by our conception "supernatural." Perhaps the *Atahocan* of the Algonquins may have designated the supreme creator God, inactive, however, and remote from the world, to whom no worship was paid. Their *Manitou*, in any case, denotes not the "great spirit," but something mysterious, inconceivable. *Manitous* are numerous spirits of unknown origin, by whom all nature is peopled, and whose behaviour towards men is now hostile, now benevolent. Equally little would *Wakan* serve the turn; that is merely the Dakotah word for anything inconceivable. The Indian conception of a deity only emerges from the sphere of the evanescent when it comes into touch with cosmogony; and then it condenses itself into the single imagination of the creator considered as a person. The supreme Deity made sun, moon, and stars. Of all the other gods the sun stands nearest to him; no strict separation is made between light, life, and spirit. The object of the first creation was to gain assistants, who emerged in a living form from the water or from caves. The belief that the men of the light would one day come to establish their right to the land which the God of light made before he returned to the sky contributed to the rapid progress made by the white conjurors of the sixteenth century; just as, in Africa and Australia, they were regarded as the spirits of the dead, and feared and reverenced accordingly.

Almost all Americans, except the Eskimo and the northern Athabascas, worshipped the sun. Here, as throughout the earth, sun-worship seems to have ceased where agriculture left off. All the great thoughts of American mythology turn around light, sun, "sun-birds," and recur by preference to the East. In Peru, sun-worship was, for political reasons, organised in a fashion which was unique. We must agree with Brinton that the sun was regarded sometimes as a deity among the rest, sometimes as the symbol or form of them, sometimes as the supreme god. It must be noted, however, that in many languages the same word serves for "sun" and "sky"; and otherwise, too, it is rather to the light than to the actual body of the sun that reverence is paid. To the sun were offered, in the chief's hut, the first-fruits of the field or of the booty taken in the chase or in war. Prayer was made to it on its rising, and oaths sworn by it were the most sacred of all. Its blessing was besought for travel, war, and hunting, and the first smoke of the tobacco-pipe was offered to it. Among the Natchez the chief and priest was styled "great sun,"—he knew no superior but the sun, and gave out his descent from it. Even among the Sioux, who in other respects show great divergence, and other tribes west of the Mississippi, it was customary to sacrifice to the sun, and to smoke in his honour. Among the Pueblos, Navajos, Zuñis and their kindred, sun, moon, and stars received worship, not indeed as gods—even they have dim inkling of an invisible supreme god—but as the bringers of fruitfulness and blessings of all kinds. The Guatemaltec term for "long, long ago," means "before the light appeared." Prayer to the sun and moon has been called the fundamental dogma of Aleutians' religion. They were a brother and sister who were inflamed with love for each other, and having been parted are seeking each other ever since. The sun (a female) was pursued by her brother, and blacked his face, so as to know him again by daylight—hence the marking on the moon. The highly-devoloped solar cult of Peru, which at times struggled successfully in its own home against the supremacy of the innumerable village and family idols, the *huacas*, throws its light even into

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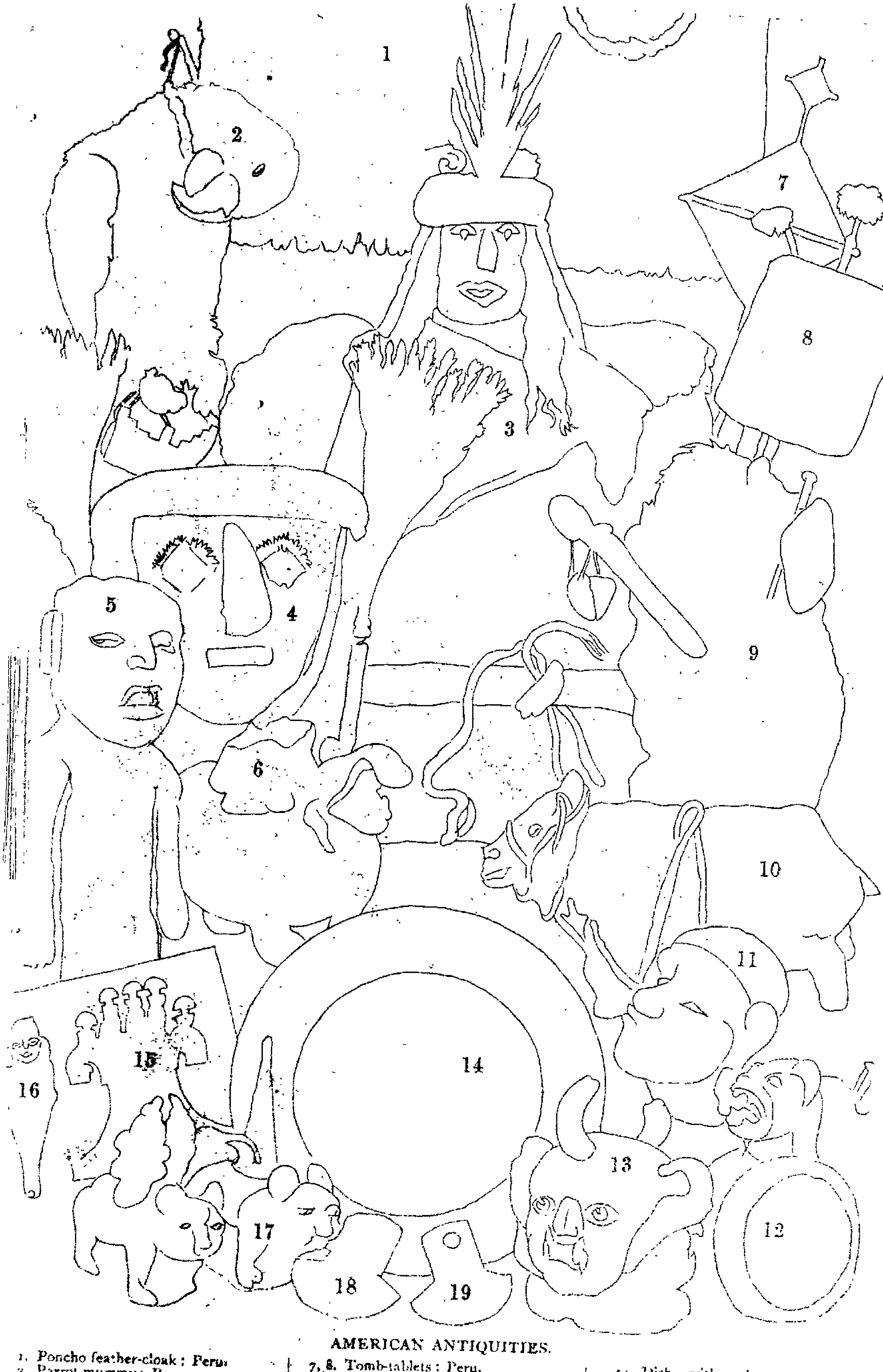
AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES.




AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES.

1. Poncho feather-cloak: Peru.
2. Parrot mummy: Peru.
3. Dressed mummy: Peru.
4. Mummy head: Atrappe, Peru.
5. Stone figure: Mexico.
6. Earthenware vessel: Mexico.
7, 8. Tomb-tablets: Peru.
9. Mummy of child, with toy: Peru.
10. Earthenware figure of Llama: Peru.
11, 12. Earthenware urns: Peru.
13. Earthenware devil: Peru.
14. Dish, with vulture, *Sarcorhamphus papa*: Mexico.
15. Gold figure: Antioquia, Mexico.
16. Gold Ornament: New Granada.
17. Urn, with two jaguars: Peru.
18, 19. Bronze axes: Peru.

1, 4-6, 10-14, 17-19. Ethnological Museum, Berlin. 2, 3, 7-9. Drawings in Reiss and Stübel's *Totenfeld von Ancon*. 15. Drawing in Lady Brassey's *Catalogue*. 16. Drawing in *Memoria sobre las Antiguedades Neo-granadinas*, by Ezechiel Uricoechea.

the gloomy primeval forests of Guiana. In Darien the sun was regarded as the creator of the world; among the Chibcha peoples human sacrifices were offered to the sun-god only.

The moon was reverenced as the goddess of water and rain, and so of the fertility of the fields; also, like Lucina, of women labouring with child, and of new-born infants. But she is also the goddess of the night, who brings no good, the producer of poisons, sickness, and bad dreams. When an evil spirit is brought into contrast with a good one, the opposition of moon to sun or night to day is most frequently the underlying idea; often too, no doubt, the old identification of the goddess of fertility with a dark spirit of the under-world. Hence, too, the caution not to look about you in the field at the time of ripening crops, so as not to arouse this dangerous twofold being. In the Aztec ritual we find lepers as priests of the moon-goddess. A desert country directs the gaze, in hope or thankfulness, towards the clouds. In the *Pueblos* and *Casas Grandes*, as in Mexico and Peru, we find the worship of water, even as the clouds were worshipped in Iran. Where moisture was more essential than warmth to the increase of the crops, especially in Mexico, the moon, as goddess of water, received special attention at the sowing and harvest festivals. Gumilla relates that an Orinoco tribe, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, plied their hoes with more diligence than ever, in the view that the goddess had hidden her face in anger at the laziness of men.

The earth is unwilling to let the water leave her lap; it swallows the sun and the other luminaries daily. It is a serpent, opposing itself to the creative power of the fire and sun. It appears as a great hound, which devours the sun in eclipses; from the Eskimo to the Tupis dogs are beaten during solar eclipses, to frighten away the big dog by their yelping. Dogs were sacrificed to a stormy sea, and among some tribes here and there images of dogs were venerated. In the sound of the tempest or the thunder, men recognised the rushing of a mighty wing, or the cry heralding the approach of summer, or the promise of fruitfulness, or the drum-beat of the horned giant Haskah. Lightning was sacred, and so-called "thunderbolts," painted red, were reverenced by the Peruvians as the children of the thunder-god, by the Dakotahs as the origin of their race. Curiously shaped stones were also called thunderbolts, but concretions remarkable in form or colour were held sacred by the Indians of the Casas Grandes because they were found in water, the source of life. The Tupis of Brazil saw in the lightning the flashing of the eye of the bird which had once been supreme god and creator, then in human shape the bringer of fire and the fruits of the field, and now the sender of fertility from heaven, and heard his voice in the thunder. The Peruvian thunder-god Apocatequil called men into life by turning up the earth with a golden spade. He was attended by three assistants—lightning, lightning-track, and lightning-stroke, or equipped with three weapons, lightning, thunder-bolt, and thunder-roll. Heno, the Iroquois god of thunder and fertility, rides on the clouds.

Garcilaso de la Vega has preserved the following hymn to thunder:

> See, fair mistress, how thy brother
> Breaks the shell in little pieces!
> From his blows is born the lightning
> From his blows the hollow thunder.

Thou too, princess, drawest water,
Sendest rain, and snow, and hailstone.
To such office Viracocha,
Founder of the world and quickener,
Destined and created thee.

In the place held by the winds among the precursors of creation, based upon the association between breath (or soul), and wind, the pervading sanctity of the number four in the quarters of the heaven, and generally the element of astronomy and meteorology are alike conspicuous. The Winnebagoes say that the Great Spirit created four men and one woman, and that the former created the four winds, the latter the earth. Everywhere they are among the beneficent creative spirits, and often they precede in time even sun, moon, and stars. As to the sun, so also to the four quarters of the world tobacco is offered from the sacred pipe. The winds, as messengers of the sun, who bring rain, growth, and refreshment, have their share of veneration next after the moon. We further meet with four servants of the Mexican air and sun-god, four supporters of the earth, who survived the deluge, four corners of the world—whence the Sioux get their pipe of council, four brothers who produced the floor—as in the Arawak legend, and so forth. Thence was developed the universal notion of the sanctity of four and its multiples, and hence the cross on American monuments.

The assistant creator, who in Promethean fashion takes on himself the care of mankind, is sometimes the sun himself, sometimes the moon's son or grandson. The twins Joskeha and Taviskara, "the bright" and "the dark," whose grandmother was the moon, and whose mother died in giving them birth, had a fight in which one used the stag's horn as his weapon, the other the wild rose. The latter was severely wounded, and in flying lost at every step a stream of blood, which was changed into flintstones. But the victor returned to his grandmother, who now took up the part of the dark malevolent deity, and set up his hut in the sun-rising, by the edge of the sea. In course of time he became the creator of men, and of the Hurons in particular. He made the desert earth habitable by killing the giant frog that had swallowed all the water; this he led over the earth, created game and crops, and brought fire to men. Therefore Joskeha received sacrifices, and was often designated simply as the sun.

The invention of fire appears to be more often personified in the west and north-west than in the east and south, where it is of less consequence than the solar heat. First of all the spider-folk spun a thread to get to the moon by, but were detained there and had to leave the precedence to the serpent-folk who then climbed to the moon by the thread, and fetched a firebrand. The Shastika Prometheus, a wolf, fetches a shining flint from the east, while the Mendocinos hold the less personal view that God sent fire into wood in the form of lightning, which has to be rubbed out of it. We are reminded of the Maui legend (Book ii. § 9) when we hear how the fire-rubbing cavern deity of the Chilotes has his capital full of *Jounches* who not only hop on one leg themselves, but also dislocate one leg of any pretty boy that they may catch.

Promethean functions also often lurk in small features of the legends relating to favourite heroes, who are obviously in a transitional stage between earth and heaven. Manibozho, the Algonquin hero, being advised by the woodpecker to shoot an arrow into the crown of the head of the invulnerable chief Pearlfeather,

paints his head red in token of gratitude. This Manibozho is on one side an Indian like any other, is sometimes in want, sometimes in opulence, has friends and foes, marries, hunts, and fishes; while on the other side of him he can turn into any beast, has power over mighty enchantments, and is enabled through them to clear the earth of giants and snakes. But when the Algonquin remarks, during the bright days of the Indian summer, "now Manibozho is smoking his pipe again," his cosmical character is plain. Indeed Manibozho appears as the grandson of the moon and son of the west wind, and his mother, who died soon after his birth, as the twilight; the hero is himself the morning, and his fight with his father the glorified struggle of day with night.

Among many North American tribes, in pre-European days, a fire was kept perpetually alight in honour of the sun. In Virginia tobacco was burnt therein for the enjoyment of the gods; and elsewhere too this last replaced incense. To this day the Zuñis partake of nothing without first throwing a bit of it into the fire, and calling upon the fire, in an established form of words, to eat. The extinction of the fire portended evil, and it could be rekindled only with fire from another temple. It was usually kept in a hut containing the bones of departed chiefs, and guardians had the duty of feeding it. Even where it was not kept up permanently, sacrifice by fire was the most common. Among many tribes, at the feast of the first-fruits, all fires were put out and rekindled by rubbing; the Zuñis did this at every feast.

Allowing for the inevitable wear and tear of oral tradition, the tendency towards new and arbitrary invention is nowhere so weak, nor the adherence to a few fundamental notions so strong, as in the histories of creation. The world-myth which pervades the mind of all mankind shows itself to no one more clearly than to the comparative student of cosmogonies in the deeper historical sense. Hardly a single detail of Polynesian mythology is absent in America, and the variations are comparatively trifling.

The position of the supreme deity is primarily determined by his creative activity. An appearance of monotheism often exists even where all remembrance of the supreme spirit has been lost. But this creative god is often so humanised that he blends with the patriarch of the race, on the assumption that the earth was created for its benefit, and that accordingly its own first parent is to be found in the creator. The first Pima was made out of a nerve taken from the creator-god's neck.

Among the three elements, earth, water, and fire, the water preponderates; earth is only an island. Sky and sun were in existence before either of them, and the sun brings fire to earth either from or with the leave of the sky. The creation-legend of the Hare Indians relates that the Father dwells overhead, the Mother underfoot, while the Son goes to and fro in the sky between them. One day as he was strolling about in this way, he noticed the earth. Returning to his father, he sang to him: "O my father on high, kindle thy heavenly fire, for my brethren on that little island have long been unhappy. Look on them, father, and take pity on men."

Among the north-west Americans the creator is Yehl, the chief figure in some profound myths. His generally human character appears clearly through his bird shape. This divine raven was born before the earth existed; but another god, Khanukh, existed before him. The raven made the earth, pilfering one

ingredient after another from Khanukh. Fire he fetched from an island in the sea; and as sparks happened to fall upon wood and stone, fire can be got from those articles. He brought fresh water in his beak from Khanukh's island. Other legends make him outwit the jealous god, who keeps sun, moon, and stars in a box. Yehl was born, in the days when Darkness was king, of the sister of that deity, who being informed by the *Kun*-bird of the event, cast the infant into the sea. Then the dolphin brought to the mourning mother a stone, which she swallowed, and returned to the world as Yehl, and flew off in the form of a crane, striking the sky, where he remained hanging, perhaps as the sun. In yet a third legend the jealous god's daughter is guarded by him, but Yehl, in the form of a little grass-stalk, adheres to her cup, and is swallowed to be born again. He lets the stars fly out of the box of heavenly bodies, but has the sun and the moon carried up by ravens. Or he himself, as a raven, carries the sun, and, on hearing voices beneath him, asks if there is to be light. But when the gleam of the sun appeared unexpectedly in the sky, men were frightened, running to hide themselves in mountains, forests, or rivers, and were turned to beasts for their lack of faith. In yet another story the jealous god became the first man, and killed his sister's children. Next to Yehl stands his sister, whom the Thlinkeets call the "woman beneath the earth." At the great deluge she parted from her brother, and climbed into the crater of Mt. Edgecumbe, to hold up the pillar on which the earth rests. The Koniags account for the separation by the story that the sister ate of a forbidden grass, whereupon she knew that she was naked, and fled; the youngest of her children, conceived upon the steps of heaven, remained alive by means of a song that it had learnt.

The counterpart, contrast at once and complement to the creator, is a dark principle. Often this is a sleeping partner in the dualism; father Night becomes brother Night. The Chillulas remove it into the air, as a devil with horns and wings, and of incredible swiftness, who can break men to pieces in a moment. This is the storm-god, with his terrors heightened by a dash of the Christian devil, who had no footing originally among the Indians. Here, too, the serpent was not originally an evil spirit.

The name for "man" in Indian language often signifies also "earth" or "stone"; and accordingly legend makes earth or clay the raw material of man, or he issues out of stones. Mexicans and Tezcocans, Aleutians, and the Macas of Cape Flattery, all believe themselves to have sprung from flints. Where beasts appear as the makers of men, a creator-god is hidden in them; manifesting himself by preference in the form of a wolf or a dog. In the North-West, Yehl did not create men of himself, but summoned an assistant to do the business. According to another myth, he advised the survivors from the flood to throw stones behind them, and of these men were made.[1] A revised version makes him himself the son of the first man; and says that he raised himself out of the flood, and got carried ashore on the beaver's back; when he found his mother reconciled to her brother, and created the people of the Koloshes. Various legends entwine themselves around the original idea of the production of the human race from the earth; and even in these apparently secondary formations an element of univer-

[1] [It may not be so superfluous as it would have been a generation ago to remind English readers of the Greek legend of Deucalion, told by Ovid, *Metam.* i. 253-415, or Apollodorus, i. 7. But students of Greek mythology will find parallels to every part.]

sality is not lacking. Legend has it that in former times the Mandans lived underground, where only a little light came by help of the roots of a vine. Some of the boldest climbed up these, and in the upper world found buffaloes and fruits in plenty. They plucked grapes, and brought them down to their kinsfolk. But when half of the people had got up, the vine broke under the weight of a fat woman, depriving those below of light or of all hope of ever getting out. We find similar tales among the forest tribes of Brazil. Among the Navajoes the way upwards is opened to man by the raccoon, and the caterpillar or beetle.

Legends of migrations are in some cases immediately connected with creation-myths. The Ojibbeways say that the giant Yakke-Eltini, who turns the firmament with the hair of his head, closed to men all access to the land in the west. But when he was killed his body fell between the eastern and western worlds and was petrified into a bridge, across which reindeer made their way. To give a continental background outright to such stories is not consistent with their local horizon. The Hare Indians profess to have lived once among a bald-headed folk beyond the sea, whose sorcerers could change themselves by night into dogs and wolves; they wore wooden helmets, and scale-armour, and carried spear and shield. This has an affinity with a Tinneh legend of a people dwelling far away in the North-West, whose men were half dog, half man, though the women were completely human. Memories of the mixture of two totemistic tribes probably are at the bottom of this.

Traditions of the separation of tribes are frequently attached to the creation of the sun, or the first illumination of the dark earth. Long before the coming of the white men, a star appeared in the west-south-west, and thither went many of the Tinneh race. Afterwards came the separation. The Montagnais spread southward; their arrows are small and bad. The Loucheux were driven northward; their women are ugly. The real men, the Tinnehs, were established in the Rocky Mountains.

We seem to be already reminded of the story of the deluge, which in America, too, contains all the elements of a universal legend. Eagles appear, giving warning, since they have seen the storm-clouds collecting. Among others, doves discover the first land; elsewhere a human pair is saved on a mountain, which grows with the increase of the flood. One Indian listened to the warnings of the coyote, built a great ship, and became the ancestor of the Papayos. The modern Papayos think that the prophet who was saved on the ship was their forefather, and every year visit the mountain and the little village of Santa Rosa in Arizona; and a Papayo will hardly kill a coyote. It is curious that in the Inca form of the legend, the deluge is also connected with the worship of sacred tribal totem-like objects, as native *huacas*. There are mountains, stones, trees, according to the nature of the object on which the ancestral pair saved themselves. The legend of the Algonquin hero Manibozho is different. The deluge, a punishment for the slaying of the serpent-king, reached him when he had fled to the highest mountains. He climbed a tree; the water mounted after him. Thrice he shouted "grow!" and each time the tree stretched itself higher, but at length the water reached his chin. Then he sent the sole to fetch up earth, and the musk-rat after him; but the corpses of both floated up. Then Manibozho breathed life into the musk-rat, and this time it brought up earth in its claws, and from that the hero created the earth anew with plants and animals.

The notion that in the beginning there was nothing but illimitable water, from which the earth miraculously arose, gives to these legends a higher cosmogonic significance than that of the Mosaic story of the flood subsequent to the creation.[1] The fancy that birds were active in bringing the earth to light is of world-wide diffusion; it is the winds that blow over the waters with a creative effect. With the storm-bird is associated the winged serpent of the lightning; here the storm-cloud is the agent in creation. With the Chilotes, the Rey' de la Cueva, the cavern-king, leaves his cave, and rides through the waves on a sea-horse, or is borne on his spirit-ship; he can produce fire by rubbing his tail. The Pimas say that the earth was made by a spider, itself the first creature, who produced the earth in its web. Here we have obviously a transference of the creation-net, in which the world was drawn up from the primeval sea. Possibly the sanctity of the fishing-net, to which among the Hurons two girls were wedded every year with a view to improving the catch, may be connected with the story of creation.

In place of the one deluge appears, with more fixity of tradition, perhaps also encouraged by the priestly fancy for playing with multiplications, the conception of periods in the world's history. The Mayas suppose that three such are past. Two ended by pestilence, one by storm; their own world is in the fourth age. The Aztecs assumed four destructions, respectively by water, fire, storm, and famine. Further, all fires were put out at the end of every fifty-second year, and rekindled by rubbing wood. If this were to fail, the sun would never rise again, and the waters would flow over the earth and lay it waste. The Peruvians feared the same thing at every eclipse of the sun. Forecasts of the end of the world also circulate. Among the Winnebagoes these allow for only three generations more, and have, in association with Messianic prophecies, quite recently led to political disturbances. P. Lizana has preserved the following Maya prophecy:—

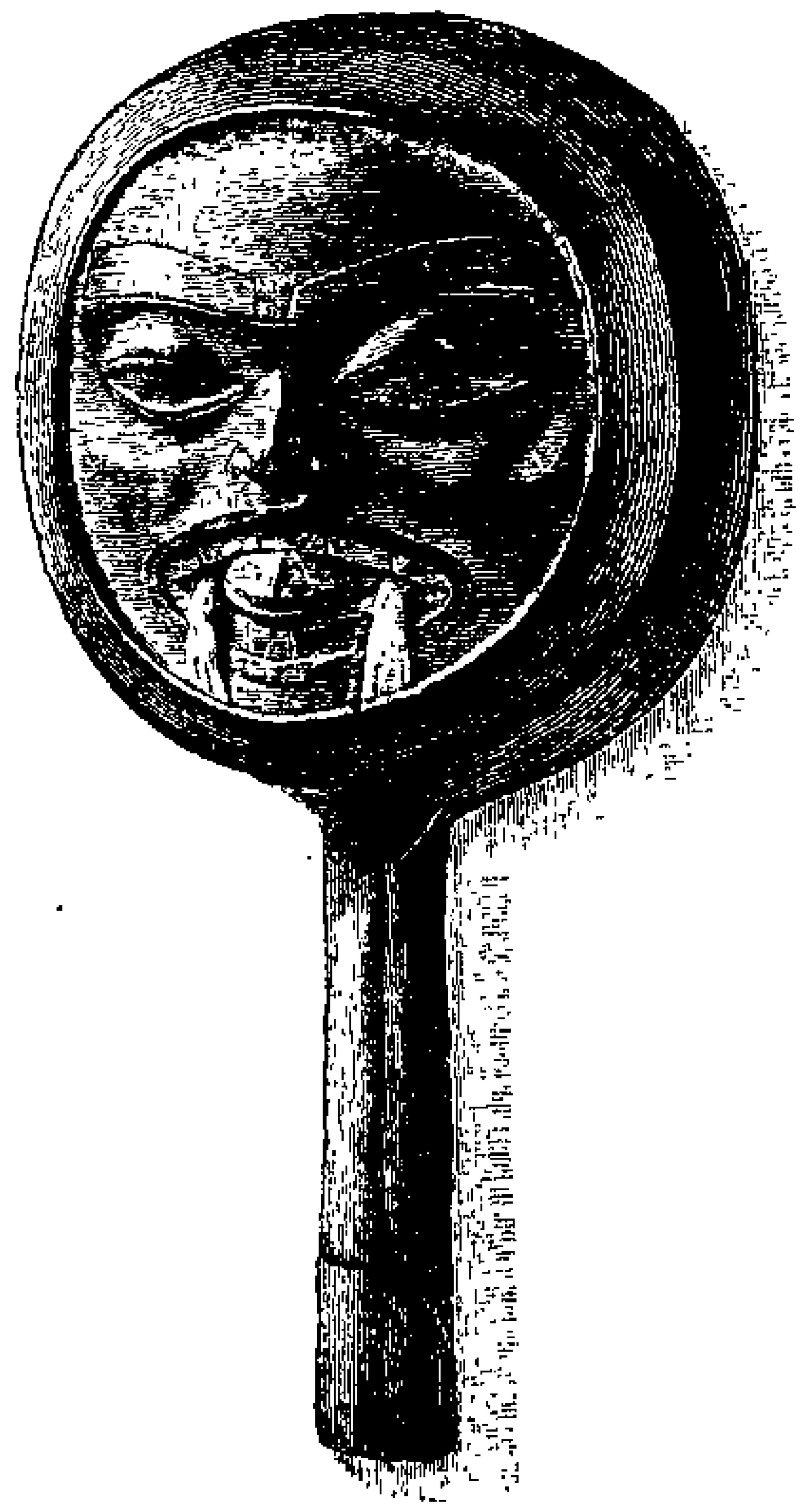
When time draws to an end it is decreed
That worship of the gods shall also cease;
Then shall the world be purified by fire.
Then happy he who lives to see that day,
If with contrition he have mourned his sins.

The second deluge makes the problem of man's origin simpler, by reducing the race to a pair, or an individual. These often become the new creators. In the Tolowa belief the souls of the dead formerly turned into bears, deer, and other animals of the forest, and thereby the animal world was first formed—a curious hind-part-before way of looking at creation. Manu, the first man, according to the Brahmans, creates new races, as a sole survivor, by his own power.

Beasts afforded the masks under which the high gods of the sky, the sun and his sons the fire-bringers, the moon and the water-gods, attended to the business of creation upon earth. Associations with the regions below the earth are ascribed to them, and from this was developed, in Peru and Mexico, a prophetic class, who could foretell events from the movements and noises of animals. Many curiosities of animal-worship may be explained by totemism, which brings groups of men in close relations with beasts, and also from metamorphoses of men and animals, the legends of which were endlessly varied. A mask from North West

[1] [But it should be noted that equally in the Mosaic cosmogony the dry land appears out of the waters. The Indian legends seem to run the creation and the flood into one.]

America, in which the features of a man and a deer are combined, refers to a legend of the deer having come into existence from a man whom a god wanted to kill. Flat stones, forming part of the properties of a Shaman in those parts, show on one side a man, on the other a partridge swallowing a woman. Bear-worship penetrated from Asia far into North America, and flourishes especially among the Eskimo. In a certain degree every beast of the chase is sacred, and many "beast-gods" are nothing but fanciful impersonifications of the game. Yet people believed that the Mandans worshipped a buffalo's head as the supreme being. Long speeches of apology are often made in order to sooth the feelings of slain animals. The Dakotahs do not like to see dogs gnaw the bones of animals that have been killed, since they are afraid that the soul may never come back again, and so that race of animals die out. Peculiar views as to immortality also give occasion for animal worship in America. Wicked souls lead a melancholy existence as rattlesnakes; souls which do not reach the happy fields pass into animals and plants. Many kinds of beast-worship are harder to explain. The Hare Indians and Loucheux revere the musk-ox, and think that his dung confers invulnerability; the Tinnehs of the Rocky Mountains and the Dogrib Indians tell the same of the dog. The wolf either formed the earth and all creatures in partnership with the moon, or by himself scratched it out of nothing. The snake religion is only second in importance to the bird religion. A snake was the deity of the water, because it was seen in the water; it was the symbol of a second birth because it changed its skin. The resemblance to lightning is obvious. The legend of the horned snake was told among the Hurons; and that of the treasure-guarding serpent-king in Peru comes very near it. Where Christianity has come in, snakes are persecuted; and the popularity of St. Paul, shown by the frequent occurrence of San Pablo as a place-name, is connected with his functions as protector against snakes. The Mexicans believed in a fabulous beast called Ahuizotl, who lived at the bottom of the water. He was worshipped, and represented in a form recalling the dragons of eastern Asia. As lightning, the snake accompanies the storm-bird, and, when brought to birth in fertilising showers, can become the symbol of fruitfulness. Even to this day the national arms of Mexico show this association. The frog is met with in countless typical representations, especially where Toltec civilization reached; as in the annexed cut. The tortoise is at one time the supporter of the world; at another it dives into the all-covering sea to fetch up mud for the shaping of the new earth—another myth of world-wide diffusion. According to Long, the Omahas at the beginning of the present century possessed a large sea-shell which had come down in the tribe for generations. Its own skin-hut, or temple if you will, had been built for it, and it might never touch the ground. Before declaring war it was consulted as an oracle. On these occasions a piece was cut off the tobacco



Carving in dark stone, from North West America. (Stockholm Ethnographical Collection.)

which hung there, and given to the magicians to smoke. Meanwhile, one of the company laid his ear to the shell. If he heard sounds the oracle was reckoned favourable. From South America, with all its wealth of animals, we hear little of beast-legends. The Indians of Guiana believe that animals have a soul, and have their "medicine-men," and assign certain festivals to them. Ehrenreich has recently reported many typical beast-fables from the Carayas, but even these have a familiar ring. Our swan-maiden, our were-wolf, our hare and tortoise race, have long been known to the Indians of Brazil.

In regard to plant beliefs, we meet with the world-tree also in America. The Algonquin hero Manibozho, at the time of the deluge, saved himself up a tree. But he is the bright god of light and thunder also, dwells in the east, and thus is identical with the "old man of the sky," the pine-tree of the Caribs, who, upon taking leave of men, promised to return and take their souls to heaven from the top of the sacred tree. Posts of sacred wood were in use among the north-western Americans as symbols of the higher divinities. Parts of plants were employed as amulets or charms. The Cholons believed that the most violent storms could be caused by throwing the seed of a certain grass into the fire.

Stones of peculiar shape were revered as thunderbolts; hardly a single village in Mexico was without an idol of this kind. Pre-historic hatchets, spear-heads, or knives were called thunderbolts, and believed to have been produced by lightning. Strings of beads round the necks of Peruvian vases recall the Malayan worship of pots. The veneration of mountains is connected with the deluge legend. Lofty rocks are inhabited by bad spirits, seldom by good. River-spirits were scared by fiendish noises when the canoe was passing a dangerous place. Mischievous ghosts, whose look was death, peopled the forests. The Eskimo is threatened or protected by spirits of the shore. To venture far out to sea counts as a proof of courage, in view of the spirits who dwell in it and upon it. Great *kajak*-men, "*kayariaks*," have their abode away in the offing, and can knock up very nasty weather. Besides, there are the *kongensetokits*, mermen who like foxes' brushes to eat, and fiery *ignersoits* on the shore or on the cliffs, who catch men when fishing, and make them become their associates.

All Indians, with quite trifling exceptions, believe in the immortality of the soul, and a life in an upper and a lower world. The distinction between soul and body is expressed by comparison with the breath or the shadow. The soul was simply the man become invisible; and as funeral customs sufficiently indicate, much of the living man still clung to him. The notion that the man lived on in the other world according to his circumstances at the moment of death influenced the customs relating to war and the dead much more than any idea of reward and penalty. The soul is two-fold; one spiritual, which can on occasion leave the body even during life, and one which clings to the body, is the operative cause of life, remains even after death, and does not take its departure till it is wanted for another body. The souls of the dead go about as spirits; and the flourishing belief in ghosts has reference mostly to them. The same fear which caused all the dead men's property to be burnt, made evil spirits of the roaming souls. All Indians believe in numerous purely malevolent spirits. These may, in part, have originally been ghosts of the dead, but they are often closely connected with mythology.

The soul wanders in dreams; but neither this, nor the soul which tries to

escape when a person swoons, and can be blown in again by the Shamans, or inserted under the hair of the head, is identical with the life-giving principle. The Shamans test souls and keep them in boxes. God appears to them in dreams, a much-coveted gift. Dreams form the most important part of Indian prophecy, and exercise a great influence whether advising or warning. The interpretation of them was a chief duty of the priest. In Mexico there were also horoscopes, in Peru soothsaying, based on every conceivable phenomena, each branch having special priests and seers.

The fortunate land in the next world, the conception of which in many cases was undoubtedly first cleared up under the influence of Christianity, has no night, no clouds, no winter or storm; it possesses a luxuriant vegetation, since there every grain of seed flourishes which failed to come up on earth. Often, just as in Polynesia, it is furnished more precisely with features taken from this world; thus the Comanches think of it as a prairie full of buffaloes, the Nishinams speak of Paradise as the gods' dancing-house. Here and there, no doubt, a wretched, comfortless world awaited the departed; but the cheerful conception seems to have prevailed. Some place Paradise in the south, some in the west. The Eskimo look for it in the warm earth, and Hell in the icy sky. In North-West America, just as in Polynesia, the souls of nobles descend after the sun, to go and dwell in beautiful long houses in the fortunate island. The Thlinkeets see in their children a re-embodiment of dead relations, and the mother gives the child its first name from an ancestor. Petitot could not persuade a young Tinneh girl that she had not lived already under another name.

The conception of reward and punishment is interwoven with that of a future state. Wicked Payaguas are burnt after death in caldrons, while the good hunt on the banks of a beautiful river, rich in fish. The Rucuyenns have three gradations; good people go to heaven, wicked people stray around in the clouds, and the souls of magicians remain in the grave by their bodies, whither others, even animals, apply for advice. In the colder north, where the sun with its warmth and lustre stood out more sharply from the sky, it received the souls of brave men, and so also did the northern lights. But even in Mexico the sun was the happy abode of brave warriors and of women who had died in giving birth to children. The notion of Purgatory has not yet driven from the minds of the Christian Indians in Chiloe the belief that numerous souls are flitting about in the air. So too in winter, when the sun has gone down, the Eskimo sees the air full of spirits. The Indian knows nothing of recompense for evil deeds after death; all that is avenged here, good and bad, find themselves hereafter in the same sequence of everlasting enjoyment. What decides their fate is whether they died as warriors or in indolent peace; by a violent or by a natural death.

Distinct from the general home of souls is the underworld, which is closely interwoven with Indian mythology. According to some legends the souls pass four days here; the Kabinapeks and Ashochimis even hold that the souls flit about in a vast Purgatory before they are allowed to enter the next world. The Choctaws have it that bad souls fall into a stream full of stinking fish and dead toads, where they never see the sun and are visited with evils of all kinds. Very often this Styx has to be got over by the souls in a stone skiff, or by a dangerous ladder, a rigid snake's body, or a slippery sloping beam; the wicked miss the way and fall in.

Throughout North America the form of religion is not so much polytheistic as in Southern Asia, ancient Europe, or Mexico, as it is "pandæmonistic." Hence the comparatively great rarity of idols, these being commonest in the North-West. On Nootka Sound, Cook saw in many houses one or more thick logs, a yard and a half in height, having the front side carved into some likeness to a human face; heads and arms too were carved on the sides, and the whole painted. A mat curtain in front of them showed them to be objects of special veneration. The Haidas set up more artificially carved pillars in memory of the dead. In eastern North America carvings of any kind were less common; but we hear of idols in human form in the temples of Virginia, and painted posts with human faces carved round them. The Mayas had wooden ancestral images in their houses. Stone figures and fragments of earthenware have been found in caves in Santa Lucia; on the walls were roughly engraved human heads, and whole figures or faces of fabulous monsters point to a connection with the old religion.

Sun-temples existed from the south point of Florida as far as the Arkansas and Virginia; large wigwams with thick mud walls, crowned with a dome-shaped roof, upon which were one or more figures of eagles looking at the sun. Round about them enemies' heads were stuck on a wall, or posts, painted and carved with human faces, encircled them. Victims were led, and processions moved, in an east and west direction. Many traces seem to imply an orientation towards the solstitial points. A sacred fire burnt in the interior. Probably the "sweating-houses" and council-wigwams were formerly associated with these temples; and these alone survived after the fire-worship had died out. In early times women seem to have been excluded from the temples, but they had the right of entry to the council-huts. Of the heathen Indians of South America it has often been curtly said: "They have neither church nor religion." But Peter Martyr saw wooden images among them in his day, and other observers confirm this. Offerings of beads, fruits, and animals were also cast into running water, hung up on trees and the gables of roofs, or stuck on high poles. The Canadians hung up live dogs by the hind legs to the branch of a tree. Beside the food prohibitions arising from the totem system, there was a whole string of superstitious usages connected with food eating. The Nootkas, before cutting up the bear which they had killed, decorated him and laid food before him, requesting him to eat. Among the Iroquois and their neighbours the last resource for the cure of a sick man was to feast till they were exhausted at a banquet ordered by him.

Unquestionable indications exist of human sacrifice and cannibalism, but never as an everyday proceeding. Revenge and exaggerated warlike fury are everywhere prominent, for the most part under a veil of religion. The Haidahs aver that their sorcerer chief, returning from the forest, bites a piece out of the arm of the first person he meets. The Nootkas are said to have sacrificed men every three years. Sacrifices in connection with building also recur in America; among the Thlinkeets a slave was buried alive under the corner-post of a new house. We hear of a slave being burnt at the death of a Kadiak chief. Only a few years ago the Indians on the Putumayo ate a young Colombian, and, by way of mitigation, stress was laid on the fact that they committed the cannibal action, not because they liked the taste of him, but with the view of performing an act of revenge toward hostile tribes. Yet no one ever heard of their eating a negro or a white man. The Eskimo eat the heart of a magician, or of one

whom they have killed in a blood-feud, from anxiety, believing that it will avert the vengeance of his people.

Magical practices cleave especially to detached portions of the body. Human hair and saliva are used in Araucania to the detriment of the owner in just the same way as on Millbank Sound. In Alaska are found magic stones with little cavities, in which fragments of food from the teeth are put, that they may not fall into the hands of any sorcerer.

To speak in detail about the priestly office among these races would be to repeat the description already given in regard to the Polynesians, and to forestall what will be said of the Africans. Everywhere we find the counterpart of the Shaman type. In the North-West the priest's outfit abounds in a copious, showy, and various supply of rattles and masks; in his convulsions his head rests on a special carved stool. In California he is a shabby juggler. In North West America he has especially to have power over animals. The otter's tongue is of the highest value, and the "medicine man" who can tear it from the otter is the most powerful, since he operates with the blood while it flows. The beast-heads emerging from bodies on carvings and masks indicate the creatures over whom the sorcerer has power. Magic by means of images is not uncommon. When the eastern Tuma Indians, north of the Gila, want to avert an epidemic, they make a design in the sand with dust of various colours and torn-up leaves. The office of Shaman is reported to be hereditary in one family among the Nez Percés on the Oregon, the Choctaws and most South American Indians. The priestly caste among the Cherokees misused its position so shamelessly that it was extirpated, and a new priest appointed by the people, in whose family the dignity remained. The soul of a "medicine man" roams about, and assumes a higher rank every time it returns from supramundane regions. The Dakotahs had a pretty legend that it was borne in the form of a winged seed by the winds to heaven, where it made acquaintance with the gods, with art and with science. Through four incarnations it grows ever more powerful; after that it returns to its nothingness. The Mexicans and Peruvians had priestly hierarchies with a firmly-established system of instruction and strict organisation. They learnt how to mix colours, to paint, to draw hieroglyphs; music also, astrology, and the reckoning of time. Celibacy was prescribed to many. They were to be known by their dress; thus among the Creek Indians long robes of bright colour and a dignified demeanour bespoke their sacred station. Their rites were conducted in a language not known to the laity; emphasis, pronunciation, and the choice of words or phrases were special points. The *piais* or *piaches* of South America are in the first place magic-doctors who charm away illnesses with incantations and convulsive movements, or cure them with infusions of herbs. The Pima priests shoot painted arrows into the air from painted bows, to kill the sickness. Magicians are further competent to see thieves in crystals or fragments of glass. More reasonable methods of treating illness are however also found, such as cold or vapour baths, kneading and pounding of painful parts, or scarification with sharp stones. Guiacum, ipecacuanha, and certain purgatives—the last being a favourite form of treatment at the initiation of young people—first became known through the Indian medicine-men, who often have the reputation among Europeans of being able to effect clever cures. At the regular religious festivals the medicine-man is again the centre, surrounded by a chorus of men and women, singing, dancing, and working

themselves up into a convulsive state. On these occasions he is often accompanied by a younger man, who has to repeat each of his obscure and hardly-to-be-interpreted sayings. Complete masters of this priestcraft are versed in animal magnetism, ventriloquism, and sleight of hand, and doubtless find not so much religion as a disposition on the part of the public to meet them half-way. Epidemics of St. Vitus's dance and hysteria are said to have destroyed whole villages.

Very similar mourning customs are prevalent all over America right down to the Fuegians: "keening," tearing out the hair, wounding with sharp shells and stones, painting the face in a strictly prescribed fashion, burying the dead in a doubled-up attitude, bound with cords, and the destruction of the dead man's wigwam.

Modes of disposing of the dead are variations on a few types. In Mexico, cremation was usual among the Chichimeks, Otonis, and Mayas, while Miztecs, Zapotecs, and Mixes buried. In Guiana the Rucuyenns burn their dead, the Oyampis bury them, with legs, arms, and head bent, in a deep hole not much more than a yard in length. Near the huts of the Guaraunos may be seen packages wrapt in palm-leaves, with one body in each, lying on a framework of strong branches stuck crosswise into the ground. Even in the same cemetery variations occur in position and arrangement of the corpses. Near Madisonville over 400 skeletons were dug up which had been buried in the most various postures, partly in pits of ashes, the purpose of which is unknown, and in many cases with skull or jaw lacking. In Newfoundland the corpse, wrapped in bark, was placed on a platform or buried in a deep grave. But this island contained, besides its own inhabitants, Micmacs and perhaps Eskimo; so that elsewhere a mixture of burial customs may have similarly arisen.

The doubling-up of the body, and packing it in skins, mats, or bark, is more widely diffused than cremation. Long ago Dobrizhoffer was reminded by it of the child's posture in the womb. This fashion of burial is also mentioned in West Greenland; we find it in its purest form in Peruvian graves. They have no horror of breaking the bones in order to fold the body closely together. Burial in bulk, no doubt in family graves, is often connected with this custom. The disposal of bodies thus treated in urns occurs from the Guarani country away to North America. Among the Tucunans, children's bodies are buried in open baskets. Mummies tied up with cords have been found in caves near Santa Anna in Brazil and among the Aleutians. The Rucuyenns of Guiana, who burn their dead, reserved this treatment for their "medicine men." Caves which had the property of drying bodies and preserving them from decomposition were in great demand for burial purposes. The Peruvian mummies, with arms crossed in front, knees drawn up to the chin, and head upright, were placed in a sack stuffed with seaweed; the outer wrapping consisting of coloured cotton, frequently of a robe, sometimes even provided with sleeves (see cut on p. 45). Pieces cut out and replaced by another material made a kind of patchwork mosaic, such as perhaps was not to be found in the garment of the living man. A coloured cloth was wound crosswise about the head, and even the neck was sometimes decked with a cravat-like fringed strip. Old women among the Wintuns wore for months about their bodies the rope which, as soon as they had drawn their last breath, and their body had been wrapped in grass bands, deerskins, and mats, was wound round and round them till they looked like bales of goods.

The Peruvians covered the faces of their dead with wooden masks, having the

eyes made of shells with a drop of black wax for pupils, and the nose carved in wood. Cotton threads sewn on denoted the mouth, and the interior was kept in position by gourd-shells and pieces of reed. Near Arica numerous skulls have been found having the eye-orbits set with cuttle-fish bone. For hair they had *agave*-fibres dyed black, or a wig which, in the case of the more richly equipped corpses, was carefully made from cloth woven through with human hair which made a crown in the middle, and was plaited into tufts. The head was then often adorned with parrot feathers, coloured ribbons, and other finery. The Panches in the north-east of South America, and the Indians of the Chaco, stitched up the dried lips with cotton thread, as though implying that they were closed for ever. Centuries ago the Aleutians used to lay up their well-wrapped mummies in caves, placing rich presents by them. Among them also it was usual to cover the face of a corpse with a mask. On Nunivak Island the bodies were covered with stones, with wooden masks and other customary articles placed around. In Peruvian *huacas* and in Maya graves masks have been found made by sawing off the face of a skull with some of the skin preserved, and fitting a wooden nose and coating with plaster. Illustrious persons among the Verapaz tribe had a stone placed in their mouths immediately after death, to absorb the soul.

Provisional disposal of the corpse is connected with the notion that the soul tarries some days in its neighbourhood before going into the next world. We are reminded of Malay customs when we see the Guaraunos hollow a tree-stem into a coffin immediately after death. The body is then laid therein wrapt in its hammock, the aperture is closed with laths, all cracks are smeared with mud by the women, and the coffin is placed upon posts near the hut. Among the Galibis a large vessel is placed beneath the corpse to catch the fluids which drop from it in the process of decay. As the Bonis say, according to Crévaux, that they have seen those who are to be *piais* have to drink this, after tobacco and cinchona leaves have been steeped in it. Among some tribes the coffin is opened again a year after death, and further lamentation made over the remains, with chanting and libations of *chicha* lasting all that night and the following day. Where the bones were broken and laced up in a bundle the original object, no doubt was to be able to carry the bodies along in migrations. The Chahtas and other Indians of the Gulf States, and also the coast Chukchis or Ramollos, allowed their dead to decay for some months or even a year either in the ground or on scaffolds in the air, and then buried their bones in a coffin or in finely-woven mats. The custom of placing the bones of the dead of one year in a common vault existed especially among the Hurons.

The graves are somewhat spacious vaults, sometimes shallow holes. The shaft, with niches in the sides, such as also occurs in Africa, is a frequent form. It can be seen at a glance to which race the mummies found in the *huacas* belong. An Aymara sits in a circular hollow; a Huanca lies on his back a yard and a half deep; while the Quichua graves are of an oval shape and scarcely one yard in depth. Those of Ecuador and Central America are arranged on essentially the same plan, in parts agreeing even to the details; those in Darien, on the contrary, resemble wells that have been filled up, the opening being indicated by a circle of stones. The depth varies from 2 to 10 yards, the circumference from 5 to 7. At the bottom of these *huacas* little niches are excavated towards the cardinal points, in which the bones and objects presented to the dead are deposited. The

graves, when not lined with masonry, are either faced with clay or surface-baked with fire; from which urn-burial may have developed. In these family graves the skeletons were also separated by stone slabs, mud walls, or whales' bones. Brazilian races lined their graves with pieces of bark, and strewed the corpse with odorous berries and the wings of shining insects.

Many races disdain any form of visible monument to their graves. The Californians and Churrujes, after constructing the interior artistically, used actually to level the surface, so that they can for the most part be detected only by the sinking of the ground. The Tinnehs, on the other hand, used to put up long poles with strips of bright-coloured cloth, which were supposed to please the soul when it revisited its body. This is something like the sepulchral tablets of the old Peruvians, made of a rectangular screen of reeds, cased in cotton-cloth and set up on a longish stick. A conventional human figure was painted on the stuff, in blue or red (See the coloured plate: "American Antiquities"). The Vulvas indicate their graves on the shore by a large roofing of plaited straw; and the whole place of burial is diligently cleared of brushwood. The urns of the Guaranis; the flat graves, fenced with thorns, of the Abipones; the stone-heaps of the Tehuelches, are primitive monuments, which carry us up to the dolmen-like constructions in stone and the masonry tombs of the old Peruvians.

Whether the deceased be rich or poor, a number of articles, such as victuals or weapons in the case of a man, utensils in that of a woman, are placed with him. Among the more wealthy races, such as the Peruvians, more valuable trinkets, work-baskets, ornaments, implements of his trade, found a place within the shroud of leaves and cotton. On the Isthmus of Panama, articles of clothing, vessels among the most perfect in shape and execution of any produced by the ancient Americans, and gold figures of various beasts, snakes, or frogs, are found in such situations. The Californians were one of the poorest tribes, yet their sepulchral gifts included every kind of weapon or utensil that was used in life. The South American riding races, who put up great monuments to their dead, spend more than they can afford in doing them honour, so that the surviving relations often fall into penury. At the grave of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are slaughtered, while his *ponchos*, his finery, his *bolas*, and all his utensils are piled in a heap and burnt. All this is connected with ideas as to a future state, which recall those of the North American hunting tribes. They think that the road to Heaven is very long, and that the souls would get tired if they did not ride, and die of hunger if they had no food.

Certain localities are selected by preference as burial-places, the water-side above all. Some profess to have observed that the dead man's face was turned in the direction which allowed an uninterrupted view. The large shell-heaps also were adapted for burial-places; their position near the sea, their loose composition, and their natural tumulus-shape, were a threefold recommendation. The Abipones preferred the forest. The Chiriqui *huacas* mostly lie at the foot of little hills; and here blocks are often found covered with inscriptions and drawings. The North American mound-builders also liked to bury on the top or side of a hill. The ashes and fragments of bone were wrapped in a little cloth and laid by in a neighbouring sepulchral shrine. The Haidas buried these remains, or wrapped them in bark and hung them on a tree. Articles belonging to the deceased were sometimes put with them, but as a rule were first broken to pieces. The Nootkas

deposited their Shamans in the open, in a sort of little pigeon-house on four posts, as did the Haidas; slaves, who used formerly to be burnt with their masters, are now simply thrown into the sea. About the mouth of the Yakuina Bay the bodies were pushed out to sea in dug-out canoes, and gradually a quantity of these mortuary canoes, emptied of their melancholy freight, got collected on the shore. When the wind blew keenly over the land from this direction, the survivors seemed to hear the wailings of the dead. Among the Nootkas canoes are used for coffins.

The laying out of the corpse and the digging of the grave is, among the Abipones, the task of the women. Elsewhere it is assigned to a personage specially charged with the duty, who alone can see and touch a corpse without becoming unclean. For this reason the corpse is often carried to the grave as a bundle upon a pole. Among the Vulvas, the corpse-tender brings the parcel—bones, vessels, ornaments, and all—to the family grave, unattended.

When we find some Orinoco-tribes drawing a thread as straight as possible from the house of the deceased to his place of burial, across ravines and ditches, through water and swamps, is this intended to show the ghost the way? At any rate, there is a universal belief that the soul likes to linger near its old residence, and does not leave it for some days. For this cause, the Hidatsas burn a pair of mocassins on the coals, that the smell of the burning leather may drive the ghost away. The Lower Californians, however, put mocassins on their dead, so that the burning of them may possibly, as a survival of cremation, be intended at the same time to be of service to the departed.

Funeral ceremonies, especially in the North-West, are clearly based upon the strong belief in the soul's return. As soon as a Thlinkeet dies, his relations raise a loud howl of lamentation, while among the Chinooks, no one speaks above a whisper so long as the body is in the house. The singing and dancing, the entertainment of the guests and presentation of gifts to them, last for four nights. On the fifth day the body, in a doubled-up posture, is burnt at the back of the house on a pyre of stout logs to the accompaniment of dirges. By way of mourning, the widow or widows and the children have their long hair cut off, incisions made in their limbs, their faces painted black, and their clothes rent. The place of mourning is usually filled for some days with the lamentations of the women; and after that, among many tribes, such property of the deceased as has not been destroyed is divided among his children and kinsfolk. Among the Sioux this takes the form of a game; one of the relatives represents the ghost, and plays against the rest. Nowadays they frequently play with cards; but the proper appliances were the stones of the wild plum, cleverly painted. The men used eight, the women only seven. Winning or losing was decided according to strict rules of play, by the figures that fell upwards. The Rucuyenns' funeral feast, or *Tulé*, also involves an apportionment of coveted objects.

In America also, people nowhere like to mention the name of the dead. Death itself is feared, and people do not wish to hear of it. Dobrizhoffer asserts that Indians were often buried alive, because their relations were in a hurry to get them out of the house. Cases in which death has been hastened by violent means seem to be not unheard of, even among the Christian tribes of South America. After death, everything which belonged to the departed is scattered about and destroyed by fire; and his hut is pulled down even at the risk of bringing the survivors to poverty.

## II. THE ANCIENT CIVILIZED RACES OF AMERICA

### § 31. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AS TO THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE OLD AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

Difficulties of forming an estimate of old American culture—Various stages and centres of culture—The tradition of a culture-hero—The Toltecs—American race-migrations—The civilizations of America and of the Old World—Relations with peoples beyond the Pacific—The theory of a Polynesian origin.

THE old civilization of America has disappeared, without leaving any wealth of inscriptions to reveal to us the intelligence of the minds from which that world, at first sight so strange to us, came to birth. The sad destiny which caused the old American culture to totter and fall as soon as it came into contact with that of Europe, makes it evident that all documents relating to it of the epoch of the discovery stand in a high degree in need of criticism. The actual writings of the people are almost dead to us, and we can hardly expect that the progress of decipherment will throw any bright light upon origin and history. Even without the regrettable destruction of many of them by conquerors and missionaries, and the annihilation of collections of pictures, once so extensive, bearing upon history, it would have been hard to get a clear image of the old American culture. These facts should not have been misused, as is still the case in Mexico, in favour of an over-drawn idea of the level attained by it. But the reports of the Conquistadores leave much to be found fault with, or to be desired, and even more so those of the earlier Indian converts. Fundamentally false statements are to be found even in State papers. None of the chroniclers of the conquest regarded the countries or races of America with critical eyes. The cultured races, whom the Spaniards did not reach till a generation after their discovery of America, dazzled the first observers after the disillusion among the poor Caribs, Floridas, and eastern South Americans of all their high-wrought expectations. Now they hoped that they were on the threshold of the fulfilment of their wishes. Then for the first time did the bold feat of Columbus appear in the eyes of many really great and thankworthy. Mexico was the first American country which gave them the impression of being well cultivated in the sense in which they used the term at home, and not idly was it named "New Spain." In thus naming it, the proud race invested the desired land of gold and fruits with the best-sounding and most honourable title that it had to bestow. The contrasts in the natural characteristics which Cortes at the head of his little band, and his followers, had experienced as they were borne on the shoulders of Indian carriers in the five days' journey from Cempoalla to Naulinco, increased these feelings. "After a long wandering," says Bandelier, "in the gloomy mountain regions which surround the fort of Orizaba, as far as the long bare valleys of Tlaxcala, the view from the northern bank of the Atoyac river towards the fertile plateau of Cholula was a marvellous refreshment. Often have I enjoyed this view, and imagined what the Spaniards must have felt when they saw the green levels, upon which lay scattered groups of huge buildings in the shade of copal-trees, in the strange frames of the *agave*-hedges, and amid little fields of the broad-leaved cochineal-

cactus, all gathered together within a wide and clear horizon. Well might they, dazzled by this view, recall the fairest ornaments of their home, at that time so flourishing, and involuntarily transfer to the less perfect works of mankind the impression produced by Nature." And to mankind itself, we might add. It is certain that Tenochtitlan, Tlaxcala, Tezcoco, were not the great cities and flourishing states that they have been described to us as being.

The chroniclers who report: "The market of Tenochtitlan was visited every day by 60,000 persons"; or, "Every square ell of soil was sedulously cultivated," forget that the fertility of these countries is only that of flourishing oases amid barren steppes or heaths. The numbers of the people were exaggerated, and the registers of baptisms kept by the missionaries were fraudulently falsified. Zumarraga, the first Bishop of Mexico, wrote to Tolosa in 1531 of 250,000 newly baptized; in later copies and impressions the figure appears multiplied by four. Philanthropists mis-stated the numbers of the original population in order to be able to represent those of the slain and enslaved as all the greater. Even Las Casas has furnished Tenochtitlan with a million souls, and similar exaggerations have been made as to the wealth and power of the local princes. To this day they show at Cajamarca a little building of hewn stone, in which is the chamber which the unhappy Inca offered to fill with gold as the ransom for his life. This offer, said to have been extorted from the terrified prince by the dread of death or torture—a tale such as Herodotus might have told—is currently related even at the present day in descriptions of old Peru, in order to give an idea of the enormous abundance of gold. Other misrepresentations of the political situation and the social conditions are more difficult to reduce to the limits of facts.

Just as the Conquistadores extolled the land and the people in order to enhance the brilliancy of their prize, so do the degenerate progeny extol the works of their ancestors, which they have seen dropping to ruin without anything of equal quality being produced in the course of three centuries. It is not surprising that they too have fallen into exaggeration. Thus, in Peru, every stone which has ever been removed by any force from its place is attributed to the Incas; and even in Ecuador the people refuse to regard the well-known natural bridge of Rumichaca which crosses the river Carchi as anything but the work of the ancients. There is hardly anything which has not been set down to the credit of those who are in the grave; while we find always staring us in the face the question, What was really the sum of their achievements? and more especially, What was the genius whence it proceeded?

This question is apt to be easily settled by laying the whole responsibility for lights and deficiencies upon natural circumstances. The question why countries favoured in situation, and delicious in climate, like California and Chili, which are now among the most fertile and flourishing, did not become the seat of civilizations of their own, must we answer by another: Was the old American civilization always limited to narrow strips of plateau and isolated districts? Possibly, hidden under the soil of equatorial South America discoveries still await us, of which at least some traces have come to light. We recall here the beautiful reflection of Martius: "It is no weak, modest moss, such as enwraps the wrecks of Roman and old German magnificence as with an emblem of gentle melancholy, that has spread itself over the ruins of past ages in South America; there perhaps,

over the monuments of peoples long perished, gloomy primeval forests rise, which have long ago laid even with the ground all that human hands once wrought." The rock and cave villages of New Mexico and Arizona offer unexpected evidence for a higher culture in these table-lands. Peru, Mexico, Yucatan, are countries like Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, and large portions of China and India—only fertile under the condition of sedulous irrigation. Much labour and trouble, not always very richly repaid, had to be expended for a livelihood. The fertilising element was prized, even worshipped. In Mexico, if rain kept them waiting too long, the priests fasted for some days and went up into a mountain consecrated to that purpose. Here burnt sacrifices were offered and the ashes scattered in the air in order to bring clouds and rain. Beside this, aqueducts for artificial watering were zealously constructed. In the Peruvian highlands innumerable *acequias*, often carried on pillars, and thus crossing streams, nay, even hewn in the rock, take us back to the time of the Incas. Artificial reservoirs display dams with masonry 80 feet thick at the base. The prince himself started works of this kind, and nothing else but some such system can explain the dense population of districts which are now almost uninhabited. An artificial water-course which passes through the territory of Chontisana is estimated to be 375 miles in length. The delivery of water was correspondingly regulated. In Mexico irrigation was not so highly developed; but in place of it the "floating gardens" in the lakes round Tenochtitlan show the industry that was expended upon cultivation. Rafts of faggots, covered with the rich mud of the lake-bottom, bore flowers and food-plants on the never-dying soil. At the present day, at all events from Gila to Tehuantepec, wheat almost always requires irrigation; while maize can only get on without it if it is planted so early in the rainy season that it can get a chance of sufficient moisture to grow in.

Carried on so seriously and with so many preparations to ensure success, the agriculture of the old civilized races of America was not only a source of food-supply, but above all the symbol of a humaner and more firmly-established life. In the realms of the Incas the sovereign and the highest nobility strove to extend, improve, and ennoble it. For countries surrounded by barbarians more or less nomad, the fostering of agriculture was a condition of existence. Hence the association of all the myths bearing on civilization in these regions with agriculture and the universal worship of the sun, the divinity, as far away as Egypt, of all tillers of the soil. The population of the old kingdoms of America was greater than it is to-day, as the countless ruins in the midst of deserts testify at least for Peru and Yucatan. But we cannot, in estimating it, accept such fanciful statements as that of Bishop Las Casas, that in Peru alone the Spaniards slew 40 millions of people. Allowing that the subjects of the Incas built their abodes on mountains and terraces of rock, in order to leave all available ground free for agriculture; that they made aqueducts and formed artificial oases by excavating deep basins; that they employed artificial manures; even so we cannot venture to assume for the Inca kingdom more than twice the present population, say 10 millions. At the present day, China, India, and Japan offer the only example of humanity packed into a space so narrow in proportion to its resources as was the case in Peru. The sources of the food-supply of the population must have been limited. Meat was a vanishing quantity, and they can have had no superfluity of vegetable food at their disposal. The main ground for careful regulation

and subdivision of property must have lain in the fact that the subsistence of the population lay on the extreme verge of the possible.

The contrast between pastoral and agricultural races which gave rise to the civilization of the Old World, is reduced in the New to a contrast between nomad and settled tribes. The conflict between the hordes of savage invaders from the north, with their highly-developed military organisation, and the Toltecs wholly taken up with agriculture, was like that of Turan and Iran ; and the consolidating effect of their despotism bore a part in producing the political form of early American culture. The importance of the inland lakes in the development of that culture is another point which meets us in the myths. Tradition testifies to the great part played by Lake Titicaca in the history of Peru, and yet ever-convincing are the ruins on its shores. The legend of El Dorado is attached to the Lake of Guatavita. The Aztecs recounted how they saw an eagle sitting on a *Nopal*-bush (*opuntia*) on an island in the Lake of Chalco, strangling a snake ; and how they took it for a sign that they were to found their city at that spot. So they set to work to make their settlement on the island pointed out by the omen. The situation was good for pile-building, and its security kept the Aztecs fixed to it in spite of great inundations at the end of the fifteenth century ; and it was owing to this advantage that Tenochtitlan became the centre of an extensive sovereignty.

The antiquity of the old American civilizations cannot be judged simply by what we have in the way of remains and records. We must not regard it with the same absence of perspective that its own pictures possess. Many a fragment of the ancient history of mankind has entirely disappeared on the soil of old America ; many a race took its share, long before the conquest, in building up that civilization, and has left no trace behind, or only remains as mute as the graves of Chiriqui with their rich finds of gold, wonderful vessels of stone, and especially beautiful pottery, pointing to a civilization extinct even before the coming of the Europeans. A single fact like the Maya writing presupposes a long course of development. We cannot go for an answer to local traditions. To take a case among the heroes of culture, it is immaterial whether the benevolent Titan Zamna of Yucatan had formerly appeared in Mexico as Quezalcohuatl. Even the difference in antiquity between the ruins of Tiahuanaco on Lake Titicaca and the neighbouring Inca buildings disappears in the space of time which we must assume for the growth of even trifling varieties in individual civilizations. Everything that has been preserved to us is comparatively recent, as is proved by the marvellous sharpness of angles and outlines. And no less striking than this recent character is the want of communication between individual developments. Though a strip of Maya population extended along the coast as far as the Panuco, and came in contact with races of the Aztec group, the Maya writing was unknown in Mexico. Yet the highland tribes of Guatemala, of a speech akin to the Maya, got their civilization from Mexico.

Within the limits of the empire of the Incas we may assume three ethnographic centres, partly also political. The magnificent ruins of Chimu give us a high idea of the conditions of culture prevailing in that coast-state, of which we know that for three generations it offered a successful resistance to the rapacity of the Inca family, before becoming incorporated in the growing kingdom of the sun. The great remains of building on Titicaca, together with the tradition which makes this the Incas' place of origin, give ground for supposing that the Aymara

tribes, once more widely spread to the south of Titicaca, stood on a scarcely lower level of culture. The time, not yet determined, in which the Inca power, properly so-called, maintained itself in Central Peru, made of Cuzco a corresponding centre of power and culture, which afterwards drew into Peru the active civilized life of the Quiches, established in former centuries further north on the table-land of Quito, together with their independent kingdom. The Yucatec civilization seems to have stood at a higher level, and to have been more highly developed than that of the Aztecs of Mexico or the Olmecs of Palenque. In its buildings and elsewhere we find much admitting of comparison, but they are richer in sculpture than any others in old America. On the other hand, *writing* will always be placed in the front rank as undoubtedly the highest achievement of Americans in this kind. But we have no knowledge whether on the spot it extends far back, or was imported.

The question why this civilization, and the art that produced these wonderful works of building and sculpture, perished, cannot therefore be simply answered by reference to the invasion of Europeans and the compulsory defection of the natives from the religion under the influence of which their great edifices had been erected. It is now certain that many of them had ceased to be inhabited or visited before this, the greatest event known to us in the history of the American races, took place. The expedition of Cortes to Yucatan must have taken him into the neighbourhood of Coban and Quirigua, but none of his companions mentions them; an almost certain sign that those places were at that time no longer inhabited. And from the evidence of the contemporaries of the conquerors it is clear that even in their time lofty forests had grown over the great buildings in Yucatan, and that their origin passed for unknown. The glories of Coban are covered in places a yard deep with rubbish and mould, and many sculptures have been split by the pressure of mighty roots.

Just as at the present time the festival of the local saint is for the Indian of Mexico the greatest day in the year, the splendour of which it is each man's pride to enhance by contributions of money and personal service, so may it have been in pre-European times; only that in those days the saint was some legendary bringer of order and wealth into human life. Legends of a "culture-hero" appear in different places in so similar a form as to make it certain that as they tell of wanderers and wanderings, so they must themselves have wandered far. A fundamental trait is that the age preceding these important events is depicted in the gloomiest possible colours. Men were fishers and hunters, their land was but just clear of the primeval water, they themselves were often without any food but worms and snails, or they devoured their own offspring. Huts and clothing were unknown. Then, as the Maya legend has it in respect of Yucatan, there appeared suddenly from the westward a band of strangers with Zamna at their head. To him is chiefly ascribed the invention of the graphic arts; but he is generally the founder of the civilization prevailing on the peninsula. Mexican traditions make the country to have been peopled by giants, whom the Toltecs had to overcome. The leading hero, Quezalcohuatl, is priest and magician, and becomes the founder of a new religion. South and north-west are given as the directions whence the wanderers came. The Quiche legend is like the Toltec, as might be expected from the close alliance between the peoples. Among the Chibchas, however, Chimizapagua, the messenger of God, comes from the east.

To him were ascribed wise laws, but above all, the art of spinning and weaving. His footprint was shown in a rock, and he was recorded to have averted a great flood by making a waterfall. The Peruvians make their bringer of blessings, Viracocha, rise out of Lake Titicaca; but he stood too high—at any rate he passed also for the creator of the whole world,[1] and accordingly, in later times, under the influence of the Incas, all health and wealth-bestowing activity was transferred to the alleged founder of their race, Manco Capac. As a common feature we may mention the representation of the hero as a fair and bearded man, often of conspicuous stature. Where for these pedigree-legends is substituted the appearance of whole races from caves, there is a connection with the Indian legend of the creation of man quoted above. A place by the name of "Seven Caves" often occurs; but to identify it is as idle a procedure as the attempt to discover the ancestral land to the east, from the moment when the "culture-hero" begins to be merged in the fire-bringer or in the sun itself. Whatever in these traditions is not the common property of all Americans, or perhaps of even a wider area of races, frequently bears a purely local stamp, corresponding to the limitation of the field of vision; and, even in seemingly grand conceptions, variations often appear which are probably of local origin. In the old Mexican tradition, the earth, in one valley, was destroyed once by fire and then by water. In the next valley the order is reversed, while on a plateau a devastating hurricane takes precedence of both. In few cases do the legends of tribal migrations overstep the boundaries of certain natural territories, and then they become so indistinct that the place of departure can seldom be identified any more.

The Toltec migrations are the most conspicuous instance that we have of a different state of things. The peoples who appear under this name in Mexican tradition as the founders of culture of the Anahuac plateau, and afterwards were subjugated by the Aztecs, who added warlike strength and force to their civilized ways, did not remain confined to Mexico. One fact shines out clearly amid the darkness which covers the primitive history of the Central American races, namely that a civilized race of Mexican origin spread into all parts of Central America; and that if they were not the founders, or at least the decided promoters of civilized life, as is often represented, they appear in a certain connection with it. The frequent occurrence of Mexican place-names within the area indicated leaves no doubt of the fact; but besides these we have the close agreement between Mexican and Central American traditions, the appearance of Mexican names, even in Quiche tribal legends, and striking similarities in customs.

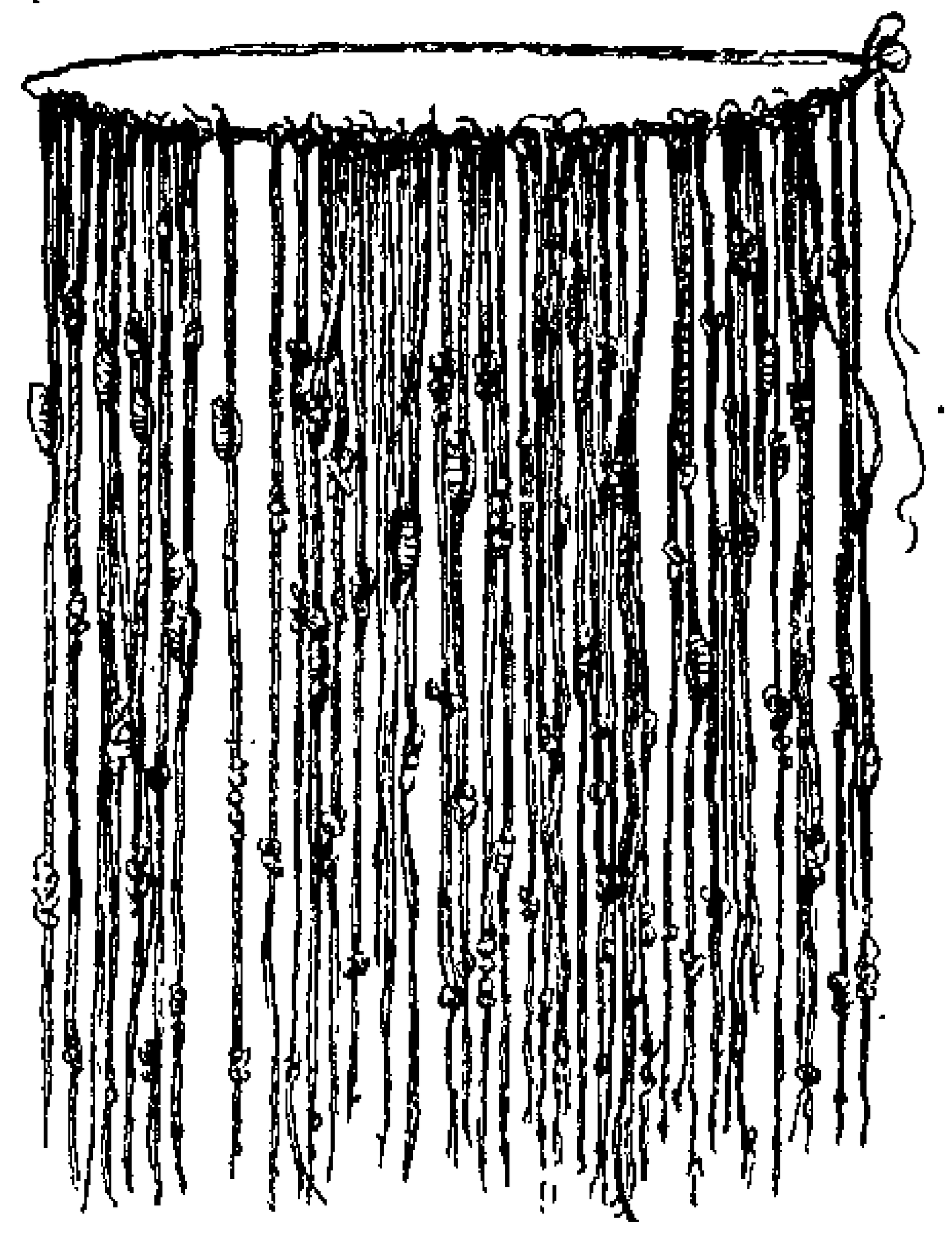
People speak of the migrations as if they had all taken place under one impulse and in one connected period. Traditions and institutions in Ecuador and Peru are brought into relation with the "great American race-migration." But nothing is known of any such migration in America, nothing comparable, in that land without herds or herdsmen, to our period of the "Wandering of the Nations." Any correspondence, from the fundamental notions of religion and social institutions to the ornament or to the countenances on the urns, is not the result of a transference at any one time. We must remember the constant succession, not only of local changes, but of the decay and reconstruction of tribes and states.

[1] See p. 144 *sqq.*, where an effort is made to throw some light on the connection of the sun and fire-god with the "culture-hero."

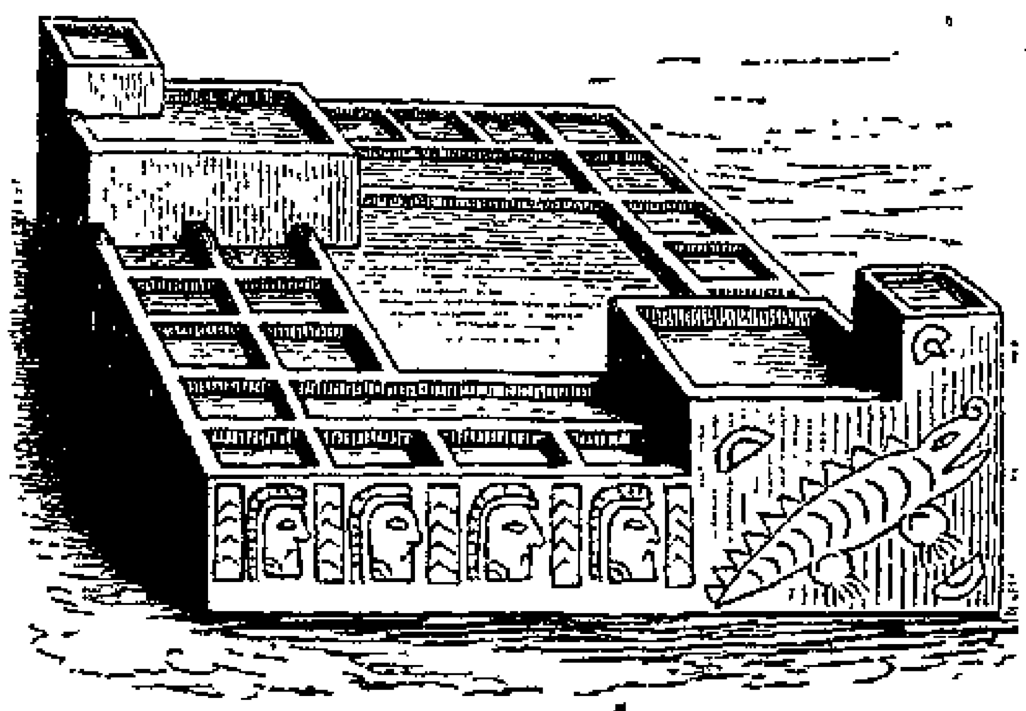
We have already given proofs of the ease with which Indians move. Kollmann, however, is wrong when, in his work on *The Autochthones of America*, he says that this continent is unfavourably formed for race-migrations, in the belief that its elongated figure and the trend of its mountain-chains are less adapted than those of Europe to further this end. Mexicans and Peruvians crossed the highest mountain-masses, and the Incas' power found a limit, it is true, in the primeval tropical forests of the South American lowlands, but not in the second highest range of mountains on the earth. The overwhelming number of points of agreement is in favour of frequent and penetrating admixtures, kept in oscillation by migration to and fro. Singularities like the non-occurrence in Peru of the Mexican picture-writing, the Mexicans' ignorance of the potato, the limitation of the peculiar writing to the Maya districts, the want of mutual acquaintance existing between the Incas and the Aztecs in the sixteenth century, are of no consequence against identities and similarities which are more deeply rooted. The ruling effort among these races was for separation, not for communication. When the Europeans came to Mexico, the Aztecs' field of vision reached to the Lake of Nicaragua, and the last Inca is said to have had information of Balboa's arrival at the Pacific coast. Between these two points lie only a few miles of easily traversable country, and thus the two horizons of events were not far from intersecting. But why should that which was so near accomplishment remain unaccomplished until the European disturbers stepped in to hinder the expansion of, and contact between, the native powers? The attempt to make out that these movements were conveyed by particular cultured races falls to pieces in view of the unity of the Indian type. It is anyhow astounding that so few traces of the civilization which undoubtedly flourished here, if with varying fortunes, for whole centuries, should be noticeable in the physical characters of the race. It might have been thought that some such distinction as that between Javans and Dyaks would have been recognisable between the races which upheld civilization and the children of the forest; but eminent craniologists profess to find no trace of it in Peruvian skulls.

Indian from Anahuac, on the Mexican Plateau.
(From a photograph.)

The same is the case in the domain of ethnography. Apart from peculiarities of language, Lucien Carr has compared the degree of variation existing among Indians between the Mississippi and the Atlantic Ocean to that which could be found between the industrial population of Rhode Island and the farmers of Indiana. Doubtless there have always been differences between race and race, and for estimating the differences of culture those prominent individual achievements are of double importance which rise above the hardly-varying outward life of "natural" races, like trees out of the growth of meadow-grass and weeds, with which that life may be compared. But above all lies in them the great doctrine, that these portions of mankind are kept back, not so much by causes within themselves as by external conditions; that it is not so much that the sources of mental capacity flow variably, as that the soil which they water is of extremely varying productiveness. In the matter of utensils, weapons, accomplishments, customs, myths, the store of culture possessed by the Eskimo, who lives under the most unfavourable conditions, falls short only in bulk of that of the Mexican or Peruvian. The difference, which to the eye that rests only on the surface appears extraordinarily great, is ultimately found to have reference to the former connection of the stock of culture within itself and with the national life. Even the old American civilizations are but isolated phenomena, soaring high above the level of the rest of the American world; rather are they wholly and entirely a portion of it, and above all partakers with it in one intellectual germ. The religious conceptions and the thoughts that underlie social institutions are the same in Peru and Mexico as on the Mississippi or the River Plate. Anything higher or more brilliant that sprang up in the former lies also, either in the germ or as a fallen fruit, in the American races who built no pyramids and founded no empires. It is a very crude imagining to suppose that all the better things possessed by Toltecs, Mayas, or Quichuas, were brought in a lump by priestly colonies from Asia. When put in this way, the question as to the origin of the American civilizations is for ever unanswerable.



Ancient Peruvian *quipu*, or apron of knot-writing — one-tenth real size. (Berlin Museum of Ethnology.)



Counting-stone from the district of the ancient Canaris in Ecuador—one-tenth real size. (After Squier.)

The advantage which these races or kingdoms had over the other Americans lay in the first place essentially in organization, taking the word in a wide sense. The lack of free individuality, which beyond the limits of these countries was sacrificed to the tribe, within them to the tribe and the state, is common to the whole population of the New World, and comes of their natural disposition. In it we must seek the chief reason why the so-called civilized races of old America with their organization reached no stage on a level with those attained by the civilized

races of the Old World. If we leave it out of account, every American race might, by dint of its own endowments and the elements it possessed of a stock of culture, have reached the same height at which we find Peru and Mexico.

To compare the value of American and Old-World civilization, let us begin with externals. Here we have before us races of intense diligence in agriculture, settled in villages and large towns, who set up mighty stone edifices for which they use not only stone, but copper and bronze tools, who possess the beginnings of writing, who achieve eminence, both as to quantity and quality, in

Ancient Peruvian wood-carvings (idols or staves of honour) resembling those of Polynesia, found in the guano on the Macabi Islands. (Christy Collection.)

many industries, especially pottery, stone-work, weaving, and dyeing. They found empires by conquest, and give them the form of aristocratic and patriarchal despotisms, which they are able to support by dint of a firm military organization. This does not, however, rest directly on rude popular masses, but is underlain by a social order, firmly articulated, which guaranteed the attainment of great aims, all the more surely that it sacrificed the family to the tribe. Of equal authority with the tribal organization, and in some measure coincident with it, we see lastly an edifice of religious dogmas and a priesthood, which, no less firmly organized, held a predominating position as the custodian of a store of religious and scientific traditions, and had grown up in close conjunction with the state.

One of the most important distinctions between Old World and New World civilization lies in writing. These races advanced far beyond the so-called petroglyphs, the *pietras pintadas* or painted stones found in the Indian districts, a roughly symbolical picture-language; but of writing in the sense even of the older Egyptian hieroglyphs, or of the Chinese, there was none. Accordingly tradition was less stable and literature more scanty. The Mayas of Yucatan were distinguished above others by the possession of a more advanced kind of writing. From what we know of the contents of their writings, they were confined to a few meagre statements about tillage, the calendar, and the written characters. Significantly enough, it was first among a race standing in other respects as high as did the Peruvians that a substitute in the nature of a *memoria technica* completely supplanted writing. We refer primarily to the *quipus*, strings (as shown in the cut on p. 167) with knots of various colour and shape, by which information was given as to numbers and other facts, and, according to a statement which sounds hardly credible, even orders and laws. It is said that whole archives are in existence of these bunches of parti-coloured strings with their twists and knots, containing the records of bygone days; but unfortunately the key to them has not been found. Rivero speaks of a discovery of *quipus* weighing 12 or 14 lbs. The shepherds of the Puna alone retain a relic of this tradition in their mode of using knots to reckon up the state of their llamas and sheep—surely only a meagre survival in comparison with what the chroniclers, learned in *quipu*, knew. Another method of expressing ideas was by means of small stones laid in a particular order in little squares. The precepts of the prophet Tonapa were cut in notches on a staff, and so also the will of Huayna-Capac. Just as the *quipus* remind us of the knotted strings used by the Pacific races, mentioned in vol. i. on p. 199, so these notched sticks may recall similar aids to memory among the Polynesians, one of which is shown in the cut on p. 303 of the same volume. Tributes were registered with grains of various colours on counting-stones or boards of peculiar shape, made in steps (see the cut on p. 167). Each tribe was denoted by a special colour, and each higher step on the board reckoned for ten times the one below. Garcilaso de la Vega mentions a plan of Cuzco showing the squares and streets as well as the streams flowing through the town. Montezuma is said to have owned a kind of map showing the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico. There were plans of towns and villages on which crown-lands were coloured purple; the land of the *calpullis*, light yellow; and that of the nobles, scarlet. But with all this there was no means of handing on knowledge and experience from one generation to another, nor was anything done to fix and summarise those intellectual possessions which are the basis of literature and science. In Mexico picture-writing progressed to the point of symbolic abbreviation of the pictures and the employment of some of them to indicate syllables; but we do not get the impression of this progress having been universally adopted and kept in movement. But it is just in fixity and universal adoption that the significance of a system of writing lies; and it can lay far less claim to importance if it is only understood by a few, and by them employed in varying ways. In this way conceptions become fluctuating, and tend to vanish. Even the Maya writing, according to the tenth-century witnesses, was intelligible only to the priests, here called *ahkins*, and to a few of the prominent natives. When Las Casas sent to Spain a bit of writing with the signatures of Yucatan chiefs, these may have been totem-marks rather than true writing.

Many observers describe the books, which were like "rolled-up palm leaves," being from 10 to 12 ells in length; and in which were registered "the almanacks, wars, pestilences, storms, inundations, famines, and other occurrences." But Bishop Landa says: "They used signs or letters, pictures, and also certain signs in the pictures as writing."

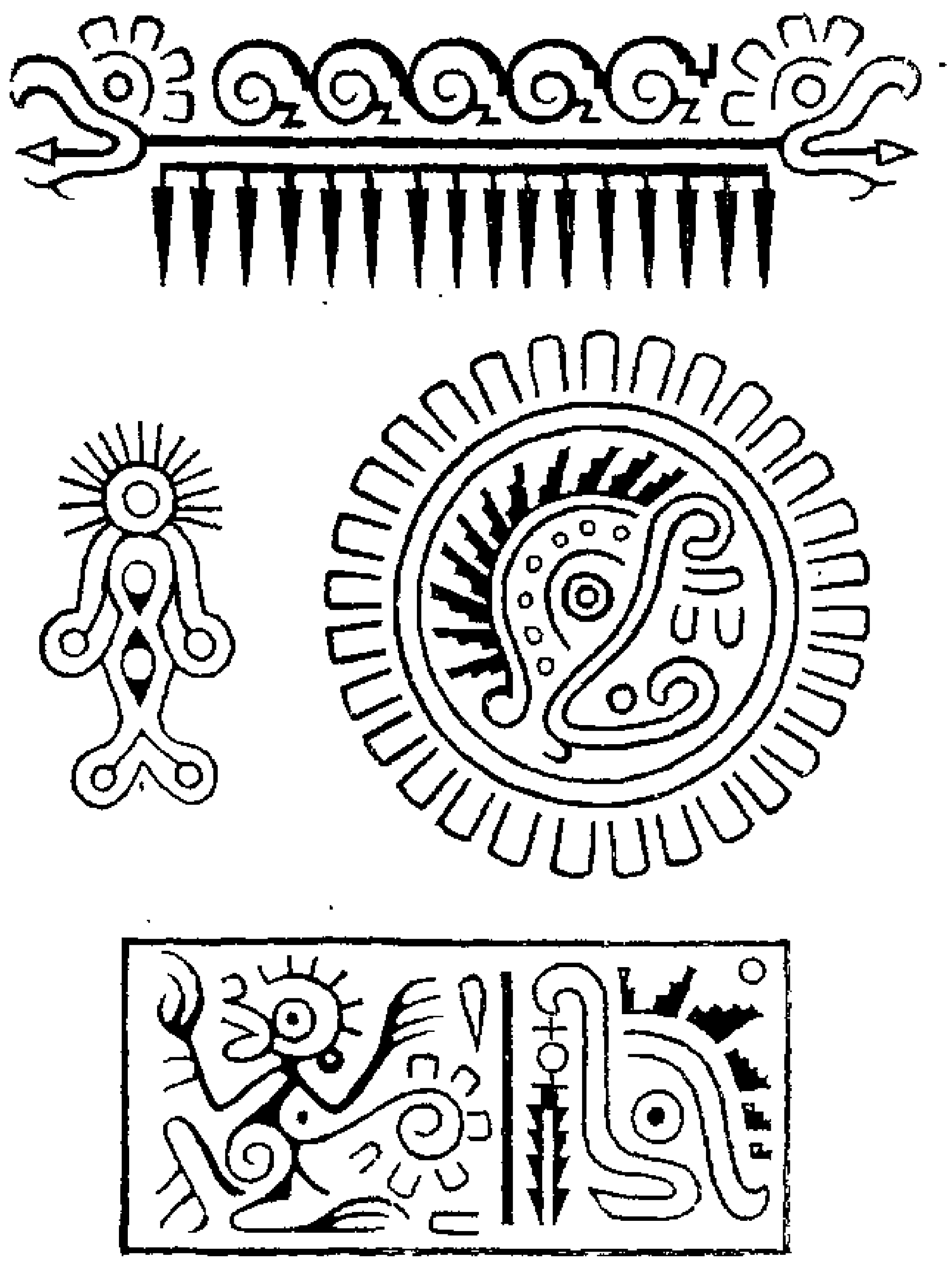
The fundamental similarity in mental points has often been touched upon, as on p. 143 *sqq.* The Mexican and Peruvian religion involves ancestor-worship, migration of souls, apparitions and magic, oracles, morbid possession, and numerous myths which are possessed by other Indians, but which also carry us to Australia, Africa, and northern Asia, and once, as many traces both dead and surviving testify, filled the world. When people began to draw parallels between the cultured races of America and those of the Old World, they overlooked these numerous points of affinity existing in the matter of culture among individual races all over the world, from the highest religious conceptions down to peculiarities in the style of their weapons or their tattooing, and looked for a limited region, by preference in South or East Asia, as a centre of migration and radiation. But the origin of the old American civilizations will never be traceable to a particular corner of the earth, nor to any of the still surviving civilized races, and all attempts to do so have remained fruitless. The roots of those wonderful developments reach down rather to some primeval common property of all mankind, which found time in the thousands of years which precede history to spread itself over the earth. In other parts of the earth its development was more rapid than in America, which lacks in situation and natural endowment certain accelerating forces that have been bestowed on the Old World; but many traces of the old community have been preserved. When Europeans first reached Mexico, Yucatan, and Peru in the sixteenth century the local civilization struck them as something unheard of, but each deeper inspection showed more affinities, until Alexander von Humboldt was among the most convinced supporters of an Old World origin. Yet the results of skull-measurements now go at least so far as to show that the correspondence in physical characteristics which we meet with among the modern Indians can only be accepted as external. Nevertheless we may hold firmly to the relationship of the Americans with the East Oceanic branch of the Mongoloid race.

## § 32. GENERAL SURVEY OF ANCIENT AMERICAN CULTURE

Dress; ornament—Weapons, offensive and defensive—Agriculture; absence of domestic animals—Food; maize, tobacco, coca, cacao—Trades; stone-work; lack of wood; metals; weaving; pottery—Trade and intercourse; roads—Art in Ancient America—Low position of women; priestesses—Community of goods; constitution of the family—Government; weakness of the monarchical system; the army; conquest and colonisation.

WHEN the cultured races of ancient America, in their anxiety to mark the savage tribes whom they had subjugated with a stamp denoting their own attainment of civilization, called upon them to supply previous deficiencies in dress, they were not hampered by any insufficiency in their stores of articles of clothing. As in Fiji, clothes represented a portion of their capital. We are told that in Cajamarca the Spaniards found many houses full up to the roof with them. The

Incas no doubt had to keep a large provision in view of the frequency with which they had to change; for they are said never to have worn a garment more than one day, and no man might wear it after them. There were cotton-stuffs, and in Peru llama-stuffs also. From the example of other Indians it seems likely that dogs' hair, rabbits' fur, and the like were also worked. Human hair was employed to make pretty plaited work. Fabrics of mingled wool and cotton richly ornamented are found in Ancon. From southern New Grenada we hear of cloths made from bast. Feather-cloaks were worn by well-to-do people in Mexico and by the Mayas, partly as a distinction, partly as winter clothing. Peruvian women, in addition to the kind of smock which formed their under-clothing, wore a cloak-like garment over it, similar to the poncho of the modern Americans. Men wore cloaks of this kind as many as four thick. Among the articles of apparel found in the cemetery at Ancon were woollen shirts without sleeves, reaching to mid-thigh, and short poncho-like garments covering breast and shoulders, made of two pieces of black, dark brown, light brown, red, or striped material sewn together. Some were adorned with fringes, or borders woven on. Stuffs of richer pattern were woven in narrow strips, and put together. Geometrical and conventional ornaments are represented upon them with much feeling for design and colour in various dyes, red predominating, but also blue, yellow, brown, and green. Among the Quichuas we find to this day fabrics painted in colours with figures of lizards and birds. In the hot lowlands clothing is naturally not so heavy and thick as on the colder plateau. There, for example, the Quichuas of Ecuador wear a kind of bathing-drawers, or only an apron about 8 inches square, while a short-sleeved jacket, cut very open at the neck and reaching only to the pit of the stomach, serves as clothing on festive occasions. Sandals of vegetable fibre are universally used. Even in early times people were less strict in Central America than in the cooler country of the Incas. Here we may see on ancient plastic works women clad only in a small apron, but richly decked with ornaments. But the simple clothing worn by women here, as throughout the *tierra caliente* of Mexico, consisting of a white cloth wound round the hips, reaching to the knees, and a short white shift which barely covers the bosom, no doubt also in its simplicity and universal diffusion bears the stamp of ancient descent. In the descriptions of these countries given by the sixteenth century missionaries, we seldom find the lamentations elsewhere usual over the shocking nudity of the heathen.



Early Mexican stamps for marking a pattern on the body—two-thirds real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Head-coverings are uncommon in Ancon. Hats proper, unless we may so

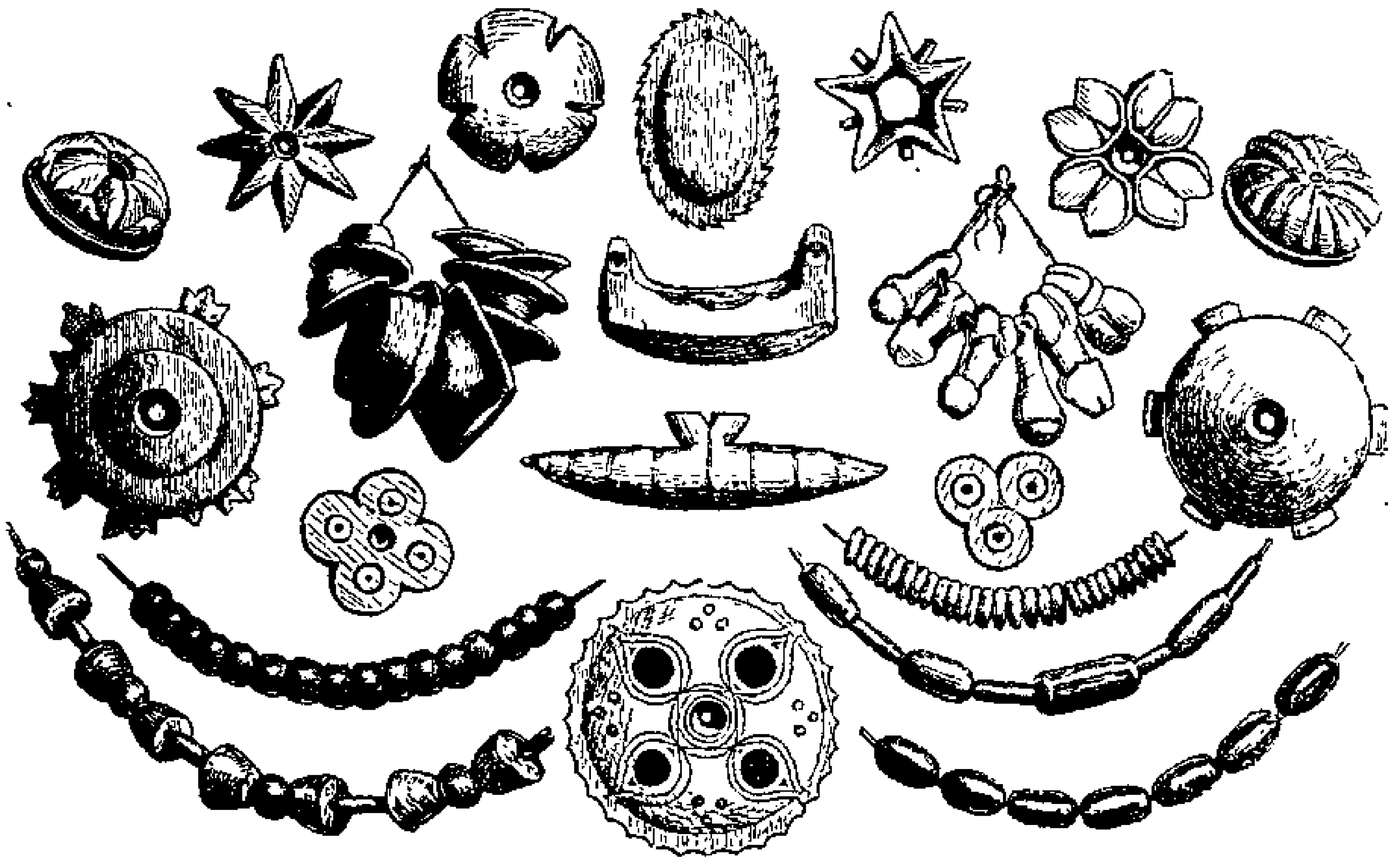
designate the feather-crowns of the Incas, were not worn, woollen caps only exceptionally; but bands or strings of plaited wool or straw, and adorned with feathers, were found. A simple fillet of black wool befitted the people; one wound three times round, the nobles; while the Inca himself wore a coloured one of five turns. Perforated frontlets with feathers stuck in, such as now occur among the Jivaros, and a broad stiff band of straw-plaits sewn together, such as are now made in the highlands of Peru, seem to have taken the place of real head-coverings. A feather ornament, attached like a cock's comb to the back of the head and neck, denoted warriors in Mexico as in North America. Flowers were extensively employed as ornaments in the hair. Needles made of thorns, and bodkins of bone, have been found in Ancon, as well as combs made by fastening little strips of *chonta*-wood to cross pieces by means of cotton threads. In the Inca country the hair was worn differently according to rank. The Incas wore it short, like the temple-maidens of Mexico, the nobles had it of a prescribed length, while the common people never touched it with a knife. Among the Chibchas, on the contrary, cutting off the hair passed as disgraceful. In Ancon special care was devoted to dressing the hair of a corpse. It was in any case highly bound with string; but in addition we find nets or bags fastened round it, copper needles thrust through it, and silver plates on the eyes.

Wooden ear-plugs from ancient Peru—two-thirds real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Golden ornaments in the ears were among the distinguishing marks of an Inca. From the way in which their ear-lobes were drawn down, and enlarged by the golden disks, they were called by the Spaniards "*orejones*." Among articles of ornament we see large ear-plugs and nose-rings, as represented also in vase-paintings. In Yucatan the golden ear-ornament took the shape of a rose; but it was forbidden to be worn in any form by the common people in Peru. In the golden nose and breast ornaments the crescent form recurs. Lip ornaments are recorded among the Mayas. Ornamental metal pins to hold the clothing together over the breast or shoulder have often been found in graves. Tattooing is authenticated in Peruvian mummies, and has been ascribed to the Mayas. Painting of the face was a distinction among the Mexican warriors, and is found among the Chibchas. So at the present day the Quichuas of Ecuador adorn themselves by painting a streak from cheek to cheek across the nose, and another over the eyebrows, with *annatto* or *quoto*, from the red seeds of the *bixa*. The very high development of gold and silver work in old America proves the extent of the demand for ornament. The old civilized peoples of South and Central

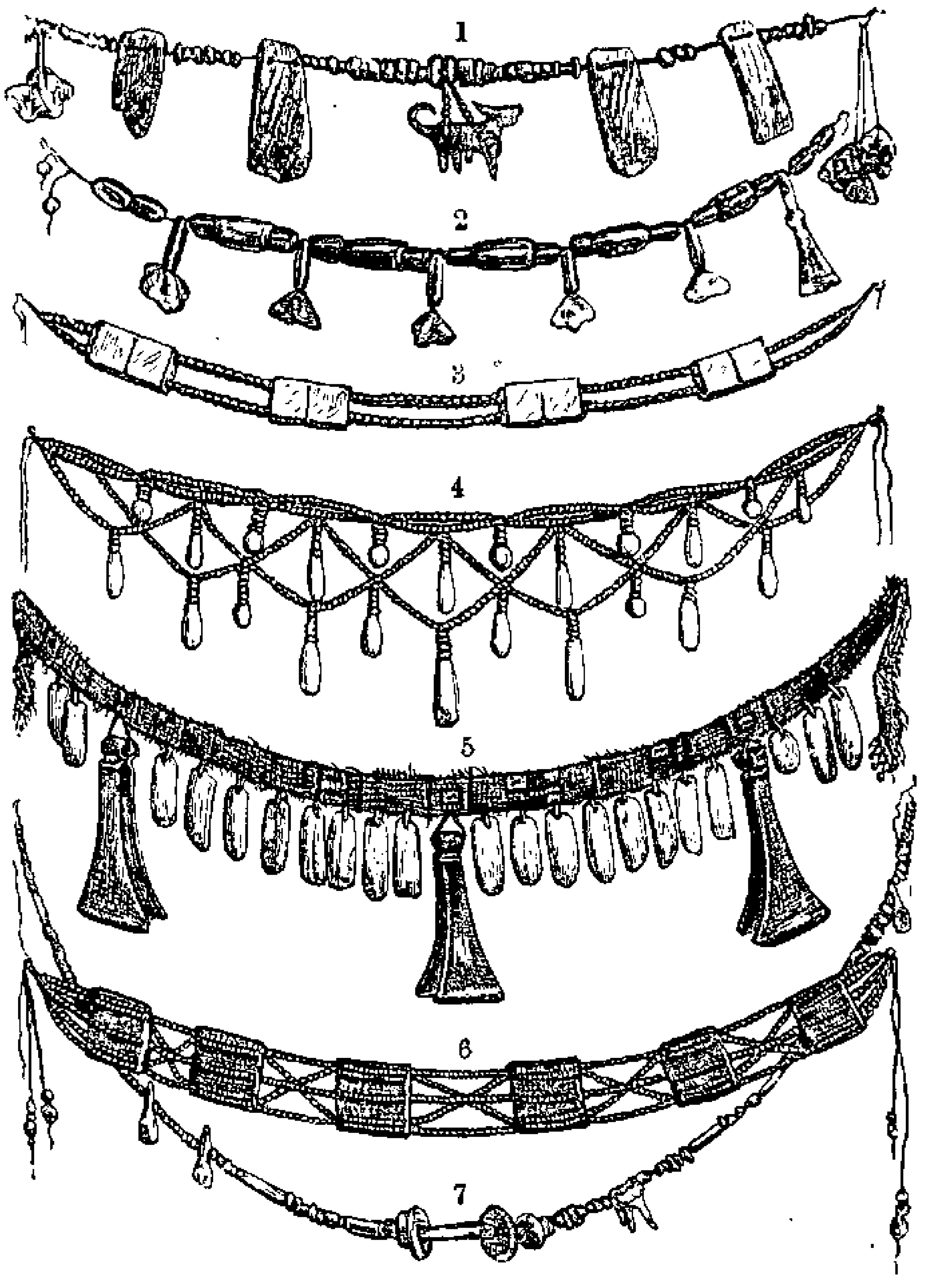
America liked to work rare stones into ornaments, many of them having to be fetched from a distance—such as paragonite, sodalite, and other curiosities.

Among the Mayas, especially the women, filing the teeth was an indigenous practice, and evidence of it appears in the buried skulls of the probably related Totonaks. Skull-deformations of various kinds are numerous in Peru, where popular legend assigns to them the object sometimes of making the people stupid, sometimes of improving them; while Tschudi would even see clan-badges in them. The form of skull that was produced by preference was the tower-shaped, rising upwards and backwards. Painting the face was among the war-customs. The outliers of the Mayas to the north also distorted the skull. A peculiar ornament, if it be not a relic, or both at once, is a human tooth from Yucatan overlaid with stone and gold.


Ornamental objects of stone and shell, from Yucatan. (Berlin Museum.)

The weapons consisted of bow and arrow, sling, club, and spear. The few Mexican throwing-sticks that have been preserved are in principle like the South American, made of hard wood, but so richly carved and painted that they must be reckoned as weapons of luxury, with a religious purpose in them. The carvings on them refer to the lightning-serpent and the war-god. Remains of throwing-sticks with curved grips made of polished shell show that this implement occurred in sundry forms. The Chibchas appear to have used hooks to sling darts. On a painted vase from Truxillo, clubs, ending below in a point, are the weapons seen in the hands of the Peruvians, while their adversaries use "morning-stars." Both carry small shields, the former square, the latter round. Strong pouches, with lines or heads for ornament, like the one shown a few pages further on, no doubt on occasion would hold decapitated heads. Bows were made of elastic wood, in Peru that of the *chonta*-palm. Some were as high as a man, some much smaller. Arrows of softer wood were fitted with hard-wood heads. Fish-bones, bone, and stone also afforded material for arrow-heads, while even in Peru metal was rarely employed for this purpose. Obsidian arrow-heads are the objects most frequently found in the neighbourhood of ruins in Guatemala. Nothing is known of poisoned arrows. In fishing, harpoons with stone blades were used. Slings were made from vegetable fibre or human hair. Even to-day it is usual in Bolivia to put them on as fillets round the head, and in the old Peruvian mummies it is difficult to tell where sling passes into fillet. In vase-paintings the sling appears as the weapon of Peruvians in conflict with savages, who use bow and arrow. Spears also were used as missiles, sometimes split into a forked shape and hurled by aid of a cord or thong—we may remember the

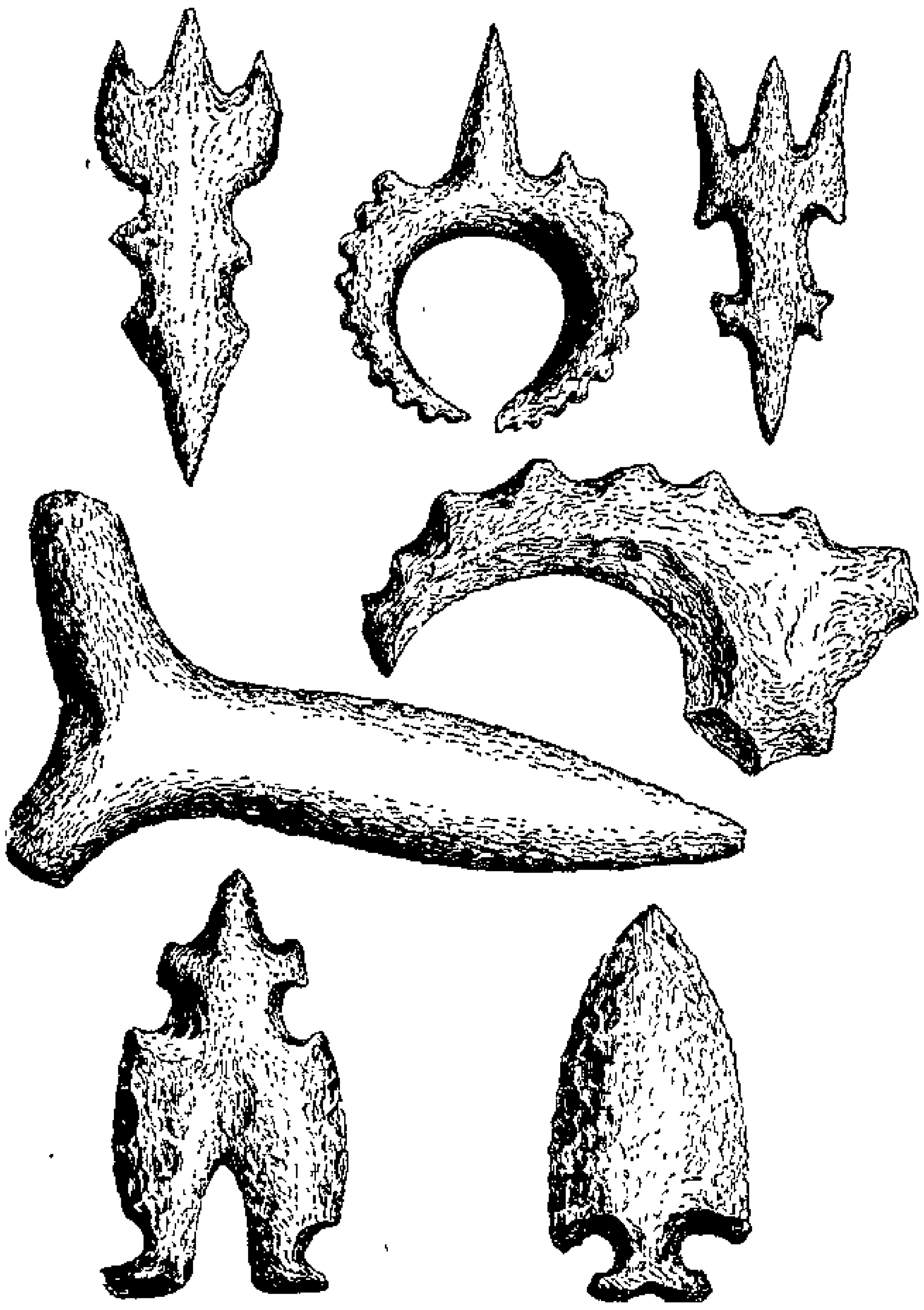
hurling-thong of the New Caledonians, mentioned on p. 231,—sometimes set along the side with sharp pieces of obsidian, and thrown by hand. The Mexicans even carried feathered pikes of the height of a man. Harpoon-like javelins were used in the first fights against Cortes. Mexican warriors carried also a spear 10 feet long, having seven diverging blades set with obsidian, which recalls the shark's teeth spears of the Polynesians; and, when the Spaniards came, wooden swords with a row of sharp pieces of obsidian inserted in either edge. According to Bernal Diaz these cut better than the Spanish swords, but soon get notched by use. We have seen a wavy blade of chert, 16 inches long, from Coban. Better, but less widely in use, were the copper swords of the Peruvians, of which unluckily none seem to have come down to our time, though Squier professes to have seen the marks of sword-strokes on ancient skulls in Chimu. In Peru, the club resembling a "morning-star," called *huaman-chuay*, was borne by every leader, as well as the battle-axe. These weapons are very like the Melanesian stone clubs, and the heavy perforated stone heads belonging to them were formerly taken for images of the sun or a star, idols in fact of a star-worship. Among the Ancon weapons are clubs consisting entirely of wood, and one with a six-pointed stone star, a regular "morning-star." In ancient America, as elsewhere, the manufacture of weapons was in special hands.




Strings of beads worn as ornaments on the neck and breast in ancient Peru: (1) coral and red shells, with little bells and a bronze animal; (2) lapis-lazuli with little bells in bronze; (3) mother-of-pearl tablets and bronze beads; (4) red coral beads and pendants of white shell; (5) woven band with plates of rose-coloured shell and bronze tweezers; (6) bronze tablets on a string of coloured beads; (7) string of white shells, red coral beads, teeth, etc. (Berlin Museum.)

For defensive weapons, Mexicans no less than Mayas and Peruvians used shields of cane, round or long, thickly cased in cotton and feathers, and capable of being rolled up for carriage. A cloth falling from below the shield increased its protective power. Gay painting, artistic feather and tassel ornament, according to the rank of the bearer, were frequent. There were smart shields for festive processions, even shields inlaid with mosaic of stones and studded with gold. The body armour consisted of two cotton doublets padded to the thickness of a finger, or feather coats, which persons of quality wore, garnished with gold or silver. Arm-pieces and greaves of thin hammered silver plate occur in Ancon. Peruvian legend recalls the substitution of copper armour and shields for those of cotton-wadding. On the earthenware vessel from Truxillo, painted with battle scenes,

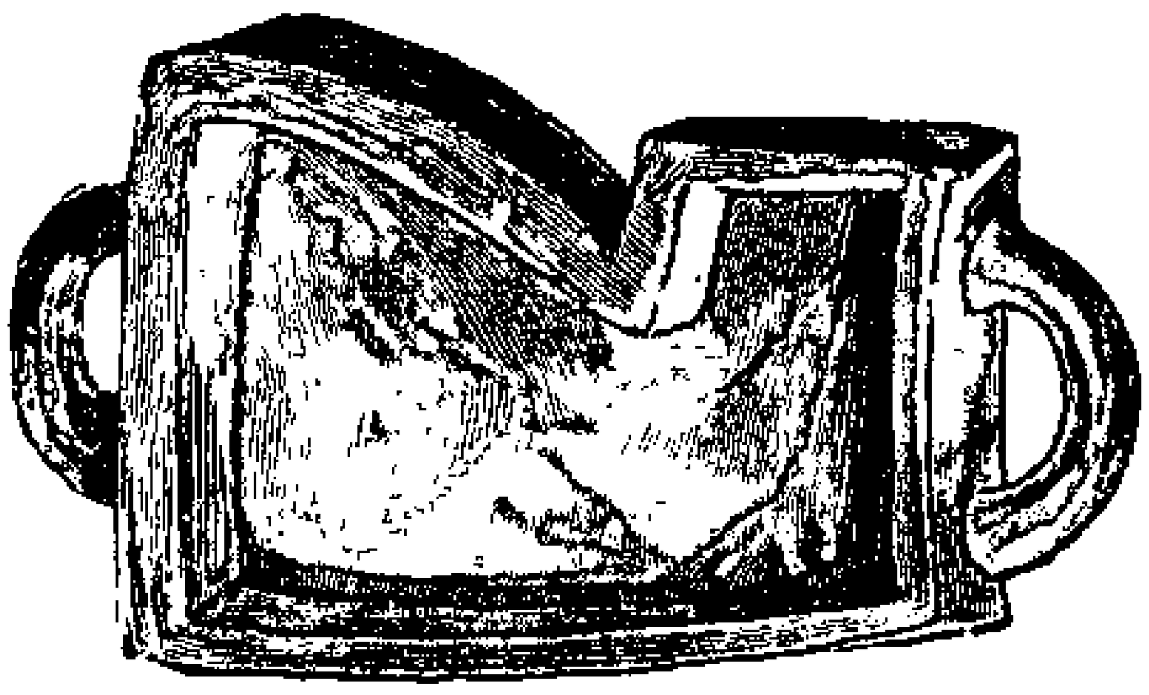
shown on p. 199, may be seen cuirasses, perhaps intended for wicker work; also mail coats, reminding us of the shell-mail worn by the Alfurs. The sugar-loaf helmets, with comb-like appendages, seem to have had visors to them. Some are furnished with the Inca cognizance of a bunch of feathers. The leaders were further protected by helmets in the shape of animal heads; snakes, crocodiles, panthers, being especially frequent, and that also as war-masks. In Peru, helmets occurred made of real pumas' and jaguars' heads, which explains the origin of these pantomime helmets. Plumes of feathers were common, and denoted military rank. Helmets bore ornaments in the shape of feathers or axes, made of thin bronze, and often gilt. On campaign every soldier carried a stone to grind his flour, a cooking pot, and a mat. Besides the head-dress, standards served to distinguish the various parts of the army. Just as the Inca's bodyguard bore a rainbow as the arms of the Peruvian sovereigns, so Montezuma's armorial bearings, which were depicted on the gate of his palace and on the badges of his troops, represented an eagle-like creature grappling with a tiger, or, according to another version, a fabulous animal, half eagle, half tiger. The standard of Tlaxcala displayed a golden crane with wings outspread. In Peru they had copper trumpets, and smoke signals were employed for long distances.


Ancient chert arrow-heads from Yucatan—one-fourth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

The Spaniards describe the population of Mexico as diligent agriculturists. Cortes says: "There was not a span of land that had not been tilled." They themselves were aware of the advantage which agriculture gave them, for they made a sharp distinction between their own condition and that of their predecessors who had not tilled the land. Like other arts and works of skill, agriculture was referred to the Toltecs as its first inventors or introducers; and in like manner the Incas of Peru maintained a close connection with the agriculture of the Peruvians. The prince gave the signal for preparing the ground by digging with a golden spade round the consecrated field which lay in the middle of the capital, and sowing it with maize, the people accompanying the ceremony with hymns of praise and triumph, mingled with satiric and amatory songs. The permission thereby given to set to work on the land was announced in every part of the kingdom by loud blasts on the shell horn. In a similar fashion the Inca participated in the harvest. The Mexicans worshipped a goddess, Chicomecoatc, corresponding to Ceres. She was the first woman who knew how to prepare bread and other foods. She was represented with a crown on her head, holding in her right hand a vessel or an ear of maize. A feast was kept in her honour,

at which food was given to the poor. The sacrificial importance of maize recurs elsewhere among the civilized American races. In Guatemala the *euchlaena*, nearly akin to maize, was called the maize of the gods.

We have referred above to artificial irrigation. For manure, ashes or decayed wood were employed, or the plants were dug in. Human manure was offered for sale by whole boat-loads in harbours of the Gulf of Mexico, in the neighbourhood of a market. In Peru the guano was used from early times, and there were heavy penalties for disturbing the breeding-places of the sea-birds. The Guano Islands were assigned to the various provinces. About the sown fields were erected little scaffolds of wood, branches, and reeds, but also towers of a stouter kind, from which a man with a sling could knock over the birds that came to pilfer. All field crops that could be stored, especially grain, were placed in barns. In Peru these were built of air-dried bricks of an elongated shape, with many thwart partitions, while in Mexico they were log houses raised above the ground. We are reminded of China by the way in which space is grudged in the burial grounds of Peru even for the last resting-place. The corpses of poor persons, with their funeral presents, consisting, as a rule, of a calabash or a rudely carved wooden cup, a simple idol of wood, curiously shaped stones, and other amulets, and nearly always some tool of their daily trade, lie in shallow sandpits which the wind lays bare. Cultivable ground was much too valuable for such corpses, and they are found sometimes even in heaps of stones picked off the fields and piled up in rough dykes by the roadside.



Ancient Peruvian stone bowl—one-fifth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Agricultural implements were very simple; the most universal being a sharpened stick, often weighted with a stone, the point hardened in the fire, or, less often, shod with copper. They certainly used also sticks with a blade of chert at the end, a specimen of which is preserved in the Berlin Museum of Ethnology. They used also, still more rarely, a kind of spade made of oak, in the manipulation of which both hands and feet were employed; the so-called "serpent," *coatl* or *coa*, a weak copper hoe on a wooden handle, comparable to the similarly shaped tools of the Africans; a curved sickle-like knife of copper, for lopping trees. But the use of all these metal implements was doubtless very limited. Lack of draught animals must have stood in the way of anything in the nature of a satisfactory plough; and in spite of the application of human power in great abundance, husbandry was limited in respect of space, and became more like horticulture.

The daily bread consisted mainly of preparations of maize. This was the special plant on which the ancient civilization of America throve. When the Mexican migration legend relates how the primitive inhabitants hunted water-snakes in the lakes, and collected ants for food, and only mentions maize at a later point, no great importance need be attached to this in a country which saw many fluctuations between nomadism and settlement. We have seen that the cultivation of this crop, the great antiquity and wide diffusion of which is shown by the great number of varieties, was common also among those races in the New World, who were far from carrying on agriculture in the orderly fashion of

Peruvians or Toltecs. The grain of the maize softened in lime, and pounded down, afforded the material for the flat cakes, baked upon hot stones, which were the substitute for bread. The extremely laborious and tedious preparation of these flat insipid cakes, which are now called *tortillas*, was the task of the women, and left those who were employed in it so little time for other work that it may of itself have been a reason for polygamy. The Peruvians are said to have bolted the bruised maize through a woollen cloth, when they wanted a finer flour to make the festival pastry called *huminta;* and also to have made use of the saccharine contents of the unripe maize stalk.

The potato was cultivated from Chili to Columbia, and probably also in Central America and Mexico; and it is possible that other species of *solanum*, besides those that we have, may have been planted along with it. In the high-lying regions of Peru and Equador was found the *quinoa*, a plant akin to spinach, which was lacking in Mexico, affording nutritious material in the flour contained in its seeds and in the juicy young shoots; and everywhere in the hotter districts bananas and other tropical fruits. The root of the *yucca* was used for food both in Mexico and in Peru, and ground-nuts are found in Peruvian graves. The process of making potatoes into a preserve called *chuño*, by freezing and soaking, is a speciality of the Indians of the Bolivian highlands, and goes back to pre-European times. Cactus fruit and pine-apples are very generally eaten. Drinks are, *atolle* and *chicha* from maize flour, *pulque* from the agave, and also that made from the cacao-bean. The last was as favourite a luxury in Mexico and Central America as coca in Peru. From the ripe cacao beans the Mexicans prepared one of their daily beverages, *chocolatl.* It consisted of cacao-meal and water, and originally was taken cold. Jugs of this drink, with the froth still on them, were never lacking when Montezuma took a meal. Honey, vanilla, and scented flowers were used for flavouring, perhaps also the inevitable "cayenne" pepper. Cacao beans and husks no doubt also served in early times to flavour the thin broth of maize flour, which is still a popular drink with Mexicans on cold days. The smaller sorts of cacao beans served for coin, which was common all over Central America. In Oviedo's time a rabbit fetched 10 beans in Nicaragua, a slave 100. To-day 200 beans = 1 real, or about 6d. The invention of chocolate was also ascribed in Atitlan to a mythical sovereign.

Woven pouch from an Ancon grave—one-fifth real size. (After Reiss and Stübel.)

It is uncertain whether the *chicha* of the Peruvians was also used in Mexico. It was made, like beer, from malted maize, and by the addition of narcotic herbs was converted into *sora*, a drink forbidden to many classes, especially nobles and warriors. The wide diffusion of a thin beer over the plain country of Mexico indicates perhaps that the other variety of beer-brewing was also known there from the beginning. The Incas reserved the coca to themselves, but the stimulant

was nevertheless widely used, though not so much as after the conquest. Elegant little bags of coca leaves, and small gourds of lime with their spatulas of bone or wood, are found in Peruvian graves. Finally, the use of tobacco was no less frequent in all these countries than in the West Indies, whence Europeans first learnt it. Of this valued herb, too, the priests took possession as an accessory to their ritual. Tobacco smoke, and perhaps a decoction of the plant, were, according to De Solis, among the means employed by the priests to make themselves unconscious when they wished to hold intercourse with their deity. When at the conclusion of a victorious war the Aztec army returned to the capital, the old men carried pans in which tobacco was burning by way of offering incense to the general.

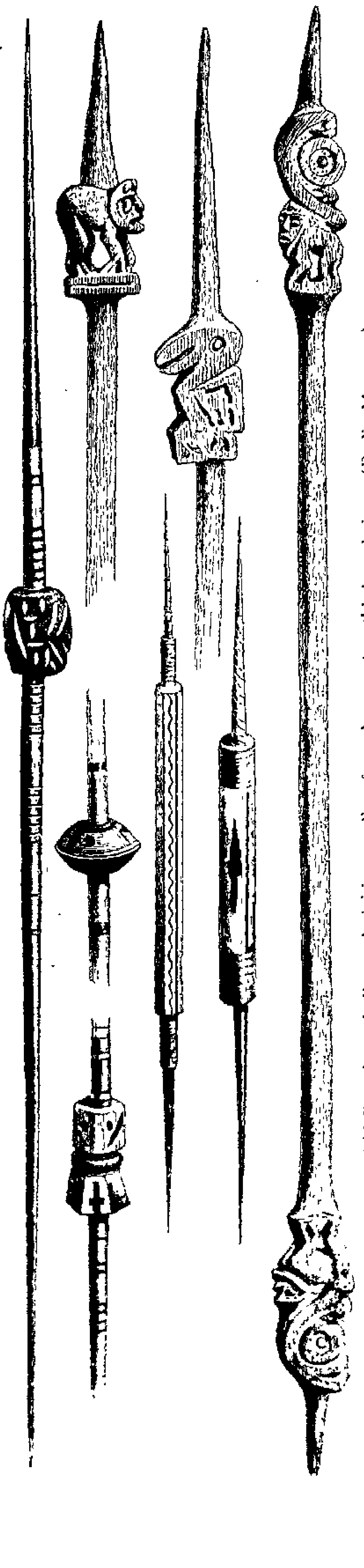
The Spanish historians regarded drunkenness as one cause of the rapid fall of the old American empires, especially Peru. The practice of seeking stimulation before a battle in carouses of *chicha* seems to have been fatal to the Peruvians. During the introduction of Christianity the zealous opposition of the missionaries to the excessive use of *chicha* gave the theme for many a sermon; while that of *pulque*, which spread throughout Mexico and Yucatan, and caused the festivals of the gods to take the form of Bacchanalian orgies, was restricted by law. At the festival of the summer solstice Peruvians even of low birth were allowed to get drunk off maize beer, and the days during which the festival lasted seem not to have been surpassed in wild debauchery by what took place in the temples of Ashtaroth and Hathor. The maize beer brewed by the virgins of the sun here represented the noblest of offerings. It was first presented to the rising sun himself, and carried into his temple through pipes; then the Inca drank to his ancestors, to the mummies of those in whom the sun-god had been incarnate; and lastly it was put at the disposal of the whole people.

A clear notion of the total property owned by a Peruvian family not of the wealthier sort is given by the funeral presents found in the grave of a fisherman and his family, which Squier opened near Pachacamac. It contained the father, the mother, and three children, the smallest of whom lay between the parents, while the elder girl was placed beside the mother, the boy beside the father. Apart from the numerous wrappings of each mummy, some of them fabrics of superior quality, the father had a fishing-net of agave-fibre wound round his neck, while at his feet were lines, hooks of copper, and stone sinkers. In the armpits were laid little balls of vicuña-wool, and in the hollow of the knees, ears of maize. In his mouth was a bit of copper, like an obol for Charon, and round his neck hung two copper tweezers, used apparently for plucking out the beard. The woman had in one hand a comb made of fish-bones set in palm-wood, and in the other a feather fan. A triple necklace of shells was about her neck, in her lap lay a spindle full of thread, and wrapped in thick cotton cloth beside her were large beans, cotton seed, fragments of silver finery, round perforated disks of silver, and chalcedony beads. The girl's mummy was sitting on a covered rush-basket, containing the implements for knitting, spinning, and weaving, a netting-needle, brass needles and knife, comb, fan, cosmetic in hollow bird-bones, a stone for rubbing colours, a gold dish, a knitted pouch and a skein of yarn, and lastly a glittering bit of pyrites. At her feet lay the mummy of a parrot. The boy had only a noose wound round his head, while the baby had a rattle made of a sea-shell laid beside it.

One of the greatest obstacles to a stronger and loftier development of civilization in the old American territories was formed by the lack of domestic animals, which in Mexico and Central America was even more marked than in Peru. With the exception of the turkey, who did not then enjoy the careful rearing of the present day, and a small native dog, the people of Mexico had no domestic animals. Without beasts of burden, intercourse is restricted, and men are not in a position to lay their own labour on the backs of patient animals. In Peru the breeding of llamas and alpacas was confined to those highland regions where the lanky umbelliferous plant, *Scandix australis*, which forms the favourite food of those animals, will grow. There were no pastoral folk, such as depend on their flocks and herds for their whole living. These were rather the property of the gods and the priests, and the pasturage and employment of them were strictly regulated. Shearing took place once a year, and the produce was distributed and manufactured in conformity with fixed rules. The greatest men in the land alone owned little flocks; but the kind Inca lent a pair of llamas to the mountain-farmer, with permission to take their offspring as his own. The old Peruvians employed these stubborn beasts, whose saliva was dreaded as poisonous, not for draught purposes, but as pack animals; and in this limited function they are far inferior to donkeys.

The chief of all household implements was the stone, standing on three feet, upon which the maize was crushed, called by the Mexicans *metlatl*. As befits its importance it is often ornamented with animal heads and the like. When a house had been furnished with its stone, nothing more was needed in the kitchen but a simple hearth of three stones set on edge, and equally simple utensils of earthenware. Ovens were unknown, and the business of charcoal-burning, now so actively carried on in some parts of Mexico, is probably an importation from Spain. Pine splinters or cactus-stalks served for lighting. The house was only a protection and shelter, not a home, such as we have in more northern latitudes.

It is significant that spindles, of all productions of Peruvian art-industry the most elegantly

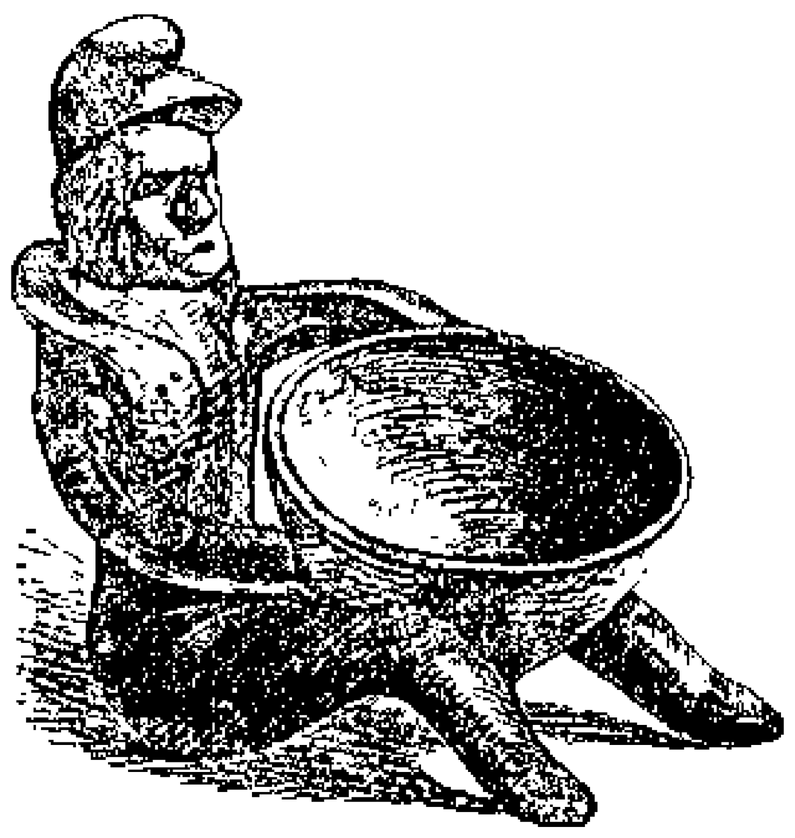


Old Peruvian spindles and plaiting-needles, from Ancon—two-thirds real size. (Berlin Museum.)

executed in form and colour, are among the most frequent sepulchral gifts. The shaft, often a foot long, is made of hard wood, the whorl of baked clay, both very brilliantly coloured. The productions of this implement and of the loom were numerous. Cotton was found everywhere. Besides this, alpaca wool was spun in Peru, and more widely the hair of bats, dogs, and rabbits, while in

Crude earthenware vessels from Colombia. (British Museum.)

Mexico agave-fibre was used. A very favourite practice was to insert coloured feathers into the web. Fabrics were made both on vertical and horizontal looms; and of so fine a character that Squier could point to finer work in the mummy-wrappings of Chimu than was to be found in the mummy-linen of Egypt. Cortes speaks of Aztec fabrics which could only be distinguished from silk by the touch. It is possible that they were manufactured from the threads spun by a native caterpillar, the cocoons of which, as large as a pear, are even to-day reeled off near Tehuantepec. The manifold and various colours and patterns, imitating for example a feather-garment, large bright feathers in rows one over another on a dark ground, presume a careful preparation of the threads. There are ancient Peruvian fabrics like Gobelins tapestry, in which, says Giglioli, the colours are rich and harmonious beyond description.



Earthenware vessel from Paraguay. (British Museum.)

Even in the sixteenth century the featherwork of the Indians excited the admiration of Europeans. They have, however, the appearance of agreeable elegancies, expressing chiefly an abundance of patience to which time is no object. Woollen caps with ear-flaps may be seen on old images, vessels, and so on. They seem to indicate that knitting was native to ancient Peru. The Indian women, who hardly came into contact at all with the elements of city life, understood how to knit well. The stitch used in the stockings, which they knit on five needles, is the same as that in Europe; their needles, however, are not smooth as with us, but have a notch in one end like crochet-needles. The needles and needle-cases of old Peru are strikingly like those of the Eskimo. Curiously enough the

vicuña-wool is not now freed of grease, though this must have been done by the old Peruvians for the purpose at least of their finer fabrics.

Paper, *amatl*, such as the Spaniards made acquaintance with immediately upon Cortes's landing, was prepared by the Mayas from the bast of the so-called caoutchouc tree, *Castiloa elastica*, which has kept its ancient name till now in the language of the Central Americans. The porous bast was soaked with a resin and covered with powered gypsum or lime. On the Anahuac plateau, where the *amatl*-tree does not grow, the fibre of the *maguey*-plant was used. It was softened in water, and for writing purposes a thin membrane from deerskin was fastened to either side of it with some adhesive material, and pressed on it. That was a process requiring much patience, and not easily allowing of the manufacture of the article in large quantities, as in the case of the *amatl*. Only a small part of the paper found employment for writing or painting; a great deal more was burnt with copal and other gums before the images of the gods, as in China and Japan, and it was used on high festivals to deck the victim and the sacrificing priest.

Though the potter's wheel remained always unknown to the ancient Americans, they made vessels of highly symmetrical shape, and of conspicuous size. Vessels of this kind were used to keep stores of corn, and in the last resort as sepulchral urns. Great earthenware vats with ornamental handles for holding *chicha* were common in old Peru. The ornament was put on either with the free hand or by means of moulds. Earthenware stamps for impressing the ornament on the pottery have been preserved, for instance, in Colombia. But most of the decoration was obviously worked by hand; and the theme most frequently employed is the human figure in designs varied without end, often the most grotesque. Not to mention the globular or pear-shaped clustered vessels, connected by a common spout, often placed in the handle, such as are to be found elsewhere, I need only refer to the imitations of fruits and animals which in fidelity to nature surpass stone-carvings of a similar kind. Significant in regard to the decidedly anthropomorphic character of early American art is the frequency of urns in the shape of faces. Vessels copied from the human figure, or at least ornamented with a face, are among the objects most often found in old Peruvian graves. Between rough indications of separate parts of the body and the most complete representations in which even emotions of the mind are rendered in the expression of the faces, lie transitions of every kind. Beaks, handles, or other parts of the vessels exhibit little human heads. An earthenware vase from Teotihuacan shows round its rim a ring of nine or ten such, very prettily executed. A whole dance of death is represented on a Peruvian vase described by Bastian, and Squier has given an account of mythological figures from Chimu. The paintings in waterproof colours on earthenware are among the best things which pictorial art has produced here. There seem to have also been lacquered clay vessels, such as the Indians of the Amazon regions manufacture to-day; but true glazing was as unknown as in the rest of America. In Nicaragua and San Salvador also earthenware is found hardly inferior to the Peruvian. Especially beautiful is a painted dish with feet in the shape of birds' heads, hollow inside, and containing loose stones which rattle.

In many places clay had to take the place of wood, the scanty occurrence of which in Peru incidentally explains the abundance and variety of the pottery. Earthenware flutes are an inheritance from early times. They are still in use

among the Indians of Costa Rica, and have been found in graves beside others of bone. Toys of earthenware turn up with touching frequency among sepulchral gifts. Perhaps idols in animal shape are sometimes confused with them. Earthenware frogs and other animal figures in Mexico are fitted with pipes.

The chief part of the implements were of stone. The district of the great Maya monuments was at the same time the centre of a flourishing industry in flint. Where objects in metal, copper, or bronze appear, they remind us in shape of the stone articles. In Mexico works of art of unrivalled perfection were made

Typical old Peruvian urns in the form of faces. (Berlin Museum.)

of obsidian, together with very simple knives from the splinters which that stone so easily yields. From a technical point of view the ancient American art of working stone is of the greatest interest in two directions: first, from the fact of their having worked obsidian, one of the most refractory materials, and in connection with this the most various hard stones, even pyrites—a charming death's head in that material, polished till it gleams, is in the Christy collection; and secondly, in their way of encrusting wood with mosaic of ground precious stones, bits of shell and mother-of-pearl, and even gold. In the *Casas Grandes*, fragments of turquoise and red shell were cemented with the gum of the "grease-wood" (*hediondilla*) on a bed of shell, and then ground smooth. The National Museum of Mexico contains a vase about 8 inches in diameter, ground in masterly style

out of a single piece of black obsidian. "The most expert lapidaries of Europe," says Maler, "would stand in admiration before this work of art, which must have been doubly hard to execute in the refractory obsidian." The external ornament of the vase represents a monkey, the head of which is disengaged, while the limbs adapt themselves elegantly to the round shape of the vessel and its hollow body; while the tail runs like a border round the lip, its end standing out clear on the opposite side to the head, to serve as a handle. Jewels were probably set in the eye-holes, while little holes in the ear-lobes point to the former presence of ear-pendants. The grinding of precious stones was carried on in Mexico and Peru. Perforated greenstones and emeralds are known to exist in numbers; and A. von Humboldt describes with just astonishment a granite figure bearing in its closed jaws a granite-ring ground in one piece with it.

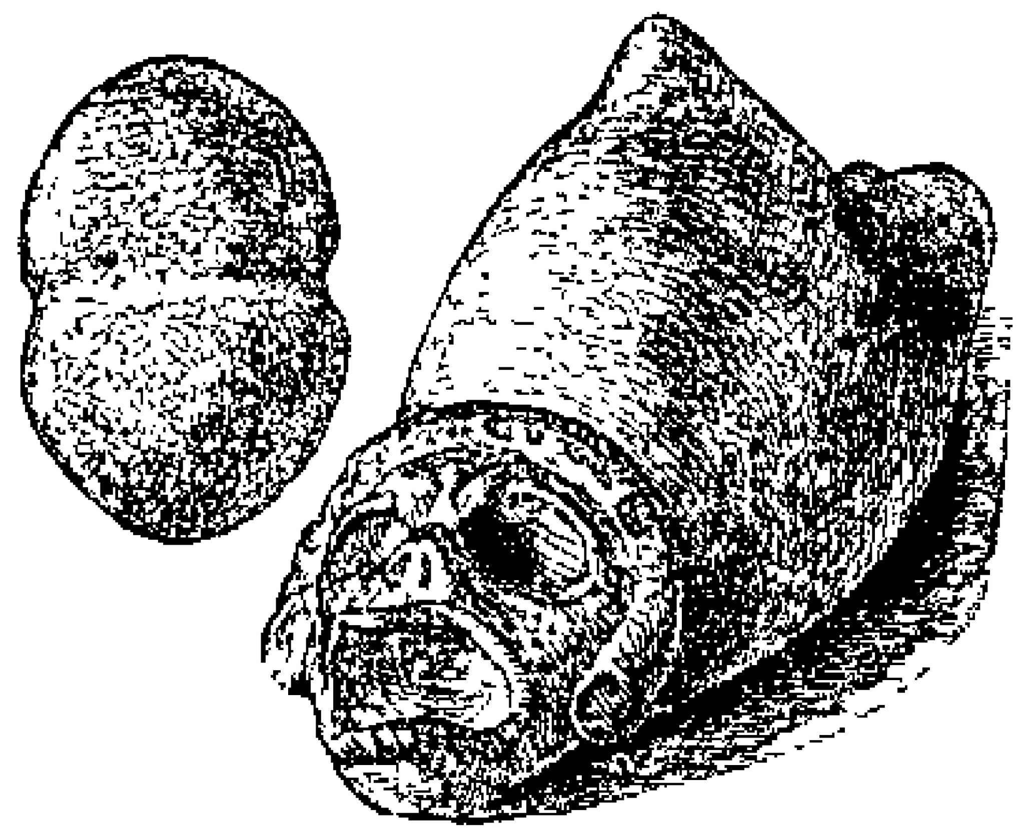
Ancient Mexican carvings in greenstone and wood. 1 and 2, stone; 3, wood. (Christy Collection.)

That wood-carving was practised, and practised with great skill, is shewn by a wonderfully carved door-beam from Tical in Guatemala, with rows of hieroglyphics exactly like these of Chichen-Itza. But the dearth of wood in the highland regions of Western America prevented wood-ornamentation from attaining a development like that of Polynesia; which makes the wonderful resemblance in style and conception which we occasionally come across (as in the cut on p. 168), all the more striking. The old Peruvian wooden spoons are simple, almost shabby; and of the wooden articles and weapons from Ancon, without exception, none is very finely wrought. We notice that wood was treated with parsimony, and was not to be had of any great excellence. Among funeral gifts are found even insignificant bits of wood. The tools with which wood and stone were wrought consisted principally of stone. That copper or bronze chisels were occasionally used is well established; but as a rule the sculptor tapped his stone chisel with a handleless stone mallet, and did still more by rubbing with sand and water.

The use of metallic iron was also unknown to the civilized races of America. They understood how to hammer and smelt copper, silver, and gold. Metal tools are rare almost everywhere. It is surprising to find a single axe of cast copper in the Zapotec graves, so accustomed are we in Mexico to stone implements; nor does the existence in Oaxaca of a copper cone weighing a hundredweight at all entitle us to speak of a "Copper Age" in America. We do not know whence these people got their tin, but it is certain that they used vessels and implements

of soft bronze, containing tin in the proportion of 4 to 10 per cent. Chisel-like blades with semicircular edge, axes, crescent-shaped plaques for adorning the head or the nose, and hair-pins made of a similar alloy, are found both in Mexico and in Peru. In South America, Chimu is the region richest in bronze, as might indeed be inferred from the old reports of Cieça de Leon. In and about Chimu bronze weapons and utensils were found in such quantities that they were sold by the ton. Celts, just like those of Europe, and ornamental bronze shovels, were depicted by Squier. As in Peru, the bronze knives had a crescent-shaped edge, and the handle in the middle; the same pattern occurs among the Arctic races, and as an obsolete form in Indonesia. Squier says: "I could not ascertain whether flint arrow-heads or stone weapons had ever been found here." He heard of bronze swords, but saw none.

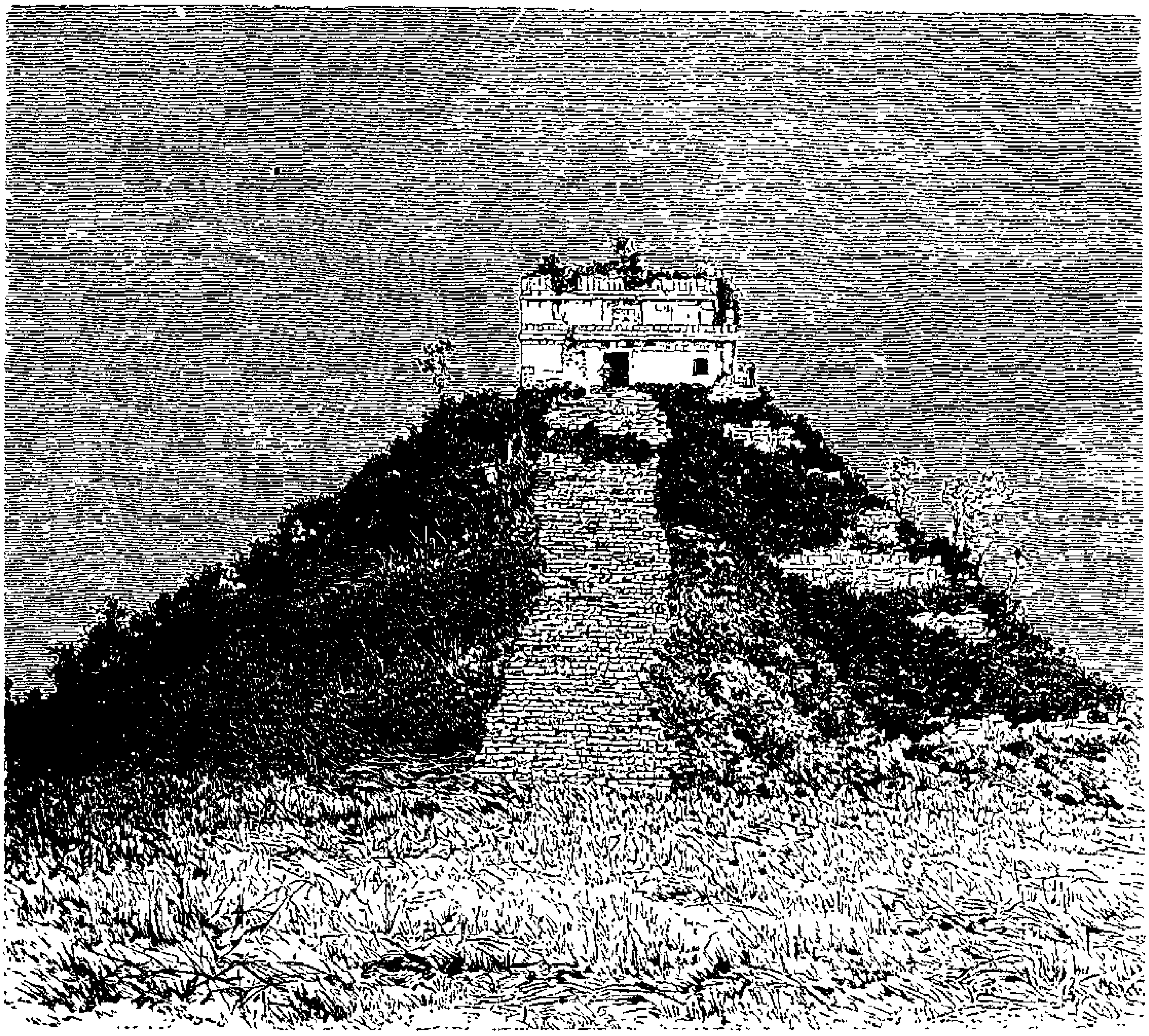
The precious metals were wrought everywhere in these countries in comparatively large quantities. A descendant of the Incas told Cieça de Leon that all the gold which the Spaniards had looted bore to what had existed before their arrival the same proportion as one drop to all the water in a great caskful. The list of the plunder from Tenochtitlan which Cortes sent to Charles V. should be read. We find among it a golden sun-wheel and a silver moon-wheel, each 10 spans in diameter, a gold necklace in seven joints with 415 jewels and 27 little gold bells, 24 shields inlaid with gold, a helmet the same, 4 fishes, several birds, and two shells cast in gold, and much besides. That in Peru (and perhaps also in Mexico) gold and silver were looked upon almost as a monopoly of the sovereign, is shown by the way it was piled up in Cuzco, when, in the person of the unfortunate Inca who owned this mighty treasure, the Spaniards at last found their fabled El Dorado. But gold and silver objects in no small quantity have been taken out of the graves and houses of private persons, and the *huacas* of the old Chibcha country were ransacked in a thoroughly systematic fashion at the time of the gold-fever in the early fifties. Gold seems to have been among the offerings made to the gods, and the story from which the Spaniards, in their lust for gold, first learnt this, though it has been doubted, seems to have gone little beyond the fact. At any rate a raft or bier made of spirally twisted strips of gold, with the figure of the prince in the middle of it, was quite recently found in the lake of Guatavita, in which, according to the story, El Dorado bathed, and his people sunk offerings of gold.



Stone axe and stone figure (a whetstone) from the Antilles—one-sixth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

The gold of the South American objects of art contains silver and copper as indeed it is found to do in nature. Smelted alloys of both metals with iron and copper are also found. The casting of gold and silver was performed with eminent skill. Squier records his possession of a group cast in silver, representing three figures, a man and two women, in a forest. The group stands upon a round base, 6 inches in diameter, and weighs $48\frac{1}{2}$ oz. The figures are solid, cast in one piece, and ring like a bell when struck. The trees, with their forking branches and boughs stretching in all directions like those of the carob, are very well wrought. The human figures are well proportioned and full of life. The

Brunswick Museum contains silver statuettes and figures out of graves at Cuzco, among them a hump-backed dwarf of marked phallic character, with a top-knot or peaked cap, and laughing features. The execution is very careful, but they are much worn, and were no doubt amulets. Crucibles of admirable workmanship existed. In Peru the separation of the silver from the lead seems to have been always performed with the blow-pipe. Brasseur alleges that the Zapotecs had



The so-called castle of Chichen-Itza. (After De Charnay.)

charcoal moulds. The practice of mixing lead for a flux was also known. Beaten gold and silver are, however, more frequent. Even silver filigree articles, implying a pre-eminent delicacy of tools and workmanship, have been met with in no small quantity in Mexico. In the palace of Chimu was found a walled-up niche about 20 inches square, full of drinking-vessels and vases of very thin hammered silver, in the form of "face-urns," laid in regular layers on each other. Silver plates, among which the fish-shape frequently recurs, were sewn on to clothing. Such fishes are very often found 30 feet deep in the guano of the Chincha Islands.

Gold was got by washing; silver, copper, tin, and lead by mining. In Mexico the oldest silver mines are considered to be those of Pachuca and Tasco. The

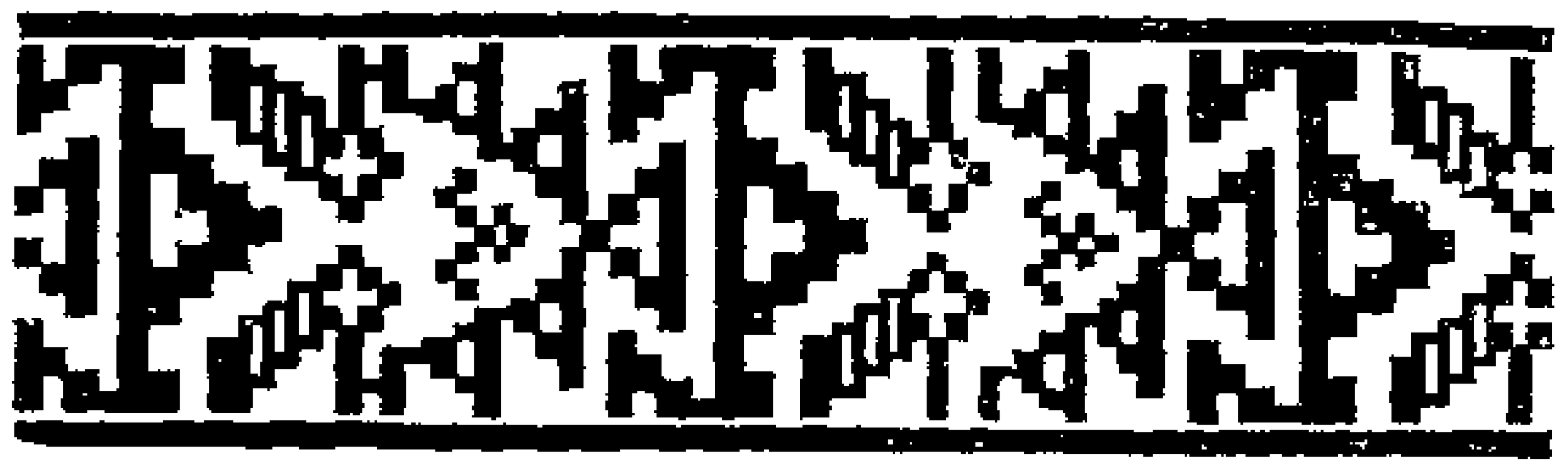
view expressed by later writers that the Mexicans knew the process of amalgamation rests upon the remarkable statement that a Spaniard first employed this process in Mexico in 1557. The old pits of Huancavelica are said to have been so extensive that a man might easily lose himself in their passages. Quicksilver ores were found here; but the only thing certain is that cinnabar was used for a pigment. Numerous veins of silver, especially that of Potosi, were only discovered since the conquest.

Peaceful intercourse stopped at the frontier, as is the case in Thibet, and as it was in Japan before European times. When we find more than fifty primitive Indian languages surviving in the area of the modern republic of Mexico, it is clear that there was no assimilating intercourse in our modern sense. The fact that numerous Miztec localities bear Aztec names, or that abundant traces of Quichua occur in the Jivaro language, points to the foundation of colonies, connected with conquests or rather raids on the part of the stronger race; just as a good deal of the expansion by conquest of Mexico and Peru must be regarded as military colonization. The system of family kinship made intercourse difficult: the poor man being bound to his village, since there he was secure of a livelihood; the rich, because in leaving it he would abandon his capital of labour and influence. In the varying conditions of production we find a strong motive for division of labour, which could not fail to encourage trade. Even costly articles of bronze and silver were made in quantities, that is, for trade purposes.

Road-making was one of the fundamental conditions of the high level of culture reached by the races of the plateaux in America. Nothing else rendered it possible for the empires of the Toltecs and the Incas to allow their people, during many centuries, to make substantial progress under the protection of a secured monarchy. Peru stood highest in this respect; even to-day the old road of the Incas may be seen lying like a broad grey band across the yellow *paramos*. Four main roads started from Cuzco: to the Andes, to Chili, to Arequipa, to Quito. The total length of the Cuzco and Quito road, which was partly carried in two lines—one on the plain, one in the hills—was reckoned at 600 leagues. The road, 13 to 23 feet in width, paved and in places built with cement and concrete, does not avoid the smaller inequalities of the ground; but in the steeper places it was graded, and even supported on masonry. Many stretches of it show culverts at every fifty paces, to carry off the torrential downpours of rain. In this way the road crosses heights of 13,000 feet and more. In very steep places stone kerbs are laid diagonally across like steps, reminding us that neither beasts of burden nor vehicles traversed the roads, which were therefore the easier to keep in repair. Parapets too were not lacking, and reaches of the road were shaded by trees. In Yucatan there are artificial roads, 8 or 9 yards wide, made of blocks of stone, which are bound together by a firm mortar, and covered with cement. In Mexico, too, well-preserved remains of similar roads are found. In Peru and Yucatan are ruins of stone bridges. Near Chavin de Huantar the road to an old fortress leads across a bridge, still in perfect preservation, made of three stone slabs, averaging 20 feet in length, which rest on either side upon strong piers of masonry. The traveller's thirst was appeased by springs, brought in pipes to the roadside. For entertainment little houses were built, which also had their use in the Incas' postal system. On level ground the remains of these stations are generally found about a mile apart. They explain the story that the

Incas and Montezuma had fresh fish from the sea every day. Indian runners can do their 9½ miles in the hour, and could put the road from Truxillo to Cajamarca, reckoned five days' journey, behind them within the day. In this way Montezuma could hear in a short time of the arrival of the Spaniards on the coast of Vera Cruz, and could daily receive fresh news of their advance. This system of posts was one of the most important government institutions in these highland states, for he who can convey his orders most quickly is best obeyed. The old roads served for traffic for centuries after the conquest; and after the old roads in the Peruvian highlands had been recklessly destroyed in the course of building the railway, those in the neighbourhood of Cajamarca were restored with great labour.

Besides bridges, extensive aqueducts occur, such as the dry climate of the plateau rendered necessary. That which in Montezuma's time was carried in cane pipes from Chacultepec to Mexico, and is still in working order, is, however, not correctly regarded in its entirety as a work of the Aztec times. But aqueducts cut in the rock are still to be seen near Tezcoco, and in a yet larger measure near Peruvian ruins. Near Huandoval, in Peru, an aqueduct is taken across a stream in a channel of masonry. The descriptions of the Inca's castles speak of artificial waterfalls.


Stucco ornament from Chimu. (After Squier.)

Ruins are extraordinarily abundant in all the lands of ancient civilization in America, and by no means all are as yet known. The great and beautiful ruins of Santa Lucia in Guatemala were only discovered some forty years ago, and those of Coban and Quiragua may rank with them. Near the magnificent ruins on the islands in Lake Titicaca are the yet larger ones of Tiahuanaco and Puma Punca. We can hardly conceive how such monumental works can have grown up so near each other. But when his village is destroyed the settled Indian does not rebuild it on the same spot, but looks out for another site. If his house gets out of repair he does not mend it, but puts up another. Sickness and death, failure of crops, often induce the Indian to desert his home. Bandelier says: "I know of *pueblos* which have changed their situation three times in as many centuries, each time leaving ruins behind." Frequency of ruins is thus no evidence of a dense population at any given time; for example, near Mandalay, the last capital of the kings of Burma, there are also Ava and Amarapura, both of which have been capitals in the course of the present century. This consideration also throws light upon the extent of many groups of ruins. Palenque alone is said to have extended from 6 to 9 miles along the banks of the river Otolum, but no doubt consisted in part of empty dilapidated houses. Changeableness is also a feature even of the settled Indians who dwelt in the gigantic common houses. Thus, when so limited and thinly-peopled a district as Yucatan can show in the north Izamal, Ake, Merida, Myuapan, in the centre Uxmal, Xabn, Labna, and nineteen other cities of notable extent, in the east the marvellous Chichen-Itza, while others yet more numerous are doubtless hidden in the unexplored regions of the east and south, we have before us various stages, surely not very remote from each other, of a historical development, such as to make us recognise in the arrangement of the remains of Peruvian buildings into various historical

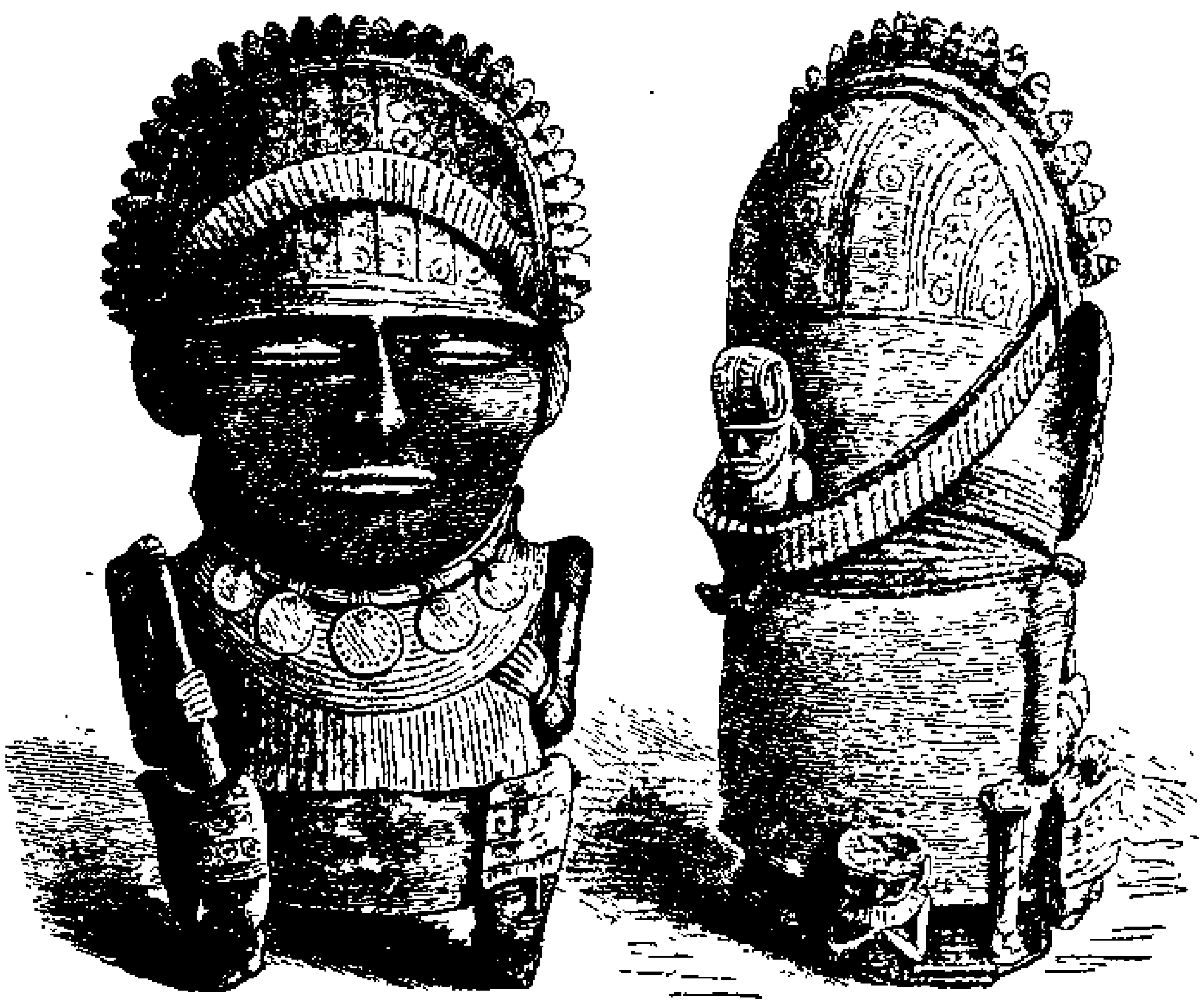
periods, which is always being announced as a great fact, something which rests upon a basis common to all the cultured races of America. To the same cause is due the fact that when individual buildings assume at all large dimensions they present a discordant piling-up of hall-like houses, passages, little huts, obviously the product of different ages and requirements.

The dwelling-houses were built of sun-dried clay bricks, *adobes*. In Chimu, where ordinary houses have been preserved, they produce, in the extraordinary regularity with which they are built round a large open space, an impression of gloom and desolation. The walls are one yard thick and four high, and the roofs are acutely peaked. Air and light entered only through the doors; and these, according to the more precise descriptions from Tlaxcala, could be closed with mats. In Yucatan, windows were absent in the great palaces, and even the famous palace of Mitla is without them. The ground-plan of the large palaces shows only a succession of like rooms. Such is the best-preserved building at Chichen-Itza, the so-called "Red House," a square edifice standing on a low terrace. The front, facing westward, is pierced by three portals opening into a gallery which runs across the whole breadth of the building, and from which three doors give admission to as many halls. The splendid Governor's House at Uxmal is of similar plan, 320 feet long, 40 feet broad, 25 feet high, and stands on a natural elevation artificially increased by the addition of stone blocks and rising in three terraces. The interior is divided by a wall into two long narrow halls or corridors, which again are subdivided into a number of rooms by partitions from front to back. From each room in the front side, a door, passing through the longitudinal wall, leads into a corresponding back room. The front of the house has eleven portals, and there is one at each end. The walls of these chambers are made of rough stones fastened together with mortar, without a trace of painting or sculpture, fragments of stucco being left in two places only. Obviously in these gigantic buildings more importance was attached to mass and external decoration than to simplicity of ground-plan. This frequently rather presents a paltry and confused appearance, owing to want of clearness and over-crowding.

Even the buildings at Mitla, which externally give as much as any the impression of lightness, also consist of a central space 200 feet long in the side with three doors in each of the four sides leading into a long and narrow apartment. That on the north has a small, nearly square, annex, which again consists of a square space surrounded by four long and narrow apartments. Here, too, the exterior is richly ornamented, while the interior is bare. The floor is laid with polygonal blocks of stone, of cyclopean roughness, fitted together. A narrow, dark, crooked passage leads to the annex with its five rooms. Here the walls are covered, both inside and out, with ornaments made of a hard stone like porphyry. These are worked with sharp lines in patterns based almost entirely on the step and the zigzag, as in the ornament shown on p. 187, and begin at about three feet from the ground. Below them is the masonry, consisting here also of irregular stones, trimmed little or not at all, and bound with clay-mortar. Wherever this masonry is exposed it is covered by a plaster of red colour and worked smooth. The ornamented stones have no mortar-joints, but fit accurately together.

The predominant impression given by these monuments of old American architecture is decidedly that of mass; and the way in which mechanical difficulties

have been overcome challenges our admiration. It is hard upon inconceivable, how mighty slabs and pillars of granite can have been detached from the neighbouring rock and the angles brought sharply into shape without iron. Peru offers this problem in the buildings of Tiahuanaco, which must be referred to an age before the Incas. Ashlar blocks of all sizes—among which some of 10 feet in length, 6 in breadth, and 4½ in height, are not the most important,—lie strewn about, especially in the neighbourhood of Pama Punca, the "Lion's Gate," just as they were dragged to the desired spot by the wearied arms of a great multitude. The nearest quarries, within a circuit of 25 miles, are those in the Serranias of Zepita, from which the material for these buildings must have been taken, being hewn there at the same time. So, near Ollantaytambo, the monstrous half-hewn *piedras cansadas*, "weary stones," lie on the way from the quarry to the building. In the river Huillkamaya there stands a pillar far from either bank. It was to have made a bridge with two stone slabs, which still lie in the quarry quite complete, but were never removed from the place. It is clear that the lifting of great masses must have been much more difficult, and with this difficulty is no doubt connected the small height of the monumental buildings, with their entrances not so high as a man; possibly, too, such rare productions as the entrance of a temple at Tiahuanaco cut at right angles in a single block. The pyramid is the only form which easily lends itself to the effort to obtain height on a large scale. These laborious stone edifices appear yet more enigmatic when we reflect that at least the Mexicans and Central Americans possessed noble forests full of timber on the neighbouring mountains. In spite of the imposing impression made by these masses, the effect of real greatness is lacking. It is only immediately at the foot of them that their colossal character is perceived. "A finer art," says Wiener, "has the power of producing greater results without moving such masses." The sense for strict regularity is wanting in the design, the execution, and the ornamentation of these buildings. The desire to build was as great as it is still reported to be among the Indians of Guatemala; but the capacity did not advance. The heaviness and deficient feeling for beauty in the combinations of decorative lines and figures assign to these buildings a stage in the development of architecture far below that held by the oldest Egyptian work.



Hollow clay figures—so-called Chicha antiquities from Colombia—one-seventh real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Local variations are found in the exteriors. Mitla shows a scheme of ornament more geometrical than in the work of the Mayas. In Peru, too, a similar

tendency is observed. If the simple architecture of Tiahuanaco, delighting in sharply-chiselled squares, in deep, niche-like, rectangular indentations, in ogees and cornice-like projections, or the sculpture of the rude colossal busts of the same region belong to an earlier time; yet the Inca's master-builder did not lose himself in the tropical thicket of Maya architecture, even though his sculptures do not belie the general character of exaggeration. Long ago Alexander von Humboldt noted the similarity of style in the Peruvian edifices which are scattered in the Cordillera between 3000 and 13,000 feet—that is to say from a perceptibly hot to a perceptibly cold region—and extend over an area of 7000 square miles.

In the plan of their buildings these people show a striking predilection for the square. Except for the numerous conical tumuli, few round buildings like the tomb at Mayapan in South Mexico are to be found. Among the Mayas especially the square asserts itself—the doors are square, and the whole building, with its flat roof, is a large die. Even the ornament affects square forms; friezes and cornices are rectangular, and the picture-writing, with its wealth of figures, is forced into square frames.

The preference for a pyramidal elevation is also among the notes of old American art. It was expressed in the erection of artificial pyramids, and in the shaping of entire hillocks into pyramidal bases for temples, or even in manifold groups of shrines, rising in steps one above the other. Palenque, Uxmal, Coban, Izamel, can show vast pyramids which sometimes rise clear, sometimes support buildings. The so-called Castle of Chichen-Itza, shown in the cut on p. 185, stands on a nearly square pyramid about 80 feet in height. At Palenque the chief building, known as the Palace, rises from an earth-pyramid 40 feet high, measuring at the base 295 by 262 feet, and having its faces covered with broad slabs of stone. Steps lead to the chief building, which formed a rectangle of 165 by 25 feet. The dwellings of the priests, and the consecrated virgins of the sun, in the environs of the temple, also rested upon pyramidal or conical stone substructures. These pyramidal basements occur less frequently, but in colossal proportions, in Peru. Near Colpa, not far from the ruined temple of Huanuco Viejo, stone steps lead to a height on which the temple rises in the form of a one-storied building, oriented towards the cardinal points. Four pillared portals lead to the main façade, the bounding walls of which are adorned with two stone pumas, guarding the sacred road like Egyptian sphinxes. The temple city of Pachacamac stood upon three hills, most probably pyramids artificially heaped up. In Mexico the pyramids of Teotihuacan, called "Sun and Moon," lying about 30 miles north-west of the capital, have been carefully explored. Visible from afar, they rise to a height, one of 220, the other of 150 feet above the level valley of Mexico. Both are built of the volcanic rubble and tufa of the neighbourhood. Both are truncated, like all the pyramids in Mexico and throughout North America to beyond the Mississippi. The smaller pyramid lies due north of the larger. Looking southward from the summit of the smaller, one easily perceives a path, bordered on either side with little heaps of stone, extending almost in a straight line to the range of hills called Cerro de Matlacinga, 4 miles away. Immediately before the small pyramid lies a colossal torso, which, as some think, once stood on the flat top of the pyramid. It has been mutilated past recognition, but a neck-band of fairly good work can still be made out, and a square cavity in the breast. It is striking how often the pyramids appear in

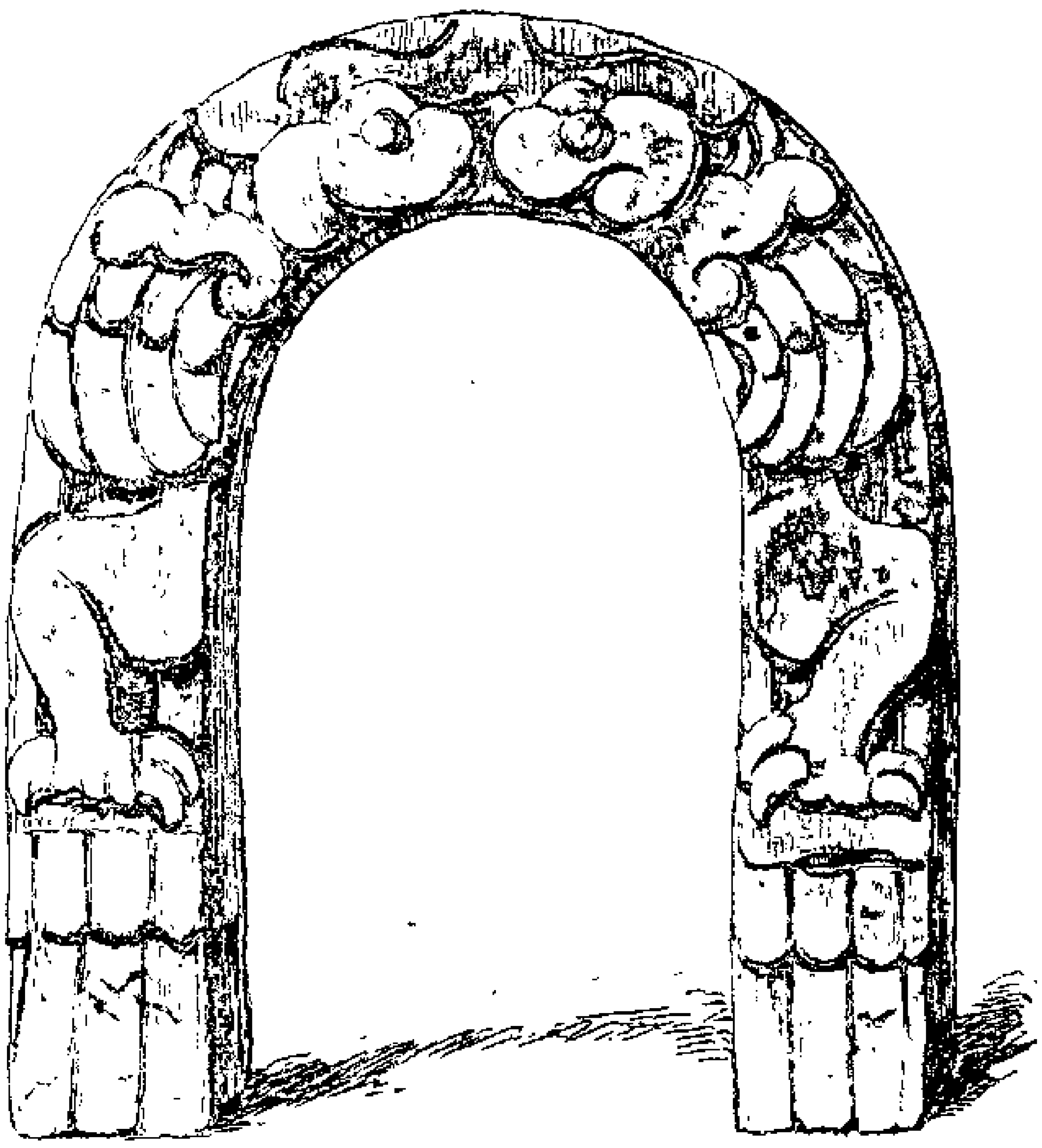
pairs. Thus at Chichen-Itza two parallel pyramids may be seen, 360 feet in the side, one of which is well preserved, and shows painting of various colours on a stucco surface. Double pyramids on a common substructure occur at Coban. Most pyramids are from 30 to 60 feet high. The angles of the four sides are not always equal, nor is the base always square. In the smaller pyramids the steps for ascending the four sides are broadened into coverings of stone, in which occur well-wrought stones 8 or 9 feet long. On some of the Coban pyramids the steps divide into three branches. Subterranean passages, carefully lined with masonry, so as to preclude any suspicion of their having been made by treasure-seekers, have been reported to exist in one of the pyramids of Teotihuacan and in others. Whether the platform of the pyramid bore a temple, a walled enclosure, or an open place of sacrifice, it would seem that a complete pyramid, as an object in itself, such as those of Egypt, was never built in ancient days in America. Traces of interment have, however, been discovered in them; in the pyramids of Coban. Maudslay more than once found painted jaguar skeletons and the teeth of dogs or wolves. In future excavations it will have to be noticed whether in many of them there has not been carried out the idea of a gigantic sepulchral mound, perhaps, as the cement layers at intervals might suggest, gradually increased in height. In particular cases Bandelier's view, that the rougher pyramids, like that of Cholula, were nothing but fortified villages on mounds of brick gradually formed, may be considered in connection with it.

Earthenware vessels: 1, with Maya hieroglyphs, from the neighbourhood of Coban in Guatemala; 2, 3, from Venezuela—one-third real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Researches in Central America have revealed, in the interior of the pyramids, supporting constructions of masonry and cement floors. Complete geometrical regularity nowhere lies in the essence of ancient American art; which, while often rigid, or at least stiff, never seems to be crystallised. Sufficient evidence of this is the fancy for placing door-openings unsymmetrically in the four sides of a room, so that it was admired as a great achievement when some doors lay one behind another producing a vista.

Natural mounds were converted into sacred hills by terracing. At Palenque, besides the score or so of principal buildings and temples which still lie one over another in an amphitheatre almost to the top of Cerro Alto, there have been found ruins of terraced pyramids with temples and hall-like buildings, groups of low houses, and curious edifices consisting of a number of small chambers in

labyrinthine confusion. So, too, in the lofty valley of Anahuac, a hill near Tezcoco is covered above, below, and on every side with the debris of building and sculpture, distributed at intervals along a road which winds in a spiral from the foot of the hill to the summit. There may perhaps have been shrines introductory to the chief temple, like the "Stations of the Cross," which in Catholic countries lead up to a Calvary. Niches in the rock are seen at no great distances, containing the remains of rock-hewn images, such as the feet with sandal strings, folds of drapery, traces of the usual bole-red painting and wall ornament, which show that the whole was wrought with some delicacy. To judge from these remains, the two figures were cut in strong relief, and must have been at least 10 feet high. Somewhat to one side is the ridge of a vast block worked into the figure of an outstretched animal, iguana or crocodile, the mighty forms of it recognisable from afar. Next comes a channel cut in the rock, leading from a circular basin raised on four steps. On either side frogs 1½ foot in length, as natural as life, have been hewn out of the overhanging rock. Somewhat lower is a second basin 5 feet in diameter, and nearly 10 feet deep. Step-like rows of seats and thirty steps hewn from a single rock lead down to it. Here also several neatly hollowed channels may be seen. Finally, on the top of the hill is another recumbent animal hewn from a rock ridge, while the surrounding ground has been levelled by means of masonry and rough-cast into a broad platform. From this hill, an outlier of the mountains bordering the plateau on the east, one can look eastwards into the higher ranges dark with forest, while at the same time there is the widest view over the yellow plains, in which the lagoons glitter like silver shields. A solemn picture, which makes us fancy that the feeling for natural grandeur, indicated not less by this ceremonial elevation of the places of worship round the hill, was not alien to the attendants on the sanctuaries of those races. Further south, again, in the ancient land of the Zapotecs and Mixes, there is not a commanding height on which there have not been found ruins of buildings, stone sculptures, or at least clay idols with the well-known grimacing faces that result from the distortion of the natural features into geometrical lines and other arbitrary ornaments, as shown on pp. 183, 191.


Stone yoke from Mexico. (After Strebel.)

Of some architectural details it is impossible to understand the purpose. The "Spiral" of Chichen-Itza is a circular building 22 feet in diameter, the interior of which recalls the *estufas*[1] in the *pueblos*; it consists of massive masonry

[1] [Underground chambers used for religious exercises or council meetings.]

Printed by the Bibliographisches Institut Leipzig

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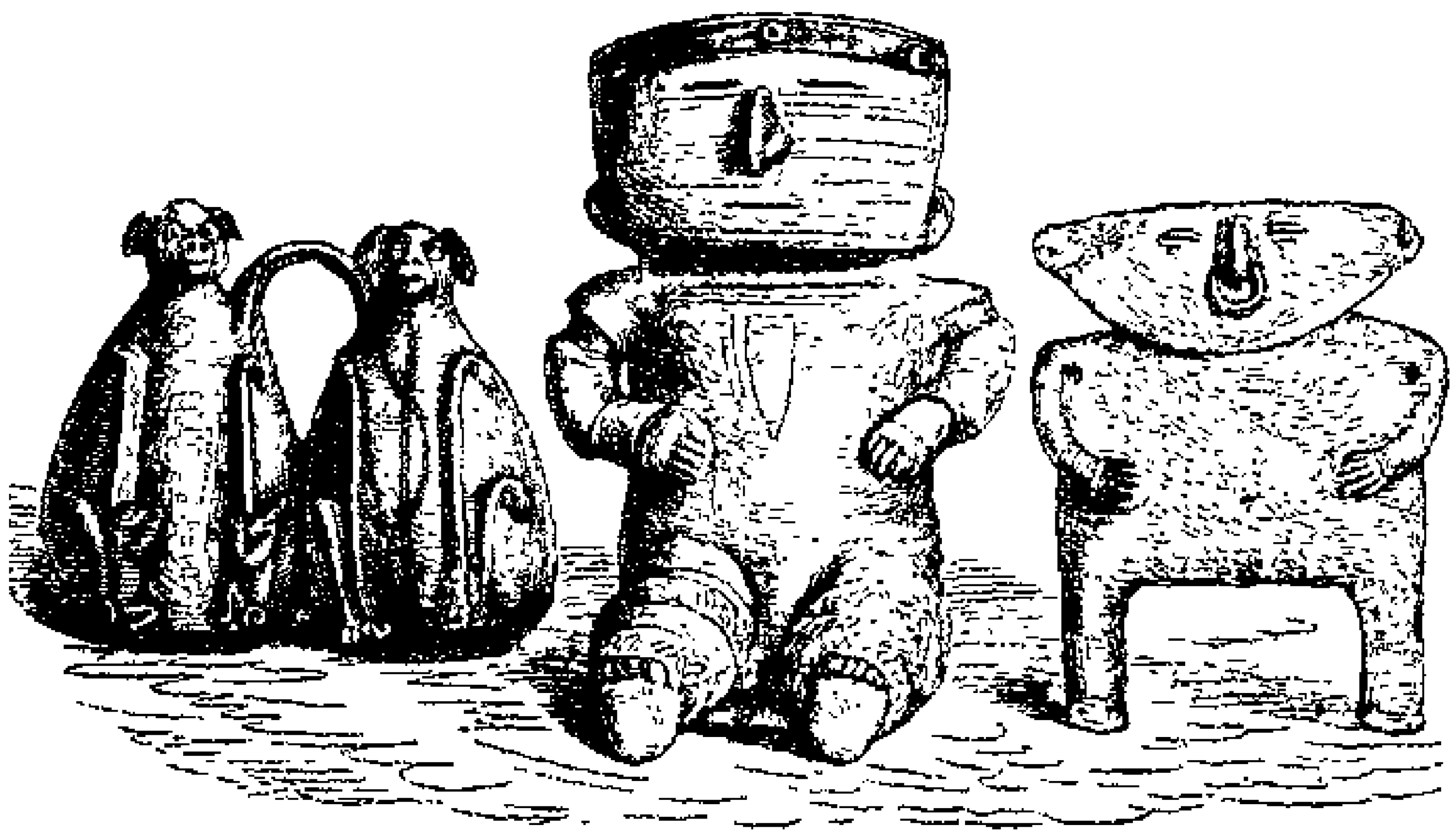
with a very narrow double passage running all round. It stands upon two artificial terraces, one above the other. From the first to the second leads a stairway of twenty steps, the rail of which is formed of entwined snakes. Even simple vaulting is said to occur in the stone buildings of the Sierra Madre. The doorway, which in the finest palaces is seldom over 6 feet high, narrows toward the top, the lintel often consisting of a single stone. T-shaped niches in the masonry recur as sacred symbols at Teotihuacan and in Peru, and have often been taken for crosses. The simple, round, roller-shaped pillars of the palace at Mitla were, in the view of Humboldt, the only examples in ancient American architecture of the use of the column; but since his time pillars actually sculptured or painted, supporting heavy roofs, have been discovered at Palenque and in Peru. At the former the supports of an open gallery are beautified with figures 6 feet high modelled in the stucco, with hieroglyphics all over them, while the internal walls and pillars of the palace are adorned with sculptures in granite. In the ruined sites of Yucatan isolated pillars are found several yards in height, with rounded tops and quite unornamented, in which some have seen evidence of a phallic religion. At Palenque there is an astounding wealth of isolated pillars and obelisks covered with hieroglyphics and grotesques. Similar pillars 25 feet high have been found at Santa Lucia Cozumalhuapa, and at Coban there is a curious avenue of them in the *plaza* of the old *pueblo*. The portal of the so-called "Nun's Palace," at Chichen-Itza, shows an ornament of such stone bell-turrets, reminding us of China and Japan. Plates of greenstone, perforated for suspension and polished like mirrors, are probably phonolite, and intended as substitutes for bells. Perforated stone disks, 20 feet in diameter, having a human face from which rays issue, perhaps a sun, scratched on them, are known in Central America. Very puzzling are the stones shaped like head-bands or horse-shoes, such as that shown in the cut on the last page, often richly carved, of various sizes, up to a diameter of 2 feet and a weight of 45 to 55 lbs., which have been found in Mexico and the West Indian Islands. They must certainly have a symbolical religious meaning. We are disposed to see in them an imitation of the lower jawbone, which is held sacred by many races. Towers and pillars with gigantic stone serpents twined round them, a frieze all composed of tortoises, are simple in comparison with the hieroglyphic adornments in which natural forms are no longer recognisable, only lines, drawn apparently at random, but of symbolic character, for the artist's fancy alone would have repeated such strange outlines over and over again.



Old earthenware figures from Colombia. (Berlin Museum.)

Building materials are extraordinarily various. We have spoken of the simple, often rough inner structure. For the exterior, sun-dried bricks and ashlar were used. Cement worked smooth was employed for foundations, platforms, floors. Quarried stone was used without distinction of hardness. Thus at Cuzco remains

of buildings, some of hard grey limestone, some of porphyritic trachyte, are found close together. In the buildings and sculptures of Quiragua there occurs a quartz sinter with lime cement.

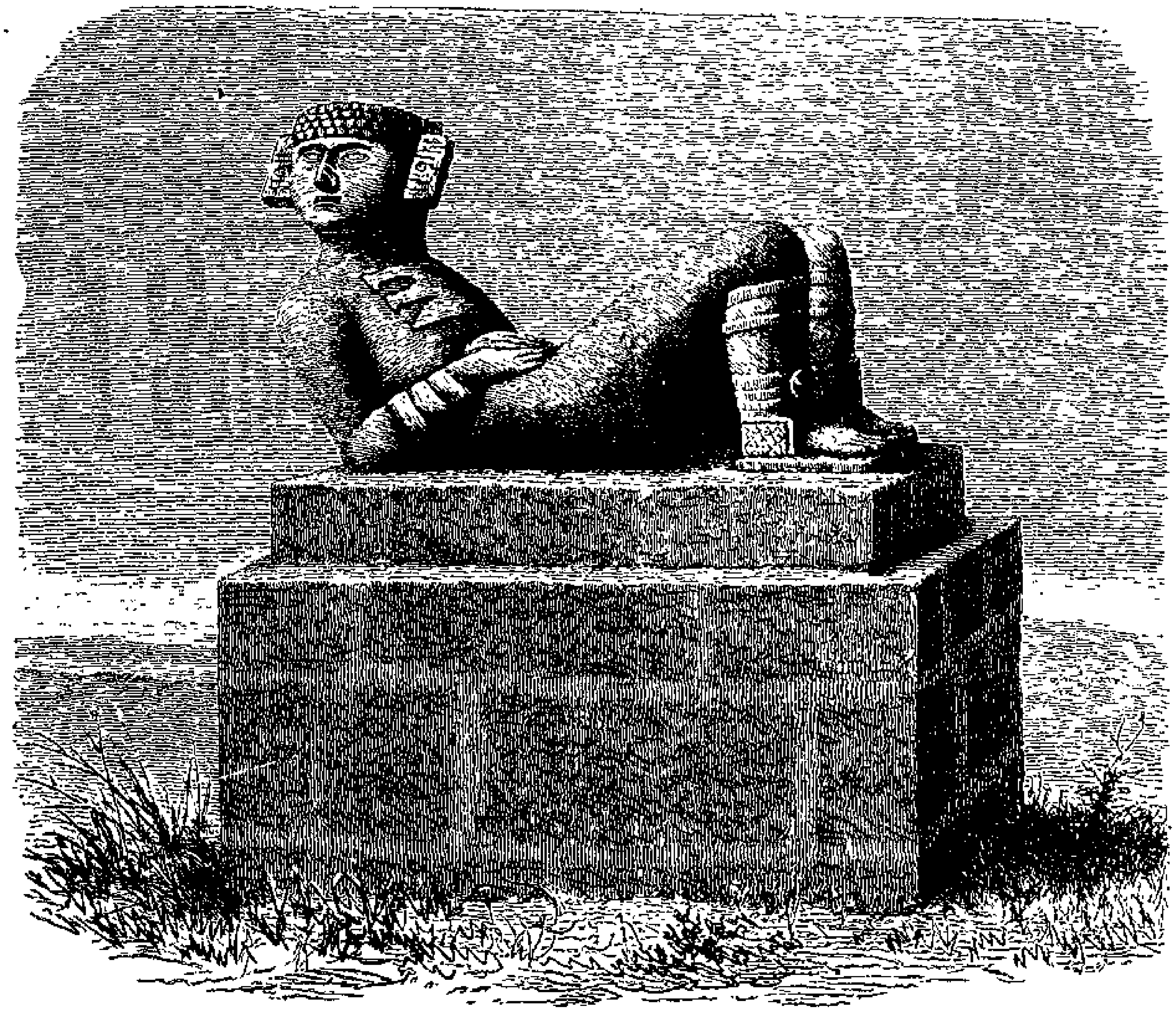
The Mexican villages of to-day are irregular conglomerations of cane and reed huts, grouped around an open space, in the centre of which stands always a large shady tree, a mango, a tamarind, or a *ceiba*. Frequently a house stands near the tree, longer and loftier than the dwellings, carefully thatched and whitewashed. An inartistic cross made of two sticks tied together on the gable marks it as the church. The contrast of the size and often of the rich interior decoration of the church with the humble huts that lie round it is a characteristic feature in the landscape of early-civilized Indian countries. All around, in the forest or in damp bottoms, are the fields of maize and bananas. This simple picture recurs again and again in Central America, and further south throughout the district of the old civilization, with the variations appropriate to soil and climate. The ancient Indian villages must have differed in appearance only by the inclusion of "clan-houses," and the presence of a sacrificial mound in place of the church. Formerly it was thought that the great piles of ruins embraced no private dwellings; but these have been shown to exist in places; and the opinion is now expressed that several large houses which used to be designated as palaces are nothing but congeries of separate dwellings for the inhabitants of the *pueblo*, something after the pattern of the *Casas Grandes* of New Mexico. Tenochtitlan was only a great Indian village with some stone temples and palaces, no trace of which now remains.

Cortes says that the city of Mexico in the time of the Aztecs had several fine market-places, and that in the chief one nearly 60,000 men met every day. It was surrounded with halls, and the goods were laid out in rows. Among the goods offered for sale he mentions almost everything to be seen in the markets of Mexico to-day, from clothing materials, ornaments, and weapons, to parrots and prickly pears. Just as at the present day, refreshments were on sale in booths. Barbers were at hand to wash and shave you; there were porters to carry your goods, inspectors to see that the balances were all right, labourers of every sort waiting to be hired. To Cortes the place looked as large as Cordova or Seville; and his report is one of the most temperate among those of that time. But sundry things are against him.[1] Some light is thrown upon the extent of Tenochtitlan by the position of various points which can be historically fixed. The palace of Montezuma with its twenty portals, its three courts, its ponds and drinking-fountains, its hundred rooms and hundred baths, its walls of jasper, porphyry, and marble, its gardens of which the Conquistadores cannot sufficiently extol the beauty, stood over against the great *teocalli* with the temple of Huitzilopochtli. Not far off was the palace of Montezuma's father, where Cortes with his 2000 Spaniards and Tlaxcaltecs had no difficulty in finding quarters. The city can hardly have been so large as it is now, all the less that in those days it was much more of an aquatic city, but doubtless contained, after the Indian manner, a much smaller population; for not only did the palaces, which must be imagined as similar to the "long houses" of Mitla, Uxmal, etc., occupy a great deal of space, but the private dwellings were of course in all cases of one story. An one who knows the partially barren environs of Mexico will be unable, eveny

[1] [*Cf.* Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, vol. ii. p. 346.]

allowing for the position of Aztec agriculture, to suppress a doubt as to the possibility of feeding a population even equal to that of the present time. In order to understand the delusion to which the Conquistadores here also fell victims, we must think of the market life of towns in the Soudan, like Canos or Cucas, in which at certain hours of the day the whole able-bodied population collects in the market-place, where all trades are carried on, all business transacted, all important conversations held.

So far as the power of the Incas extended, frontiers and roads were guarded by blockhouses on commanding heights, which, when slings and arrows were the



The so-called statue of Chac-Mool found at Chichen-Itza in Yucatan. (From a photograph.)

only weapons, did not need to be very strong; the larger towns and the holy places were surrounded by walls and moats; defiles were closed with walls. Some of the chief towns, as Cuzco itself, were covered by forts at a short distance. That of Sacsahuaman near Cuzco had three lines of circumvallation, the lowest of which was 33 feet thick and consisted of cyclopean masonry. Above them rose rectangular towers, and one round tower, which enclosed the well. A number of chambers, connected by labyrinthine passages, were excavated in the rock. Ollantaytamba was still mightier. Its fortress was strengthened by several valley-barriers with watch-towers, which occur at various places above and below the stronghold. In Mexico the road from Tlaxcala was barred by a wall more than 6 miles in length, reaching from one mountain to another, built of stone with very firm mortar, and provided with a ditch. In these fortresses the temple-enclosures formed a second line of fortification, or kind of citadel. Round the chief temple at Tenochtitlan a wall over 6 feet high, and loop-holed, surrounded

a square space; and this was, as is known, the last point which the inhabitants of the capital defended with obstinacy and self-devotion against the Spaniards.

The plastic counterfeiting of nature is good only when it deals with very simple forms. The sharp lines of a death's head, human faces, snakes, frogs, lizards were carved or executed in clay with enjoyment and patience, and therefore well. There are Peruvian earthenware dishes with newts on them which, in fidelity to nature and style generally, are equal to the best Japanese things. But a human figure from ancient Mexico is always a caricature; even the best sculptures show a painful lack of symmetry. Half-finished statues seem to indicate that the artist first rubbed the block smooth, and then began to chip from left to right. As a result of this, all work, even the larger, is more or less lop-sided. The famous recumbent statue of Chac-Mool, which was found some years ago in the ancient Maya country, and now stands in the court of the National Museum of Mexico, is in its proportions a repertory of obvious mistakes. There is no doubt something pleasing in the soft rounded lines, but without a framework of firm points and lines the soft mass seems ready to melt away. In the case of this very statue the hole which it, like many others, has in the middle of the body for the purpose of holding a banner or something of the kind, shows to what an extent the largest of these sculptures were only accessories to religious services, or at most ornaments of the monumental buildings. Thus all the dignity of a work of art which has no aim beyond itself is too often lacking in them, together with beauty.

The old Mexicans produced fanciful sculptures without number, but with all its luxuriance their fancy was never free enough to produce anything quite new—new as a whole. The sculptors never attained to the heart of their task, the presentation of a human figure of free natural movement and human appearance. They were for ever entangling themselves in the threads of their own fancy, like a fly in the spider's web. In § 7 (vol. i. pp. 73, 74), we have considered the reasons of this limitation, which no wealth of arabesque can conceal.

What has been said as to the conception and execution of the sculpture applies also fully to the painting. At first sight it is a far less elevated branch of American art. The lack of perspective here makes itself more emphatically felt. Profiles with two eyes are common; and besides we do not find the same technical dexterity and limitless patience to admire here as in the sculpture. But even painting, apart from certain inevitable grotesqueries, attains not unfrequently to figures, if not exactly life-like, yet with plenty of life in them, though, as being a sacred art, it is clearly more hampered by conventionalism than is sculpture.

In comparison with the Mexican sculptures, those of the Zapotecs are said to be in general clumsier, thicker, and fatter; eyes, nose, and ears being often quite fantastically shaped and flourished out of knowledge, as in a face that is tattooed all over. Its greatest achievements are masks for corpses and death's heads of encrusted work, no doubt the work of years, but work unprofitable for art; for wherever fancy abounds in them it falls into the grotesque. In the countless heads which occur on the pillars and walls of buildings in Yucatan, artists recognise a peculiar type, which, even where it occurs in Uxmal, departs not only from the Toltec type, but also from that of Palenque. The colossal profile portraits modelled in stucco at the last-named place, with their luxuriant frames, the forms of which have been compared with the rococo-style, have nothing like

them, so far as we know, anywhere in America. The objects from Chimu that are preserved in museums are often labelled "Peruvian," but are distinguished from the Peruvian, both in style and ornamentation, by the regular recurrence of particular figures and designs. Among these the lizard has already been mentioned; fishes, snakes, and a wading bird frequently occur, also monkeys. But the most characteristic thing is the spear, which all the princes and deities in the sculptures of Chimu carry in their right hands. The crescent-shaped knife or axe, too, appears regularly.

In ancient Peru and Mexico, as, in spite of Christianity, is the case in the modern countries, women held a subordinate position. The women and children sit on the brick steps which project from the wall, or squat on the ground. Wives wait on their husbands at meals and eat what is left in the background. All the more important is the wife in the household. She does all her own work and a good part of the man's. She is economical withal; and herein lies the source of a power which often makes itself felt in spite of her degraded position, and that even more in the matriarchal conditions of ancient America than at the present day. Objects found in the women's graves at Ancon—work-baskets woven of sedge with spindles, cotton and yarn, articles wrapped in cloth, little saucers or shells to support the spindle, needles, bodkins, wooden sticks, pigments, little stones, bits of metal, rings, neck-threads, and lastly a kind of earthenware doll—show her activity and how it was estimated.

Family life seems to have been raised above the level of that of the uncultivated Indians only so far as was involved in the greater security and orderliness of life. The husband had the right to seek consorts outside of the circle of married people; a right which was clearly encouraged within certain limits. But infidelity on the wife's part injured the husband's rights of property. Among the almost fabulous punishments recorded by the chroniclers, such as that which prevailed in Ixcoatlan, where the adulterer was torn in pieces and distributed among the bystanders, we meet with the genuinely Indian form of expiation under which the injured husband cut off his unfaithful wife's nose and ears. In concluding as well as in dissolving marriages the priesthood took more part than among other Indian tribes. It was their duty to perform the ceremony, which often took place, of knotting together the cloaks of the bridegroom and the bride, and others of a like kind. Wooing by proxy, presents, periods of probation, and of continence immediately after marriage, went on here as among other Indians.

Though placed in certain respects on a somewhat firmer basis by the interference of the priests and stricter laws, the family here is nothing else than the universal American "family-group." In Mexico this basis of society appears more distinctly than in Peru. Every Mexican tribe consisted of a number of these family-groups, *calpullis*, who tilled their land in community. Every year they elected their president, who consulted with the heads of other groups about the affairs of the tribe, especially military affairs; for the tribe was best able to defend the groups against hostile attacks. When Prescott compares the political institutions of Peru with those of Sparta, the fundamental resemblance of which he is thinking, though he does not specify it, lies undoubtedly in the sacrifice of property and independence which the individual made to the family

and the State. In many phases of animal symbolism no less than in many animal hieroglyphics, we must no doubt see totemistic signs. De Solis mentions eagle, tiger, and lion as animals whose images were worn by nobles hung from the collar, like the jewel of an order of knighthood, or depicted on the cloak. Traces were found of female right, still very common in New Mexico; but with the increase of security in all relations of life, which permitted of lengthened stay in one place of abode, inheritance through males came to preponderate.

Individual property in land was known to the old Americans as little within the borders of the civilized lands as without. In Peru the land was all divided into three classes—one for the temple, one for the Inca, one for the community. The only things regarded as ownerless were wild fruit-trees and other useful plants, and the beds of salt and salt-springs which were found nearly everywhere, though on all that was obtained from these a tax had to be paid to the State. Idlers were severely punished; but there were no beggars, for the commune had to provide for its members who were unfit for labour. Every man gave and every man received. It was a socialistic polity, in which much of what the copious fancy of Utopia-compilers in Europe was imagining at the very time when this system of a national family life was breaking down, had actually been carried into effect. We meet with similar conditions in Mexico, but they cannot be so clearly made out. The State had right over the communal lands or *altepetlalli*, while the communes had the disposal of them only as fiefs, and especially could not alienate them. The members of one commune might not work on the land of another. Efforts were made to avoid mixtures of inhabitants and changes of families. Every commune or *calpulli* held its land in common ownership, in which every member shared. Even now the peasants in Guatemala till their *milpa communal* in rotation, and the profits go into the village treasury. Every family had a particular bit of land for its own subsistence, which passed by inheritance from father to son. If the family died out the land reverted to the *calpulli*. Land owned by the prince was given by him to his servants and the nobility in return for services. Of these estates some, the *pillali*, were hereditary under conditions. The Mexicans paid tribute in crops, usually in maize, pepper, beans, and cotton. In bad years, on the other hand, the people were supported by the sovereign out of the common stores. Under different forms the position of the labouring masses has remained the same up to the present day. Republican freedom does not avail the Indian, who is the creator of all prosperity on the highland plateaux of South America; bound to the *hacienda* as a *colono*, he is in fact a serf. For can any man be more closely dependent on his own soil—*adstrictus glebae*—than the *colono* of Peru or Bolivia, working without pay for the landowner, who allows him a bit of land for his own use?

The great and uniform simplicity, in the outfit of life, which runs throughout ancient America, corresponds exactly with what we know of the modern Indians. Its features are communistic rather than democratic. If we cannot well imagine palaces without gradations of rank in human society, we can just as little conceive of such gradations in company with the uniform distribution and quality of household domestic furniture as we find it everywhere in the ruins of Mexico. In this respect also Peru had, as the graves show, advanced beyond Mexico, without at the same time cutting itself adrift from the type of society which was characterised and in some measure created, by community of ownership. Persons of

rank in Peru made use of a different speech from that of the people. The results of common ownership appear more clearly among those races who approach in some respects more nearly to higher culture. The impelling force of the economic activity of the individual, and of the groups bound together by material interests, grows weaker. The Spanish historians of the conquest who eulogise the Peruvians for their freedom from greed and avarice, as shown by the fact that the man of lowly birth cannot bequeath his property to his survivors, themselves show the reverse side of that paradisal state of things when they complain of the indolence of these people, and cannot comprehend how their ancestors had produced such gigantic works.

Ancient Peruvian bottle, with battle-scenes. (Berlin Museum.)

In Peru an extensive polity of a peculiar nature had developed, under which not only military functions, but also the means of exerting a profound influence on the traditional course of civic life in time of peace, was placed in the hands of the sovereign. Mexico, on the other hand, might be called a compulsory federation of military democracies, at the head of which was one chief with preponderant authority. But between one tribe and another lay broad belts of uninhabited territory, similar to the frontier-zones maintained between states, which enabled them to keep up a shy and exclusive attitude toward each other; and they seem to have been quite independent in their internal organisation. The worship, however, of one chief deity which was enjoined upon them, pervaded their religious life; since the impulse to conquest and aggrandisement, by the results of which the great temples profited, found its pretext in the higher aim of winning ever larger territories for the worship of the sun in Peru, or for the bloody god of war in Mexico. Nevertheless in Mexico numerous traces of local schismatic worships are still recognisable; an indication among others of the superficial nature of conquests which had been obliged to leave a small state like Tlaxcala in existence within ten miles of Mexico, and had, as Cortes relates, to be helped out by the distribution of presents. When we see how widely the spots which Montezuma's warriors had brought into subjection were scattered among territories still unsubdued, we are tempted to draw comparisons with the Hova dominion in Madagascar already referred to. In the distribution about the country of a few garrisons, or rather military colonies, which with difficulty hold in a kind of predatory subjection an area of a few square miles, we do not see a sole sovereignty. Even if Cortes was shrewd enough to choose to see in Montezuma a sovereign of great and well-established power, whose subjugation would naturally be advantageous in proportion to the position that could be assigned to him, we cannot take this as deciding our notion of the Mexican power. Here, too, the sovereigns were incarnations or visible images of the war-god, and the priesthood was all the closer

to them, from the fact that the subordinate chiefs were the priests of their tribes. But in Peru there was ancestor-worship as well, converting every Inca of Cuzco into a new saint for his people, and thereby intimately associating the past and present of the dynasty with all that in which the people deemed their welfare to reside. Reasons of state were at work when Huayna Capac received divine honours in his lifetime, and the other Incas as soon as their mummies had been set up in the Temple of the Sun. Even after their conversion the Indians rendered idolatrous reverence to concealed Inca corpses. The exhibition of Incas' mummies at religious festivals, where they received sacrifices and had their healths drunk in revolting fashion, was one of the most barbarous of mummeries, but had great influence on the religious and political existence of Peru.

This idolatry of the Incas has unfortunately reacted upon history. In the fancy of Garcilaso de la Vega everything before and around the Incas lay in deep darkness; they alone beaming like the sun whose children they claimed to be. Before they arose, Peru was a land of utter barbarism; all civilization is to be traced to them; their foes are hideous cannibals. No man might approach "the Son of the Sun, the only Lord," save with averted countenance, bowed head, downcast look, bare-footed; even those of rank nearest to his bore a burden on their shoulders when they drew near the Inca, or went as though bowed down by a weight. Gold, silver, and other precious materials were reserved to the sovereign, and there were plants, garlands from which might adorn his head alone. His throne was the figure of a kneeling man. He only wore the same robe once. The only vessels in permanent use with him were those made of the precious metals; all others were sent away when they had once served. His food was prepared by his wives only, his bread baked by the Maidens of the Sun, he touched no food with his own hand, but some one of twenty serving-women placed it in his mouth.

We have no evidence that peaceful colonisation ever went on, however much it may be celebrated in the "culture-myths." It is striking, too, how little consideration the Peruvians paid to lands of great promise like Chili or the country east of the Andes, if they offered a persistent opposition to conquest. At any rate, their rough neighbours, the Araucanians, stood, at the time of the conquest, higher than most of the other peoples of South America. Spanish chroniclers set so high an estimate upon their industry that they ascribe to them the art of working in iron; and we are astonished to see how quickly these people adopted Spanish arms and Spanish organisation, till in the fighting at the end of the sixteenth century they reckoned for some of the most dangerous foes that the Europeans had. That elements of Peruvian culture had before this time obtained entrance may be gathered from the occurrence in Chilian graves of pottery in the genuine Peruvian style. The *quipus* of the Araucanians may show a similar influence. The Jivaros, too, adopted something from Peru. What was striven for was conquest, power, aggrandizement, and indeed in the first place that acquired by means of kidnapping, for the produce of which a place was reserved in religion such as to give an impressive confirmation to the maxim: "War and religion formed the elements of life for the ancient Americans." We refer to the sacrifices of prisoners of war and slaves, the demand for whom formed undoubtedly a chief incitement to a warlike aggressive policy of conquest, and at the same time a permanent hindrance to peaceful intercourse. In the pitch to which these

sacrifices grew among the Aztecs we may see a main cause for the expansion of the power known by the name of Mexico.

The clan managed its own common property; the tribal chief was responsible for the tribute to be paid to the supreme ruler, and doubtless had a share of the royal dues in the discharge of which he had to co-operate. In old Peru not only the herds of llamas, but other beasts of the chase, were preserved under strict laws. They were government property, and only four times in the year at most were great drives organised under the Inca's own supervision, the bag being afterwards distributed. We have already mentioned how metals and precious stones were the Inca's due. Out of the crops levied as taxes, a reserve was formed in the State treasury, which served to sustain the people in times of dearth.

We read in a great German work upon Peru: "No empire of the earth perhaps has ever been so much and so autocratically, and yet so wisely and beneficently, governed as Tahuantinsuyu." The rapid collapse of the old American empire before the audacity of a handful of adventurers does not throw a clear light on the practical results of this administration. And when we sift the original documents, we are brought to the opinion that neither in Peru nor Mexico was the government wiser than that of old Oriental states, or of old Hawaii, and that the State rested on a weak footing. Under the benevolent and at the same time magnificent institutions of the Inca empire, we find even the compulsory removals of whole populations from their original places of abode to others. The fact which often recurs in the first portion of the conquest, and which perhaps alone made it possible for Pizarro to carry out his bold plan, namely, that no reports of the strangers ever got any further, does not tally with the idea of excellent administration.

In Peru the subdivision of the country followed the Indian belief in the special significance, both in heaven and earth, of the number four. For this reason chiefly "Tahuantinsuyu," or "the four regions of the world," was the only name that embraced all the component parts of the Incas' empire. The name "Peru" comes from the Spaniards. The empire was in fact divided in four parts according to the compass, and one of the great imperial roads led to each part. And as part of the system of government was to make the capital a small copy of the empire, it also was divided into the same four parts. Tenochtitlan was also divided into four quarters.

These countries were the first in which the Conquistadores found any stubborn resistance in the New World. Even small races made a brave stand. Firearms and horses soon ceased to frighten them, and Cortes had to fight several considerable engagements before Tlaxcala. In vain did he offer peace to the capital even when it was utterly exhausted by famine and sickness; he had no choice but to destroy it. The military sense is only maintained where it receives nourishment. The analogies of these constitutions are to be sought rather in the conquering and predatory states of ancient Western Asia than in the more peaceful East Asiatic communities. The traces of the preponderance of individual Mexican tribes over wide distances point to no Mexican empire, but to a bond between victors and vanquished based essentially upon conquest, involuntary, and therefore easily dissolved.

Families and tribes fought under leaders of their own choosing. The history of the conquest shows that Montezuma placed himself at the head of the army

only in emergency. The "king of Tezcoco, first elector of the Empire," who gave the signal to attack with a little drum hung from his neck, was no doubt only a war-chief, like the other whose fall in the action of Otumba gave the victory to Cortes. Military reputation was, as is clearly stated, among the qualities which the people expected in the sovereign. The nobility, too, was in the first place a warrior caste. The external signs of a military organisation point to the fact that men able to bear arms were organised in military fashion even in time of peace. The most honoured statue was that of the warrior. Warlike training began in early youth, and was for a long time repeated, as we are informed with regard to Peru at least, on stated days of each month. Tests of courage, endurance, and self-control marked the transition from the boy to the man capable of bearing arms. The family organisation passed into the army, so that those who lived together in time of peace were associated in war. Some historians credit the Inca with power to set an army of 200,000 men in movement; but this is surely an exaggeration.

One secret of the strength and weakness of these empires, nay of their civilization, lies in the military character of the countries which formed the nucleus, and the lack of it in their subject lands. As the five allied tribes of the Iroquois, uniting their forces, carried on their raids in every direction till they had subdued, wiped out, or driven away all the tribes from the Atlantic to the Ohio River, so, one hundred years before the arrival of Cortes, three groups in the valley of Mexico had formed a confederation. These three were originally, Mexico, numbering not more than 40,000 souls, and confined to a more or less artificial island in the middle of its lake, Tezcoco, and Tlacopan—the last two on the shores of the lake. The position of Mexico was unassailable with the means at the disposal of the Indians. Francis Portman, the historian of Canada, says of the Iroquois: "They made a desert around them and called it peace." The confederation of which Mexico was the head had somewhat more advanced ideas of conquest. They annihilated only the tribes that offered resistance; otherwise the conquered were only plundered and then made tributary. The defeated tribe governed itself as before through its own chiefs. The first inroad was not, as in Peru, accompanied with any thought of forming a concentrated empire, only of terrifying and making profit. Thus the so-called empire of Mexico at the time of the conquest was only a chain of intimidated Indian tribes, who, kept apart from each other under the influence of mutual timidity, were held down by dread of attacks from an unassailable robber-stronghold in their midst.

How deeply rooted was the custom of human sacrifices in Mexico appears from the fact that even rulers who loathed them, like Netzahualcoyotl of Tezcoco, had still to give in to them. Zumarraga avers that just before Cortes came 25,000 victims perished yearly in Montezuma's empire. Even the 5000 of whom Oviedo speaks, must have depopulated wide districts. There was often no room in a clan for strangers, and, at the economic level of Mexico, no employment. Even the killing of a slave by his master was not thought criminal. In the traditions a time was spoken of at which human sacrifices were introduced, and distinction made between periods of more lenient and severe practice. The reformer Quezalcoatl is said to have suppressed them among the Toltecs. In other cases, too, they had taken the milder form of offering a person's own blood. Phases of this sort may have been connected with the rise and decline of political

power; and with the extension of Montezuma's rule the tale of prisoners and of human sacrifices may very well have been at its highest point just before the coming of the Europeans. In the universality of human sacrifices at funerals, and the custom even in Peru of sacrificing not only abortive children, but others, too, in great numbers, we see the low value set upon human life, a feature everywhere peculiar to this stage of culture, and lying at the bottom of cannibal practices. We find human sacrifices in Central America as far as Mexican influence reached; but we find it even among the Mayas, whose freedom from cannibalism was extolled as one of their strong points, and the Incas were followed into the grave by hecatombs of near and distant relatives, and by slaves.

Among the Mexicans the priests played a prominent part in the army also. When the host went forth, they went before it with their figures of the gods on their backs; they had to light the new sacrificial fires and give the signal for attack. Before the march out sacrifices were offered to the war-god. After victory was won, special memorial temples were built as a thanksgiving, bearing the names of the conquered places. The close connection in the Inca empire between religion and political sovereignty, the two great objects in the lives of these peoples, though far enough apart at a higher stage of culture, is shown in the blending of war-chief and high priest, and appears also in the plan of their temples, which could serve in case of need as fortresses.

# E. THE ARCTIC RACES OF THE OLD WORLD

## § 33. ARCTIC EUROPE AND ASIA

NORTHERN ASIA is the threshold of the Asiatic highlands in the direction of the northern lowlands; and, from the point of view of culture also, it marks a downward movement. Where Northern Asia shares the steppe character with the high regions behind it, it forms the natural transition to the low forest-country lying towards the coast, in front of which, as its outermost and most desolate tract, lie the *tundras*, the arctic heaths and moors. Thus the coast of the Asiatic continent is one of the most desert and least known portions of the earth, since that purely coast race, the Eskimo, who enliven the American shores of the frozen sea, do not exist westward of the Chukchi peninsula; and wide stretches of coast, as from Cape Chelagskoi to the Kolima river, are void of inhabitants. Nowhere have the great rivers produced any deep influence on the life of the races; their mouths lie dead and ice-blocked. Only their wealth in fish is of immediate consideration for the natives; indirectly they have become all the more important to Europeans as roads for commerce, and for the subjection and corruption of the aborigines. The climate makes the soil useless for agriculture, for even in the heat of summer it does not thaw to a depth much beyond three feet. Hunting and fishing become more and more the sole sources of subsistence, in proportion to the decrease of the vegetable world as we go northward. North of the limit of the forest, wide stretches are covered with nothing but grass and rushes, or mosses and lichens. The moss and lichen *tundra* is distinguished from the stone *tundra*, with its more shrubby vegetation. They have been designated the polar deserts; but they bear sufficient vegetation to sustain a few herds of reindeer. We know of 120 species of plants from the north coast of Asia; though Kjellman calls the tract lying inland from the promontory of Cape Chelyuskin the poorest district for plants he ever saw. In the rocky *tundra* of the Chukchi peninsula one or two solitary phanerogamous species have to be hunted for in clefts of the debris; far and wide the surface shows only the monotonous gray of the dark patches of rock. Yet this scanty vegetation contributes more than is often assumed to the sustenance of the hyperborean races. Middendorff is wrong in calling the "natural" races of Siberia "scorners of vegetable food." The Chukchis on Kolyuchin Bay use twenty-three plants for food purposes. Instinct seems to induce them to vary or multiply their diet; the Lapps supplement their milk with sorrel and butter-wort. Similar acid or pungent plants are welcome to all polar peoples, and are of great use as preventives of scurvy.

Samoyede encampment. (Drawn from life by G. Sundblad.)

Where the forest ceases, life in these regions is materially more wretched than on the coast of the far more northerly islands and peninsulas, for the food provided by the sea is lacking. These heaths are therefore peopled only by a few poverty-stricken hordes, who, apart from hunting and fishing, live on the berries which some species of bilberry here afford in great plenty. With the forest appear more favourable conditions for man and beast. Its border coincides approximately with the summer isotherm of 45° Fahrenheit, which indicates a period of four months free from ice. Even with the greatest winter cold this period is sufficient for a little traffic and trade, and for catching fish in the open rivers. The forest is a shelter from the wind, and checks the uninterrupted radiation from the ground, while supplying abundant firewood. Tungooses and Yakouts on their return to the south choose sheltered spots in the forest to build their log-huts. In the Old World the forest limit is everywhere further north than in America. On the European side only a narrow bare strip extends along the extreme north; on the other hand, however, the whole Chukchi peninsula is treeless—a land of heaths, maintaining a shifting population of not more than one person to 24 square miles.

The Hyperboreans are directly dependent on the distribution and mode of life of animals. It is only in far North-East Asia, where Eskimo live, that the seal is as important as he is further east. Where he is scarce the coasts are desert; where he appears frequently, as in the region from Kolyuchin Bay to Behring's Sea, they are thickly peopled. The land fauna has few species, and consequently all the more individuals.

Hunting is the chief source of food and industry for the northern Asiatics. The herds of reindeer are left in charge of the women, during the part of the year when the men are away hunting. They often form the reserve capital, while hunting and fishing have to meet the daily expenditure. The chase of fur animals especially offers a source of lucrative industry to all Tungooses and Lamouts, and even to many Yakouts. The meat is eaten, the skins made into useful articles of all sorts forming a substitute for the money they have not got. In Middendorff's time arctic foxes' paws used to be currency among the Assya Samoyedes, representing one-twelfth of the unit, an entire fox's skin. They pay for Russian goods, and also their tribute to the crown of Russia, by preference in skins. The cast horns of stags, and the bags of the musk, are articles which the Tungooses trade to the Chinese. Certain tribes are among the most remarkable hunting races of the earth in their limited field. In the lonely Samoyede *tundras* gins for the Arctic foxes often stand in long rows one behind the other. Hunting and commerce have alike their stated times. On the Lower Obi, when 1st October comes, the Ostiak hunters go into the forest in pursuit of sable, squirrel, and the like. On 6th December they return with their game; and only towards the end of winter, when the snow has sunk and become covered with an ice-crust, do they go forth in their snow-shoes after stag and elk. Feathered game is hunted during the spring and autumn flights of the migratory birds. The seekers for mammoth ivory accomplish perilous journeys to the New Siberian islands.

Fishery is no less necessary than, owing to the abundance of rivers, productive. According to Augustinovitch all the inhabitants of Kolimsk are engaged in fishing—not only peasants and citizens, but the Cossacks, and the ecclesiastical and civil officials. The nets which here, if anywhere, are necessary, are not well adapted

to their purpose. The Ostiaks make fish-baskets 10 feet long and 5 wide. Scheffer has described hooks of juniper wood among the Lapps. Boats are made of skin and wood, but less perfectly than by the Eskimo. The separate parts are sewn or tied together, and the joints caulked with moss.

The inhabitants of the extreme north of Europe and Asia are bound together by a correspondence in the conditions of life, the monotonous wretchedness of which can only be compared to the desert itself. Whether they are hunters, fishermen, or herdsmen, they have to struggle hard for existence. The different tribes are united by the pressure of difficult conditions of life, and by the first great effect of these, nomadism. The extent of this is determined by the conditions of food. The poor Orochones of the Kolima district remain only two or three days in one place; the owners of reindeer, on the other hand, follow slowly while their animals pasture at will, or at times drive their gigantic herds to suitable pasture-grounds and erect temporary dwellings there. Thus the reindeer-keeping Chukchis lived on their peninsula as long as its admirable pastures were unexhausted; now they come as far as the neighbourhood of Yakoutsk. The direction of the forest boundary which rises to the westward seems to have been not without its influence on these marches. The true pastoral Lapps roam in a similar way; but the forest Lapps have huts to live in at some distance from one another, in which they stay successively, while the herds pasture in the neighbourhood. The Tungoose hunters, too, leave their permanent huts empty when they go off, at the approach of the finer weather, to the *tundras* or to their fishing-grounds. The more importance is attached to hunting, the more irregular and extensive are the wanderings. Thus the Tungoose from the edge of the sea went in winter after sable and musk to the southern slopes of the Stanovoi Mountains, where he came across the riding Tungooses who pay tribute to China. But as sable and musk got more scarce he sought the coast north of the Amoor, and from a hunter became a fisherman. But fishing races are very stationary, and in this way the Dolgans from Dudinskoe on the Yenisei to Khatangskae-Pogost have acquired their higher culture and their prosperity by means of settled habitation on the banks of rivers and lakes in the *tundra*. The Russian officials very properly distinguish between the "roamer" nomads and those who oscillate regularly between the *tundras* in summer and the edge of the stunted forest in winter.

The Lapps who inhabit the interior of the Kola peninsula are no longer nomads in the ordinary sense, for they have given up their perishable, easily movable tents and dwell in villages, some in timbered huts, some in huts sunk in the earth. But still they wander several times every year, and change their place of abode after a long period of years besides. They leave their huts in spring to fish and catch birds on a little lake in the neighbourhood, or else to pursue sea-fishery. In the height of summer they fish in some large lake or river, those in the north and east coasts using nets; and later in the season they take up quarters with a view to the chase of birds, bears, and fur-animals. Not till near Christmas do they return to their winter villages or *pogosts*, and these again change their situation every ten or fifteen years. If reindeer-moss becomes too scanty, or the firewood is used up, the little chapel is first taken to pieces and set up again in a new place by the united forces of the community, and then each family puts its own hut and storehouse in the most convenient spot it can

find. Finally the chapel is consecrated, the huts sprinkled with holy water, and the new settlement is ready.

The contrast between nomad and settled life is also in general strongly emphasised among the Eskimo of the Behring district. It is clear, however, that in countries which do not allow of agriculture, settled life can never completely arrive at a sharp distinction from nomadism; and a recent describer of the Chukchis has appropriately applied to the "stationary" part of them the Russian term *promishlenyi*, "mixed," to denote persons who hunt and fish as the business of their life, but never those who are strictly settled. If dearth occurs, another place of abode is selected, even in winter. Thus all the inhabitants of the Pitlekai settlement, which was near the place where the *Vega* wintered, went off to the larger settlement of Naichkai to the eastward, because many fish were being caught there. We shall now understand the administrative division of the northern Asiatic races into settled and nomad. In East Siberia the former comprise Yakouts, Yukahires, Chuwanzes, and Omoks; the latter, Tungooses, Lamouts, and Chukchis. Besides these, more minute distinctions are drawn from the mode of life. Thus the Tungooses are subdivided into "reindeer," "dog," "horse," "steppe," and "forest" Tungooses, though without drawing the boundaries very sharply; for "reindeer" Tungooses, who have lost their animals by sickness, have taken to hunting with dogs, or breeding horses, or even fishing on some part of the coast never before visited by them. The Ostiaks, from reindeer-nomads, quickly became a fishing or hunting race. The more laborious and poor the life of a people is, the more readily does it transfer itself from one basis of subsistence to another.

As Middendorff and Castrén made it clear, so long ago as 1840, with special reference to the circumstances of Northern Asia, we must not talk of a separate Hyperborean race; and indeed the mixed character, especially of the northern Asiatic peoples, would forbid their marking-off in this way. Much that has been said about the physical build and intellectual qualities of Malays or Americans and the kindred races, applies also to Tungooses, Lapps, and their allies. Even those who described them in the last century, and who had no notion of the abstract idea "Mongoloids," gave the main features of that race very clearly. Cook observed long ago that the mongoloid character was more strongly expressed on the American than on the Asiatic side; it diminishes steadily as we go westward in Asia—what Ecker says of the Lapps is highly significant: "They are not mongolic, but they shade away into the races of Northern Asia"—until only a "diluted mongoloid character" is ascribed to the Samoyedes, while among the Lapps we meet with no small proportion of fair people. Middendorff looks upon the Tungooses as those among northern Asiatics who have retained their original qualities in the greatest purity; but they are no genuine Mongols, reminding us rather of Finns or Samoyedes. "The shape of their faces shows the Mongol marks blurred by those of the Caucasian stock."

Yellowish and reddish tints are noted as the colour of the skin; among the Lapps the corn-yellow of the Tartars. There is no other coloured race containing so many men of very light hue scattered among it as these. Among the Lapps there are women of delicate complexion, which Du Chaillu calls positively dazzling in freshly-washed specimens, and with rosy cheeks. Middendorff could find no difference, in all the coloured northern Asiatics whom he saw, between their tint

and that of Russians in the covered parts of the body. It is but natural that the uncovered skin should be strongly tanned by the reflection of the solar rays from snow patches and the ice-crystals of the dry snow. The dark brown eyes with their slanting orbits (least strongly marked in the Lapps), together with the flat nose, contribute most to the general Mongolic expression. Light eyes often occur among Lapps, while among the Yukahires also the mongolic type is softened by the wider opening of the eyes. The whole face tends to breadth. The ear is pressed to the head by the enveloping head-gear. The prevailing expression is one of good temper.

Yakout woman from the Uchur. (From a photograph.)

The Hyperboreans are not the dwarfish race which the philosophy of the last century liked to picture, in order to demonstrate the stunting effect of cold on the human frame, or the presence of a primitive race pushed back into these ungenial parts of the earth. They do not, however, belong to the tall races. Middendorff calls a Samoyede of 4 ft. 11 in. "tall among dwarfs." For Lapps, Ross gives, as the mean of a large number of measurements, 4 ft. $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. for men, Virchow 4 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ for women. The shortness of leg is a striking feature among these races; which, among the Lapps at least, is matched by shortness of arm. In the case of the legs it may be ascribed to retrogression through disuse; in that of the arms, rickets have been mentioned. Small feet are universal. The bodily activity of the Siberian hunters especially is renowned; Middendorff describing them as particularly sinewy, unperspiring, muscular. Syphilitic disorders were widely diffused in Northern Asia even in the last century, except, says Augustinovitch, among the Lamotat tribe of the Yakouts. While the hunting races of Siberia are said to be short-lived and decreasing in number, among the Lapps a great age, even a hundred years, is not rare, on account of their more protected yet constantly active pastoral life. The Eskimo of Behring's Straits is hardly less sensitive to the cold than the European sailors, while the hunters of Northern Asia, especially the Tungooses, pass nights in the forest in the depth of winter with the aid of their skin-rug and materials for making fire. As a special feature in the Hyperboreans of Asia, Middendorff notes a "reverse action of the muscles," which is shown both in bodily movements and particularly in speaking. There is no doubt that the severe climate affects the conditions of population injuriously. It is not uncommon for persons who have lost their way to freeze to death.

Among few peoples is the blending of various race-elements so universally to be presumed as among the most northerly inhabitants of Asia. Historical experience tells of great migrations, while etymology reveals affinities of language

in two or more directions. Castren long ago succeeded, in the case of Samoyede, in tracing delicate threads of connection with Finnish and Mongol idioms. Even among the smaller races of Northern Asia, like the Yukahires, two types can be distinguished by bodily characteristics, which may again be designated as the Finnish and the Mongol; but this does not exhaust the list of component elements. European influence above all must not be undervalued. In the new colonial Siberian type there occurs either mingling of blood with aborigines or the influence of aboriginal ideas, down to Shamanism as a determining element. Russians have adopted the language not only of the Buryats, but also of the Yakouts, the most active and sturdy of all these races. Middendorff speaks of Yakouts of a Russian type, and recalls the custom among Tungooses and others of letting out their wives to Russian settlers, gold-miners, Cossacks, etc. If all these forces are calculated, we shall with the above-named inquirer wonder, not indeed at the numerous cases of transition, but rather at the existence of any characteristic types. The results of the blending of Finns with Norwegian Lapps in the eastern parts of Lapland, which are being more and more permeated with Finnish settlements, present for the most part people quite handsome and well built, who are often in no way intellectually inferior to the superior race. Light, fair-haired children, or adults with blue eyes and brown hair, are not uncommon among the Lapps. If, nevertheless, these are proverbially designated as a dark race, crossing will in an ever-increasing degree permeate the once predominant dark type.

By far the greater number of testimonies to the character of the Hyperboreans are favourable. Honourable, good-tempered, inoffensive, is the praise given by the Russians to nearly all the people of Northern Asia. It is doubly strong if we consider the mass of wickedness with which for some decades the deportation of criminals from Russia has been leavening the whole region. Russian hunters say that only in cases of extreme necessity will an Orochone touch the store of provisions that a hunter has left for his own use. Middendorff asks with surprise: "Whence comes such exemplary honesty among these poor starving wretches?" One may well say that the history of Arctic travel would have a far longer list of disasters to show but for the effective help and open-handed assistance of the Hyperborean races. Their way of life is an admirable teacher of the social virtues; and indeed a strictly social tone is necessary to make the close life in common at all possible. Above all things a man must keep his tongue bridled; a single insulting remark or a surly word might have lamentable consequences. They are hospitable. Wrangel calls the Tungooses "the Frenchmen of the *tundra*" on account of their liveliness, sociability, and courtly ceremonious manners. Castren says: "The Tungooses are a refined, cleanly, elegant race; one might call them the nobility of Siberia." Middendorff was astonished at the calm way in which they decided quarrels about game. Social intercourse is lively. Greeting by rubbing noses is a peculiarity of Samoyedes and Lapps as of Eskimo tribes; but the smack upon either cheek of which Middendorff speaks among the Samoyedes is doubtless imported. Their eloquence and delight in speaking have also been a source of wonder. The Voguls are fond of masked dramatic performances. A natural feeling for discipline and order shows itself among the Samoyedes in the military regularity with which their sledges are equipped, and the arrangements of journey and camping-ground. The natives of Siberia have not been of use to the

Russians merely as teachers and guides in obtaining what was required to sustain life; to them are due all the earlier discoveries of minerals and the methods of hunting and fishing. But these people are also capable of outbursts of anger, and their desire of revenge is almost boundless. Revenge for blood is with them a law no less severe than with the hot-blooded denizens of the tropics.

Among all these more general characteristics, however, peculiarities of natural disposition or effects of conditions of life make themselves manifest. Beside the Yakout, greedy of gain and enterprising, or the hasty, stout-hearted Tungoose who never shrinks from death, the Samoyede appears good-tempered and peaceable. But all are united by a certain cheery composure, far removed from the melancholy imagined in them by those who meditated on their life under the inspiration of civilized nerves. Their games are innumerable; card-games are now widely found on both sides of Behring's Straits.

The struggle with the forces of nature has not been without its effect on the intellect and character of the Hyperboreans, they couple courage with prudence. Their efforts to harden their bodies and train their courage have quite a chivalrous tone about them. The Tungooses are pre-eminent in strength and activity; their wrestling matches are like mediæval tournaments. Duels on account of insults are frequent among them, even between relations. The pugnacious life makes them also hard and cruel. Revenge or sudden rage leading to murder are imputed as conspicuous failings to the Chukchis as well as to the Eskimo of Greenland. In the case of revenge for blood the slayers undoubtedly eat a little bit of their victim's heart or liver; thinking in this way, to cause the hearts of his kinsfolk to sicken. Cases occur of the burial alive of widows or motherless children, or of the exposure of helpless old people. On the other hand, numerous cases are known of honest mourning for dead persons. Instances in which old people who have become a burden have been eaten, it is alleged by their own children, have been reported in this century.

The chief faults of these people lie in the direction of extravagant passion for enjoyment,—love, brandy, gambling, are ruining the Hyperboreans. Of all Christian teaching that relating to marriage and chastity has had the least influence on the lives of the converted Samoyedes, Tungooses, and others. An observer from Yarkino in Central Siberia writes: "The feeling of modesty seems to be entirely lacking here. Any one not accustomed to this kind of life is so much shocked and degraded in his own eyes by what he is obliged to see and hear, that he is ready to despise himself and the whole world. This lack of modesty is furthered by the close contiguity in which married and unmarried persons live. Maturity seems more precocious here than elsewhere." Exchange of wives is a form of hospitality. Brandy is the scourge of all the northern races. In 1880, when the *Corwin* visited the starved and frozen population of St. Lawrence Island, they asked for brandy before any food. Bruch, the German boatswain, says: "When the Chukchis get *schnapps* they become lazy and quarrelsome; as long as there is a drop to be had no hunting is done, and it is for this reason that the winter provision occasionally runs so short. When they are drunk, knives are out in a minute, and then there is no getting along with them." Brandy makes trade extraordinarily unprofitable to the Hyperboreans, for, wherever it has become a want, traders and whalers get any quantity of skins, walrus teeth, and fish for stuff of the worst quality. The only native intoxicating

drink is one made of fermented sugar, flour, and water, found among people who have come in contact with Russians.

Most Hyperboreans hold a very low place in the scale of cleanliness. The climatic conditions, requiring as they do warm clothing and close packing, afford all the explanation needed of this. It has been usual to consider this factor in forming a judgement as to the colour of their skin, since Middendorff mentioned that he did not recognise a Samoyede woman after she had washed herself. The dirtiest of all seem to be the reindeer-nomads of Northern Asia, whose narrow tents contain a Russian fireplace or well; while observers assign the prize for cleanliness to the Lamouts on the Kolima.

The acuteness of their senses has been extolled by many. Middendorff says that the senses of the Tungooses attain great perfection; their eyesight being particularly keen. But he found an almost incredible incapacity of distinguishing kindred colours—yellows and greens, greens and blues; they could recognise only the strongest tints, and that after long pondering. In their eyes all dark colours are said to be confused with black. This does not contradict the result of colour tests among the Lapps, namely that their sense of colour was well developed, but their vocabulary scarce in terms for shades of colour. The wealth of terms to which Kirchhoff calls attention among the Samoyedes affords only two shades of brown and grey in reindeer.

According to Middendorff, most Tungooses are capable of drawing very correct charts in sand or snow to describe roads or the courses of rivers. The intellectual endowments of the Hyperboreans are by no means low, and the nature of the dwelling-places has a stimulating effect upon them, as setting them severer tasks than any other race has to perform. There is even an impression that they belong to the mentally most active of "natural" races. It is commonly said that Chukchis, Yakouts, and others base their reckoning of time on the moon; but this is not entirely the case, for they determine the summer solstice, and, when outside the Arctic Circle, the winter solstice also, by the position of the sun upon or above particular rocks, mountains, and the like. Moons are only of service in the second place. In the light nights of midsummer it is impossible to observe the moon, and then the altitude of the sun comes in to help. Besides this, distinctions of time are facilitated by the growth of plants and animals. Dwellers on the coast, like most Eskimo, divide their day by ebb and flood, their night by the position of particular stars. Their wider cosmic and geographic conceptions all have a mythological character, to be spoken of in the section "on religion."

Of musical instruments there are but few. They have roughly-shaped drums, or rather tambourines, to beat at the dances. Rattles of reindeer teeth, sables' jaws, roes' feet, hang by the cradle of the Tungoose baby to keep it quiet, perhaps an amulet also. Songs celebrating the feats of ancestors and heroes, the return of the sun, and such like, are sung, especially in summer; one sings a verse with drum accompaniment, and the chorus come in at the end. Among the Lapps the still-living popular poetry annexes all events of camp or village life, and makes songs or fantastic tales out of them.

If we survey the wide territory between the high plateau of Central Asia and the Arctic Ocean, we receive the impression that the great features of the distribution of races in Central Asia and Europe run through Northern Asia and

Europe also, where kinsmen of the Indo-European, Mongolo-Turkic, and Finno-Tungoosian families of races have spread as weak outliers beside one another, always in small numbers over large areas. Proceeding from the west, we come across Lapps, Karels, and Zirianians and beyond the Oural Mountains the nearly allied Voguls and Ostiaks. From the Kanin as far as Khatanga Bay dwells the group of Yuraks and Samoyedes; from Khatanga Bay to the Upper Kolima, the Turkic stock of the Yakouts; from the Lower Yenisei all across in a broad belt to the Lower Amoor, the race of the Tungooses with its subordinate tribes differing little among themselves,—Lamouts and Oroches on the Pacific, Chapojirs and Orochones in the interior, and a small isolated coast-tribe between the Yana and the Indigirka. The southern tribes, Daurs, Gilyaks, Solones, are already, owing to strong Mongolian, Chinese, Japanese influence, tending more towards their east Asiatic kinsfolk, especially the Manchus. Lastly, mingled with Tungooses, the kindred Koriaks and Chukchis are settled in the interior of Kamchatka and the Chukchi Peninsula, and west of them the Omoks and Yukahires. On the ocean that divides the two portions of the world we find, in the Chukchi Peninsula, two originally distinct races on the coast and inland respectively; this is the transition from Arctic American to Arctic Asiatic distribution. No such contrast as that between the coast and the reindeer Chukchis is found among the Hyperboreans of America; and besides these we have the Eskimo on the south and east border of the peninsula. But as soon as we proceed westward, we find the same thing ever afresh; just as there we have no united race, but the Hyperboreans of Northern Asia are either the most northerly branches of widely-distributed races, or else little tribes which the stream of events has driven out into these fringes and corners of the north. "Weaker tribes," says Nordenskjöld, "were often compelled to take refuge in the icy northern deserts, and thought themselves lucky to get their living there unmolested by their foes, while adopting the habits of polar races corresponding to the climate and the sources of subsistence which the land afforded."

Thus the Tungooses, who number, as Rittich estimates, about 68,000, are near of kin to the Manchus who dominate half of the interior and east of Asia, are spread over a territory bounded by the Yenisei and the Pacific, by China and the Arctic Ocean. It has been contracted in the north-east by the advance of the Chukchis, but still occupies the greater part of East Siberia. But they were not originally settled in any part of this wide territory. They are immigrants from the south, from the country that we call Manchuria. The Tungooses then fled northwards before the Mongols into the forests of Siberia, and therewith their culture, which according to various indications was formerly at a higher level, retrograded. Now they live as poor hunters and fishermen, subject not only to the Russian Government, but in many places to the Chukchis who invade their abodes with their own herds of reindeer. Similarly the Samoyedes have been pushed from the Sayansk Mountains to the coast of the Arctic Ocean. The Yukahire race may pass as an example of broken-up populations. In old times it was nomadic about the headwaters of the Kolima, then migrated on account of a smallpox epidemic to the mouth of that river, and even to the islands lying off it, and finally a part fixed itself also on the neighbouring rivers, Omolon and Great and Little Anyui, while another portion wandered westwards to the Great Tundra, and was merged in the Tungooses with the exception of

about 1000 souls, who are now settled in the district of Verkhoyansk. Only a

A Gilyak. (From a photograph in the possession of Professor Joest, Berlin.)

small fragment on the Upper Kolima and Yasashnaya has preserved the abode and name of the Yukahires.

When Castrén once on a time laid it down as a law of history that all great

movements of races had been from the south northwards, he relied upon the history, mainly passive, of the Hyperborean and Finnish races. This retrograde movement is now at a standstill. The establishment by the Russians of an orderly administration has rather enabled the weaker aborigines who had been pushed into the least favourable quarters to spread again gradually southward. If deportation ever came to an end, the industry of the Yakouts could have freer scope. Even now a popular Russian phrase says of them: "Stick a Yakout down on a bare rock, and in a year you will find a flourishing farm." There are indications that in former times tribes in Northern Asia were pushed to the edge of the sea, and across into the islands. When they did not return, they perished for lack of "go" in the struggle with hunger, cold, and disease. And with the races the old culture-marks were pushed northwards. Even for Europe the hypothesis of a Lappish, or at any rate a reindeer-breeding, original population has been started. In the neighbourhood of Lake Baikal, where, at the present day, Russian iron and steel prevail, there was in the Stone Age, as Witowski's discoveries prove, the home of a numerous population and the seat of a manufacture of articles in quartz, jadeite, and nephrite. Similar traces go all through Siberia; and in the extreme north-west we stand to-day in presence of the Stone Age. Agapitoff found a place on the Ust-Unga steppe which was strewn far and wide with fragments of stone implements; and the axes found there were exactly like those used by the Chukchis at the present day. Nordenskjöld gives a whole list of evidences for the occurrence in the extreme north of Siberia of the remains of ancient settlements which have been gradually abandoned. For example, tents or small stations used once to stand between the Yenisei and the Piasina, about Port Dickson and elsewhere. On the northern Chukchi coast again there are remains of more extensive habitation. That agriculture flourished in Siberia before the coming of Europeans has been asserted but never proved. It is not *a priori* improbable, seeing that traces of metal-working and trade point to a former time when things were more lively; so that the legends of the ancients about dignified Hyperboreans, rich in metals, seem not to have been wholly baseless. Most of the Siberian antiquities, the wealth of which, in gold and silver, gave employment even in Messerschmidt's time to hundreds of treasure-seekers, and made sepulchral gold and silver into a regular article of commerce, are found at the northern foot of the Altai and Sayansk mountains, as far as the district about Krasnoyarsk. The rune-like rock inscriptions, spread throughout Southern Siberia, as far east as Kiakhta, and also very much in the Yenisei region, which were known to Pallas, together with the human faces, hunting-scenes, and such like found cut in the rock, point to an old Turkic population at a high level.

The process of displacement forms the basis of historical legends. One of them runs as follows: "The Chudes with the white eyes once formed a great people before the Russians came to Siberia. They knew not the birch; but when that tree with its white bark appeared, their seers prophesied that the White Czar should come and root them out. So the Chudes resolved to bury one another, and when the last had made his grave, he killed himself. That was the end of the Chudes."

The great majority of Asiatic Hyperboreans have acquired the mastery and use of European means of culture either too late or insufficiently. The Russians have been in touch with the Samoyedes since the fifteenth century; but their

Christianity remained external, and beneath the shell of it Shamanism operated unchecked. The Lapps alone, missions to whom began with the seventeenth century, form an exception in this respect. Their deeply religious nature, and their steadiness in their faith, have been praised by many. But they are also the most genuinely pastoral people of all. Among other things, brandy destroyed the good which Christianity tried to do. Alleged instances of progress, such as the building of wooden houses, the introduction of metals, of European clothing materials, and the like, are really backward steps in the economy of the aborigines, just as trade has here shown itself anything but a means of civilization. Where Europeans spread industry, commerce, and, for themselves, prosperity and the humaner arts, the natives fell into poverty, and at last left the ground which had grown too costly for them. Gold-washing is by Jadrinzeff compared to the plague or a raging tempest. The chief of Siberian industries is spirit-distilling; and that suffices. So long as the Ostiaks were absolute masters in the vast primeval forests of the Obi district, the abundance of food and fur animals, and of fishes of every kind, offered sources of livelihood sufficient for a thin population. The Ostiak has remained since that time unchanged in the main features of his character, his childlike good temper, his contentedness, his honesty; but all the original conditions in the life of a simple "natural" race have undergone a melancholy alteration through the devastation of the forests. The extortionate avarice of the Russian fur and fish traders on the one hand, the fatal passion of the Ostiaks for brandy on the other, make it inevitable that the race must perish. Samoyedes and Yakouts use the same words to express "poor" and "bad"; they have themselves for the most part become "bad" races, because culture has had an impoverishing effect on them. The Tungooses showed sound sense when they complained to Middendorff that the traders came to their quarters instead of confining themselves to the markets. It is almost a rule that the best hunters and also many proprietors of reindeer, are in debt. In these circumstances it is no unqualified praise to say of a tribe that it is Russianising itself; and, on the other hand, it is certainly a compliment to say, as was said of the Omoks, that they had adopted Christianity, with Russian clothes and language, and yet had retained the good qualities of their tribe—dexterity, activity, honesty.

The pastoral and hunting races of Northern Asia have begun to die out extensively. Almost all occupy a smaller space, and in the case of many, evidence of declining numbers can be given. On the Olenek there is a legend of a spectre as the cause of this mortality. The natives had in their presumption flayed a reindeer; in its miserable plight the animal pursued them; probably it was the smallpox. Since Strahlheim gave the number of the Tungooses at 70,000 to 80,000 they have dwindled by an eighth; not only Europeans, but, in the north-east, Chukchis also have encroached on their space. Omoks and Arinzes are represented as wholly destroyed. The number of the Kamchadales was estimated at 20,000 in 1744; in 1823, 2760 was counted, in 1850, 1951. It will be justly said that a comparison of estimates and census brings together totals of dissimilar value; but the more recent and accurate census gives the same result. Infant mortality among the Samoyedes snatches away nearly three-fifths of the new generation, and the mixed marriages of Russians with native women in North and Central Siberia seem to be frequently barren.

The dress of the northern Asiatics resembles that of the Eskimo in the

prevailing use of skins and leather, but is much more varied. In the east, Chinese influence may be traced, especially in the matter of shoes, as far as the Tungooses and Orochones. The most peculiar dress is that of the Tungooses, with its skin-coat trimmed with beads, and cut like a dress-coat with pointed tails, and the richly embroidered doublet. Beneath this a sort of half-caftan is worn next the skin, and over it a fur-coat, made of reindeer skin, lighter among the Samoyedes, darker and somewhat shorter among the Dolgans and Tungooses. Caps, mostly of fox-skin, are the usual head-gear; the Samoyedes, however, wear hoods bordered with black dog's fur; the reindeer's tail attached to these makes the Samoyede distinguishable a long way off from his neighbour the Yurak. Dwellers on the coast wear hide boots reaching to the body, met by trunk-hose cut like bathing-drawers, while hunters put on, in place of boots, overalls reaching to the calf or the thigh, and fastened by leather laces to the body-clothing. The Samoyede women wear round their thighs half a dozen brass clasps fastened to their trousers, and all kinds of clinking metal objects hang to the breast of their under-garment. Boas or neck-wrappers of squirrel-tails are in use among the Tungooses. Among them also women are seen in blue cloth coats turned up with red, in coif-shaped caps embroidered with silver thread, and plated brass belts. A practical feature of the indispensable fur-glove is the slit made at the root of the thumb, to enable this to be protruded, and a firmer grip obtained.

Further westward the form of the clothing becomes more European. Even the western Samoyedes wear a sleeve waistcoat, though the sleeves often hang loose, the arms being drawn in to the body to warm them; trousers, too, of reindeer skin, bordered with dog's fur. Instead of the waistcoat, the women wear a coat, fitting close to the upper body, and spreading out below. The dress of the Lapps and of the more southerly of the northern Asiatics, who have more intercourse with the Russians, has departed the furthest from the Arctic type. Steller even found shirts, perhaps of Chinese or Japanese origin, universal among the Kamchadales. Coarse wool-stuffs are more and more driving out skins among the Lapps, and more so among the maritime Lapps than those of the hills. In winter, men and women alike wear clothes of reindeer skin with the hairy side in; the men's headgear is a vast four-cornered cap, the women's, a thing almost like a helmet, on a wooden frame. In summer men and women are clad only in a long skirt of *wadmal*, usually hanging loose, the sleeves of which reach to the wrists. This coarse material is blackish or grey, and the clothes made of it are not uncommonly badly tattered. The summer dress of the hill Lapps consists of tight-fitting trousers of reindeer skin, shoes of thicker leather with turned-up toes, and the same woollen skirt. On their wanderings they mount a belt with a knife in it, which fortunate hunters adorn with bears' teeth, and on their backs a leather bag for provisions. Where European influence has made itself yet more strongly felt, as among the often well-to-do Lapps of Lulea, the clothing approaches the true dress of the Norse peasant. Here the women wear a woollen under-garment, and over it another of wool, reaching to the knees, with transverse red and yellow stripes at its lower border, a silver ornamented belt with knife and scissors, and blue stockings.

Tattooing of the face, performed in a peculiar manner by sewing, occurs among Tungooses, Yakouts, and Ostiaks, but is rapidly disappearing. Tattooing of the arms is much more frequent.

The implements and weapons of the Hyperboreans of the Old World are not superior to those of the New World in such a measure as we might suppose from their greater contact with civilization. Some exceptions, however, have to be noted, such as the snow shoes, *ski*, of the Lapps, or the shooting glove of the Gilyaks, etc. Weapons inlaid with silver or other metals are especially frequent among Tungooses and Yakouts, who are in intercourse with eastern Asiatics. Nordenskjöld found such even on the Arctic coast of the Chukchi country, as Beechey before him had done among the Eskimo of Cape York. We must, no doubt, look to the south-east for the origin of the richer armour usual among the coast Chukchis, precisely similar to that which occurs among the Aleutians and on Prince William Sound. The fitting together of the parts recalls Japanese

Tungooses: man from the Kureika; woman from the Lower Tunguska. (After Middendorff.)

equipment; the shape, that of Polynesia. The bow, some 6 feet in length, belongs decidedly to the Asiatic form. It is commonly made of birchwood, or of two kinds of wood, birch and fir, fastened together with fish-glue. The Lapps usually bind it with birch-bast, the Ostiaks cover it with yellow varnish. Some bows are very thick and shapeless, and we never find the elegant work of the Eskimo composite bone bows. For shooting fur animals, when it is important not to injure the skin, they have blunt arrows. An important weapon is the bear-spear, which from Lapland to the Chukchi country is a strong-bladed, thick-shaped weapon. To the Tungoose it is a constant companion, staff and guiding-rod in one.

Iron is more widely spread among the Arctic races of Europe and Asia, and the stock of implements and weapons is more affected by it than is the case on the American side. Steller found in his time iron needles, probably of Japanese or Chinese origin, among the Kamchadales. The more well-to-do peoples, like the Avam Samoyedes, forge iron into spear-heads, and have even iron wolf-traps, and iron chains instead of traces for reindeer; their women hang iron and brass

about themselves, to announce the extent of their fortune by the rattling and clinking they make. Among the Tungooses, however, bone arrow-heads are still found together with iron, although they too know how to forge iron. When the Russians conquered Siberia they met with the art of working in iron among the Yakouts only; from these it has passed to the Tungooses. Another evidence for this is that the Tungooses in the Okhota met the Russians with iron. It is an open question whether they knew how to forge it, or merely valued it and carried it, working it cold at a pinch, as the Chukchis, Kamchadales, and others did at first, or whether it was brought by shipwrecked Japanese, or by regular trade from the east or south. The discoveries of metal in graves in the Chukchi country point to an origin in East Asia. Silver has established itself among the Lapps. Among reindeer Lapps, Du Chaillu drank coffee from a silver cup which, with its elegantly shaped spoon, was an heirloom dating a century back.

The extensive use of skin and leather makes the preparation of hides specially important. The implements for this purpose show intelligence. The chief importance lies in the careful mechanical treatment of the skins by scraping and rubbing. Where iron scrapers are not to be had, sharp-edged flakes of pebble are fastened with fish-glue into a yoke-shaped wooden handle; an effective tool for softening the skin. Yolk of egg, brain, chewed reindeer liver, all mixed with abundant saliva, serve to soften it further. The fermenting process is accelerated by the use of the greased skins, steeped in saliva, as pillows, whereby they become warm and dressed. Next to skin, bark is a material much in use, in the working of which the Tungooses are specially successful. It finds its chief employment in covering tents; but pouches and boxes with impressed coloured ornaments are also made from birch bark. Besides these, the Ostiak women manufacture the nettle cloth, so highly esteemed in Russia; a fabric from the fibre of the stinging nettle, which on the Obi grows to the height of a man. Reindeer sinews are used for thread. The chief means of fastening are sewing and splicing, but fish-glue is also used. A drill should never be lacking in the men's sledges.

The household furniture can be but scanty. Among genuine nomads like the Orochones, no sign of furniture is visible either in the large or the small tents; everything is always kept tidily packed on the sledges, as if for a start at a moment's notice. Portable vessels naturally claim a large place in the household furniture. In every *yaourt* may be noticed some cylindrical cases or sacks made of skins sewn together, in which are kept the various small articles required for domestic use. The vessels are made of wood, bark, or hide. Middendorff gives a picture of a swan's foot, used by the Samoyedes as a train-oil flask. Fresh reindeer paunches also are filled with blood; and sausage-like preparations are kept in the skin of a goose or a reindeer calf. The skin of the almost scaleless Kundja salmon is used for similar purposes.

We have spoken above of hunting and fishing, and pointed out that the fishing-tackle is not so perfect as that of the Eskimo. The nets, which are most necessary in the great rivers of Northern Asia, are unpractical.

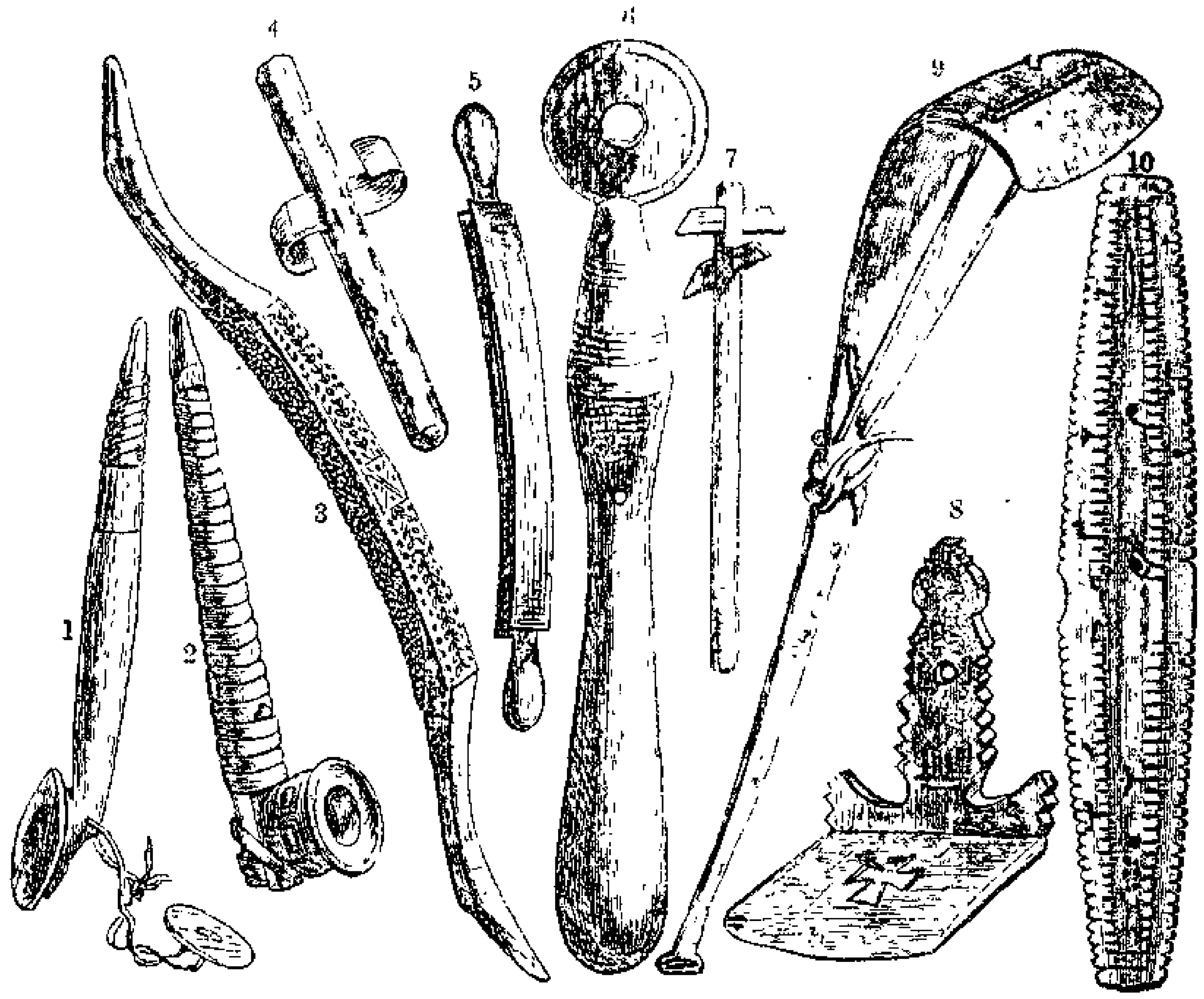
The unimportant cattle and horse breeding of the Yakouts, and some of the smaller Tungoose tribes, need only be mentioned in passing. It is still carried on with infinite labour about the middle of the Lena, whither, according to the legend, these people brought their herds in boats from the sources of the river. Besides the dog, the reindeer is the only animal used by the Hyperboreans of the

Old World. A domestic animal it can scarcely be called, considering the nomadic life which it helps to make endurable, and the fact that the herds lead an existence hardly to be distinguished from the wild state. By nature one of the easiest to tame of all the ruminants, the reindeer is at the same time by his make, his disposition, and his instinct, one of the animals most useful to man; and his existence in the far north is a bright spot in the natural resources of those countries. It costs little trouble to tend him. He is allowed to pasture at will, and the cows are milked twice a day. On these occasions the Lapps approach individual animals cautiously; a lasso is thrown over the head and fastened round the snout to prevent them from running away. The yield of milk from one reindeer often amounts hardly to a cupful; but the milk is thick, so that it bears diluting with water. Not much butter is made; but the Lapps certainly understand cheese-making. Reindeer can be well employed for drawing sledges, also to ride, as the Tungooses and Yakouts do. One of their chief duties is to carry the tents, stowed in wooden cases on a pack-saddle. In Siberia, where forests abound, the Tungooses take only the tent-covering of bark or skin along with them on their wanderings. Poles they either find left by a predecessor at the halting-place, or they cut them in the forest, which usually is not far off.

Reindeer breeding has declined in many places. The Ostiaks now occupy themselves with it least of anything, and have in consequence become much more shifting nomads than they once were. Among the Orochones, who are the type of a nomad people living principally by the reindeer, there is no very great abundance of those animals; the wealthiest has 700, another 500—and 10 horses; well-to-do persons possess from 40 to 100, the poorest not fewer than 7 to 10. Yet reindeer are no less important to the Orochone than to the Lapp; they furnish his food and clothing, as well as means of transport in his wanderings. The Lamouts have no longer got reindeer enough to be able to use them, as the other aborigines do, in drawing their *narts* or sledges, for which reason riding them is here in vogue. The district of Kolymsk is supplied with reindeer by the Chukchis, who, with their herds often amounting to 10,000 head, have made their way across to the *tundras* of the Kolyma, since their old pasturages on the Chaun Bay have lost their former wealth of reindeer moss. In general the reindeer of North-East Siberia are notably smaller and weaker than those in the west and in Scandinavia. Beyond the Olenek they can hardly be any longer used for riding. The winter is the time for intercourse. Then the reindeer sledge glides like an arrow across the swampy *tundras*, upon the firm covering of snow and ice. On the Kola Peninsula, indeed, land travel to any great extent is possible only in winter.

The northern climate demands copious nourishment; Europeans in Siberia, after a little time, eat three times their usual quantity. Hunting, fishing, and reindeer-breeding form the bases of the food-supply; the rich reindeer-Chukchis in particular eat the meat of their herds almost exclusively. Besides eating it fresh they also use stores of salted, air-dried, and smoked meat. In every *yaourt* or hut hangs a cauldron in which meat is boiling, and from which the common meal is taken. Frozen fish is eaten raw; the head of a freshly-killed reindeer has also to be devoured raw, and his liver, ears, and kidney-fat are regarded as tit-bits only when raw. Melted fat or butter is a favourite drink, and is consumed in quantities of several pounds.

Tobacco is smoked out of a small iron or ivory pipe with wooden mouth-piece, copied from the Chinese or Japanese pattern. A few whiffs exhaust the bowl, but these are inhaled so deeply as to cause intoxication. In order to strengthen the effect of the tobacco it is laid on a bed of reindeer hair; and reindeer hair, or splinters of wood, especially those shaved from an old pipe, form an agreeable substitute for the weed. Tea also, though long after tobacco, has found its way in the form of "brick-tea" to the northern Asiatics between the Ourals and the Pacific, all of whom, with the exception of the coast Chukchis, are addicted to the use of it. The leaves of the wood-sorrel and of a *cypripedium*




Samoyede, Tungoose, and Yakout implements: 1, 2, pipes; 3, 4, 5, 6, hide-scrapers; 7, twirling-stick; 8, back-scraper; 9, fish-ladle; 10, calendar. (After Middendorff.)

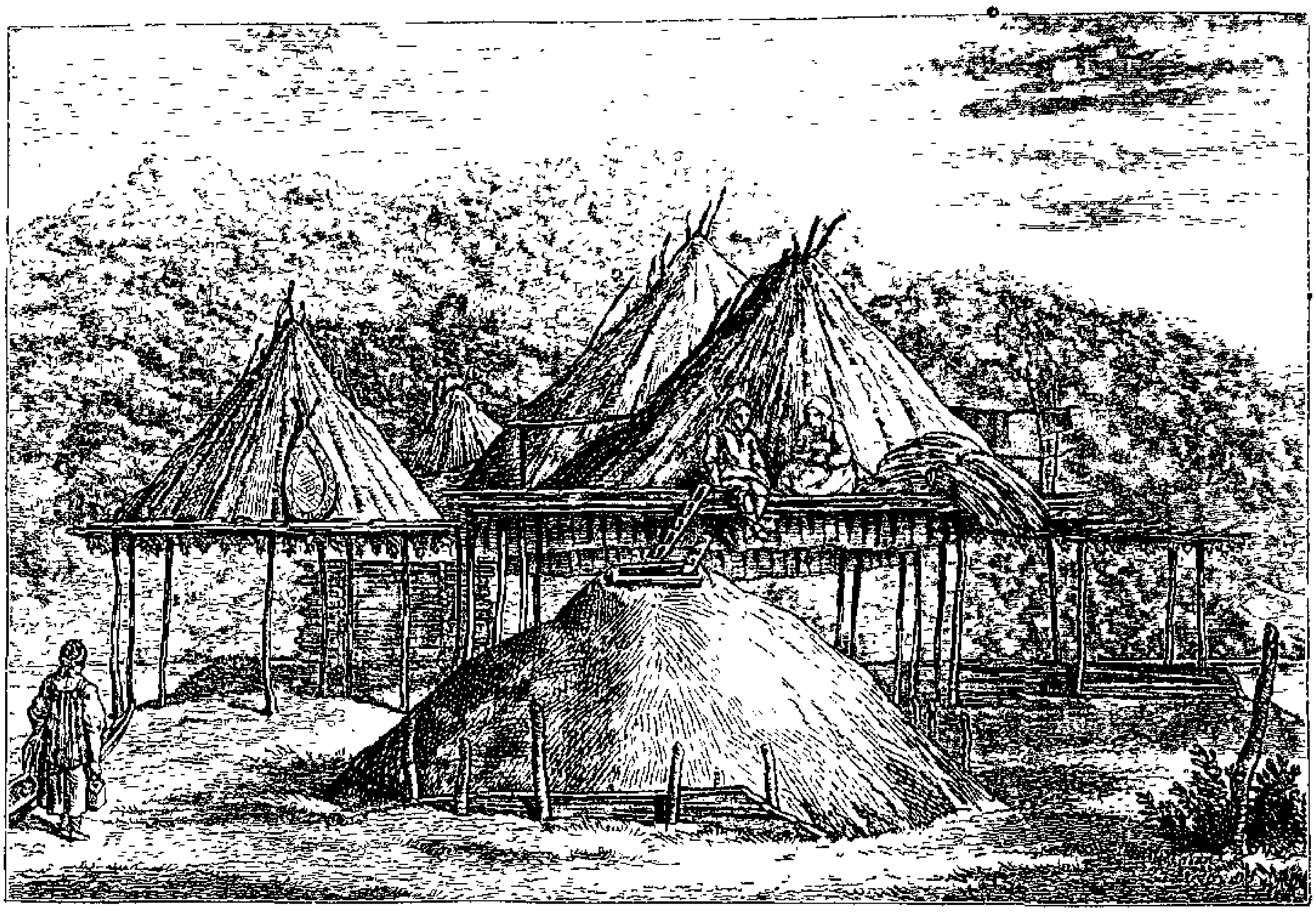
serve as substitutes, also those of an *epilobium* and a kind of burnet, as well as a fungus growing on the birch. We have spoken of brandy, which Castrén calls the "talisman of Siberia"—it would be better to say the poison of the race. Statistics place the distillation of spirits foremost among the industries of Siberia.

The further from the centres of civilization the lives of these people are passed, the more important for them is trade; which goes in search of them at fixed times, in fixed places, and according to regular forms. The markets are in general the best opportunity for bringing the lonely northern races into contact with civilization; above all, the government utilises them for collecting its tribute. The Chukchis who go to the fair at Nijni-Kolimsk are not allowed to do business till they have settled their *yassak* or state-dues. The Tungoose tribe of Orochones assemble once a year with *yaourts* and herds on the river Nertcha, a little above the settlement of Kyker. The seniors of the tribe here take their *yassak* to the amount of three roubles for every male person, in cash or skins, and hand it over to the nearest government official. Then they break up again, and only later turn up here and there to do a barter-trade with the Russians. These

places often form the nuclei of prominent settlements; for the merchant, who returns at regular intervals, builds himself a store and a dwelling-hut, and perhaps puts a Tungoose woman in charge of them; while the buyers on their side take steps to be as comfortably lodged as possible. The procedure at these markets is everywhere essentially the same. The Russian who repairs to the *bolsar* takes with him some casks of *vodka*, powder, lead, flour or whole corn, "brick-tea," sugar, Chinese woollen-stuffs, tobacco, copper rings, tea-kettles, needles, coloured-glass beads of all sorts, and so forth. As soon as he arrives, he is visited by his customers, who have got there already; and naturally the guests are liberally entertained with *vodka*. The nomads are greatly devoted to this spirit; and the Russians take advantage of this circumstance to overreach their friends. As soon as the buyer has drunk his grog he invites his Russian friends into his *yaourt*, and treats them to *vodka* which has been bought from them. This round of pleasure lasts for two or three days, ceasing only when there is no more *vodka* to drink. Then business begins. The number of dealers is disproportionately large, and can only exist because pretty well everything that the nomads have is got out of them, and the markets are at the same time popular festivals with many visitors. With the Tungooses the last third of the year is one round of markets; and besides they have one every quarter. Tradition has gradually allotted to every settlement its own particular tribes of Tungooses, Samoyedes, etc., with whom it does its chief trade. The principal articles on the side of the nomads are skins, musk-bags, young stags' horns, and fur boots ornamented with bark. Besides these, the Ostiaks dispose to Russia of the nettle-fibre cloth made by their women. Here, too, trade on the part of the natives selects by preference articles of luxury and enjoyment, and frequently on their account neglects the first necessaries, like iron, flour, medicaments. In addition to this large foreign trade there is an interior traffic not wholly unimportant. Owners of reindeer sell them to their neighbours; Yakout traders bring reindeer from the Aldan and the Vilivi to the Tungooses of the northern slopes of the Stanovoi. The fishing Yuraks of the Lower Yenisei trade with the Samoyedes for canvas and even bows and arrows, and Tungoose gourmands, who regard horses as the daintiest of food, buy them from the Yakouts for the purpose of slaughtering.

Among the Hyperboreans of the Old World, European influence has in many cases brought the wooden hut into use as well as the tent. The dwellings of the coast Lapps, *gammar*, are indeed often mere earth-huts constructed of turf with a few sticks as support; or made of timbers leaning together in a tent-shape, covered with turf, without windows, and affording only the absolutely necessary space. But there are also more permanent and extensive settlements of the wealthier coast-Lapps living in log-huts after the Norwegian pattern. With a certain amount of agriculture and cattle or sheep-breeding these form a transition to the Norwegian farm-house. Scandinavian statisticians rightly make the habitation of *gammar* or houses a measure of civilization. To these buildings are attached small huts on posts, *njalla*, used for the safe-keeping of stores. Among the Kamchadales, too, similar huts are found, serving a similar purpose. Wooden buildings have in like manner been introduced by the Russians into Northern Asia, showing many reminiscences of the Slavonic style of house-architecture. The Kamchatkan *isbas*, houses built, in the case of well-to-do people, of wooden blocks, as Cook described them long ago, consists of long beams laid horizontally one upon another,

the ends let into each other, and the chinks stopped with moss. The roof slopes as in the ordinary German peasant's house, and is thatched with coarse grass or rushes. The interior is divided into three rooms. The first—at one end is the entrance hall, which occupies the entire breadth and height of the house. Here sledges and other properties are kept. Contiguous to this is the middle and best room, which is furnished with broad benches, and from which a door leads into the kitchen. Here the stove occupies half the space, and, standing in the partition-wall, warms the centre room as well. Over the kitchen and the central room are often some garrets, reached by a ladder from the lobby. Similar though smaller wooden houses, which Middendorff calls cubes of beams, are inhabited in winter



Summer and winter dwellings of the Kamchadales. (After Cook.)

by the Yukahires, often permanently by the Dolgans and hunting Tungooses. Yet here, too, the original dwellings consisted of earth-huts with a frame of beams and wicker-work, and of tents for which the name *uruss* is in use alike among Chukchis, Yakouts, and Lamouts.

The Chukchi houses approach in shape those of the most westerly inhabitants of Northern Asia, the basis of them appearing to be the skin-tent surrounded with a stronger hut-structure. But when the tent appears by itself, as in the cut on p. 123, the earth-hut becomes either a winter dwelling or a store-hut. In the huts on Kolyuchin Bay, where the crew of the *Rodgers* wintered, a square frame, about 6 feet high and from 10 to 13 wide, was set up within the outer round hut; its length being dependent on the size of the house. On the floor of it, was spread a layer of dry grass, with a walrus hide on the top; the whole frame being covered with reindeer skins, so that air could only get in by the entrance, which was also hung with skins curtain-fashion. This inner space is the living and sleeping

room. The outer shell of the hut is made of stones, turf, whale-ribs, and drift-wood. The walls to a height of 3 to 4½ feet from the floor are nearly vertical; then begins the conical roof, the apex of which is at one-third of the length going from the entrance. The interior space is divided into dwelling-room and sleeping-room, the walls of this being closely hung with reindeer hides. The main support of the building is a strong wooden pole or a whale-rib, which goes to the apex of the roof; five or six lighter poles, leaning obliquely against the roof, serve as further props. Smaller whales' bones and wooden spars steady the roof, which is made of tightly stretched walrus hide; the hides being weighted with stones, or held firm by leather thongs. The entrance lies to the south-east. In the *tundras* the skin-tent is called *zyom*, which denotes "earth." Among the poorer tribes, like the Orochones, this is the only habitation. During the winter their sharply conical tents are covered with skins sewn together, in the summer with birch-bark. It is the same with the northern Yakouts. Well-to-do people use deer-skin, or that of young reindeer, and ornament it with aspen bark. Felt tents also extend far to the north. The Lamout tents are distinguished for cleanliness, and are covered in summer with sheep-skins. The Yukahires, who inhabit similar tents in summer at their fishing-places, never light fires in them, but cook in the open. The Dolgans, on the other hand, close the chimney with a reindeer-skin fastened to a long pole, even before all the smoke has got out. At their festivals and ceremonial banquets the greatest honour that can be paid to a guest is to make the *yaourt* as hot as possible. The cattle-breeding Yakouts share their *yaourt* with their beasts, which does not promote cleanliness. The tents of the Lapps have long since exchanged the skins with which they were once covered for coarse woollen stuff, which being loosely woven allows a certain amount of ventilation. It is extraordinarily durable, lasting twenty years and longer; and naturally comes to be patched all over. The cloths, in two pieces laced together, are stretched over the frame made of closely fitting poles, while the door is formed by a piece of sail-cloth. The ground of the tent is often not more than 70 square feet, and the inmates, with the never-failing dogs, squeeze close together on the reindeer skins which cover the floor. In the middle a fire of juniper burns under a pot hanging to an iron chain.

Earth-huts are largely found in Kamchatka and elsewhere in Northern Asia on the *tundras* as winter dwellings. They are dug from 3 to 6 feet deep and roofed with turf. In the middle of the mound thus formed a hole is left open, serving for chimney, window, and door alike. A stout notched post serves as a ladder for ingress and egress. At the side another door is made for the women in the level ground. The entry, especially in the *tundra* huts, is often winding, to afford protection against snow blowing in. In this hut the nomad of Kamchatka and the *tundras* lives from the beginning of October to the middle of May. It is the rule that families with their nearest relatives have a separate dwelling. It is only among the heathen Samoyedes that we hear of even two families living in one hut.

Housework is the task of the wife; hunting, fishing, and sailing that of the husband. Upon the wife also the nomads lay the heavy, often-recurring labour of setting up the tent. "No Samoyede goes far afield without his crowd of women: unless indeed he is certain of coming upon sleeping-quarters all ready." Seeking for shells, herbs, and berries, preparing the skins and making clothing, is also women's business. Polygamy is rare in this straitened and hazardous life;

indeed in many tribes the number of women has long been less than that of men. Vestiges of exogamy may be traced all across through the Samoyedes to the Tinas. Marriage between first cousins, or even between two strangers in blood who have grown up as adopted children in the same house, are not reckoned respectable. There are several indications of marriage by exchange. Middendorff mentions a case in which the son of a Samoyede chief married an "aristocrat," in return for which a daughter of the chief was made over to the bride's father for service and ultimate marriage for his benefit. Among the pastoral races the price of the bride rises with the dowry. Among the reindeer Chukchis the suitor is compelled, like Jacob, to tend the herds of his prospective father-in-law before he gets his bride. A well-to-do Samoyede paid for his future wife forty reindeer, two wolves, sixteen Arctic foxes, tent-skins, kettles and else, and got in return household furniture, clothes, twenty sledges full of food, and a reindeer with every sledge. With the increase of intercourse more and more marriages take place between tribe and tribe. Middendorff quotes the year 1842 as the historical date at which a previously unheard-of event took place: a Chukchi chief married the daughter of a Yukahire.

The chief in a Chukchi village corresponds with the senior member of the Eskimo family who lives on the north side of the great house; trading ships try to gain his favour by presents. Still higher stands the chief who is invested by the Russian administration with plenary powers and judicial supremacy, the *Erema* of the reindeer-Chukchis. He receives presents and is surrounded with the insignia of power, white reindeer skins and the like. In the present condition of things, disorganised as it is by trade and intercourse, tobacco and brandy, it is hard to decide; but there are sundry indications that here too authority once held a higher position, and that a more warlike spirit prevailed.

Trade has given many chiefs a more substantial basis for their power than they possessed when property was more evenly divided. Preponderant ownership will bring more power in proportion as an economic bond of common industry holds the tribes together. They fish and hunt in common, and the outcome of this system is a high degree of living on others. Among the Assya Samoyedes he who can get to a slain animal before the hunter breaks it up, earns a share in the feast and the skin; among the Tungooses, whoever finds a beast in another man's trap may take half the meat. Whole peoples occupy towards each other positions corresponding to their respective wealth. Thus the Tungooses, who are very poor, take pains to live near the Chukchi settlements, since they find employment as drovers in the reindeer-herds of wealthy persons, receiving their pay in reindeer. The subjection of the Oural Samoyedes by the Zirianians has been followed by a gradual usurpation of their feeding-ground. The tribes are small and steadily vanishing into each other. The ten tribes of the Yakouts do not number on an average more than three hundred each. Where, as in the Kolima district, we have a man to every 46 square miles, a close tribal organisation is inconceivable. Perhaps a trace of it may be suspected in the names of the ten Yakout tribes, or *Egin* as they are called; while the first to the fourth are named *Mjatush*, the first and second being *Baidung*, the third and fourth *Kangalag* and *Borogon*.[1] Each tribe has its "senior," and from the seniors is formed a kind of

[1] [Some other names are given by Latham, *Nationalities of Europe*, vol. i. p. 262. He also states that *Yakout* is the Russian name, the people calling themselves *Sakhalar*.]

administrative committee, especially for dealings with the government; but the origin of this is to be ascribed to Russian influence.

Numerous statutes of law are propagated in the form of customs. Hunting, fishing (this, it is said, even in salmon-weirs erected by another person), flotsam, are free. To put a stone on any article lying in the open is equivalent to taking possession of it. In hunting, an animal belongs to the man who first saw it, even if others have killed it. In cases of doubt, it belongs to the one who wounded it first; and of wounds given simultaneously that nearest the heart gives the first right. In trade, credit is not unknown; but the liability of the debtor or his representatives expires with his death, and in the case of property borrowed it expires if this gets lost or broken. Blood revenge for murder exists. The murderer is put to death, usually shot, by the murdered man's relatives or by eye-witnesses of the crime. Otherwise capital punishment is only applied to mischievous witches and sorcerers; rarely to adulterers. Among the reindeer-Chukchis the *Erema* judges a case after an oral statement of the charge, and punishes the culprit in presence of his relatives. The person to be punished kneels down and receives blows on the head with a stick having a bit of reindeer horn attached to the end, till he asks for mercy; then the *Erema* allows him to appease the relatives by payment of, say, a few reindeer. This torture, as we should think it, is looked upon as a trifle. For crimes against the person capital punishment is prescribed, often in a cruel form. Among these dwellers on the frontier of humanity, ceaselessly struggling as they are with privation and danger, human life cannot expect to find much consideration. The custom of killing old people when past work, and of exposing weakly children (or, according to Russian statements, superfluous offspring generally) once prevalent among Yakouts and Tungooses, is intelligible, looking to the hard conditions under which they had to support life.

There is no doubt that the sun enjoys a widespread and deeply-rooted veneration, and this may be traced all through the Hyperborean races. Even where Christianity has long been introduced, as among the Samoyedes and Lamouts, sun and fire worship is the toughest survival of paganism. The Mongol Shamans are sacrificing to the sun when they cast milk into the air; the Chukchis and Tungooses pray to it. The Samoyedes call the sun the watcher and guardian of their herds. Yet Noom, who is designated as the Supreme and Best Being among the Oural Samoyedes, but also denotes the sky, while the stars are called Noomgy, seems, like the Ukko of the Tinas and the Aiye of the Lapps, to stand yet higher, as god of heaven; and it would only correspond to this higher position if he be, as Castrén says, "a god without form, like the Indian Brahma and the Hebrew Jehovah." Ukko is also called Ruler of the Clouds, Mist of Heaven, Old Man of the Heavens. Es, the sky-god of the Yenesei Ostiaks, must correspond to him. Among the Lapps there is a good deal to indicate that they once adored the sun and the moon. On their magic drums the sun always holds a central place, often in the form of a ring, yet more frequently in that of a square standing on a point, with rays issuing from its corners. The oval hoops of bells, with thongs on which bells are hung running radially to the rim, such as are found among the Shamans of Northern Asia, recall this image. Only white animals were offered to the sun, just as among the Yakouts the Shaman still performs his incantations on the hide of a white mare; and to the sun alone, burnt sacrifices, to symbolise its radiant

warmth. Every year the so-called "sun-soup" was consumed to the honour of the sun, and on New Year's morning a brass ring was thrown into a spring or brook, so that from its flash when the sun first shone upon it, a good year might be inferred. Special names were given to the brightest stars.

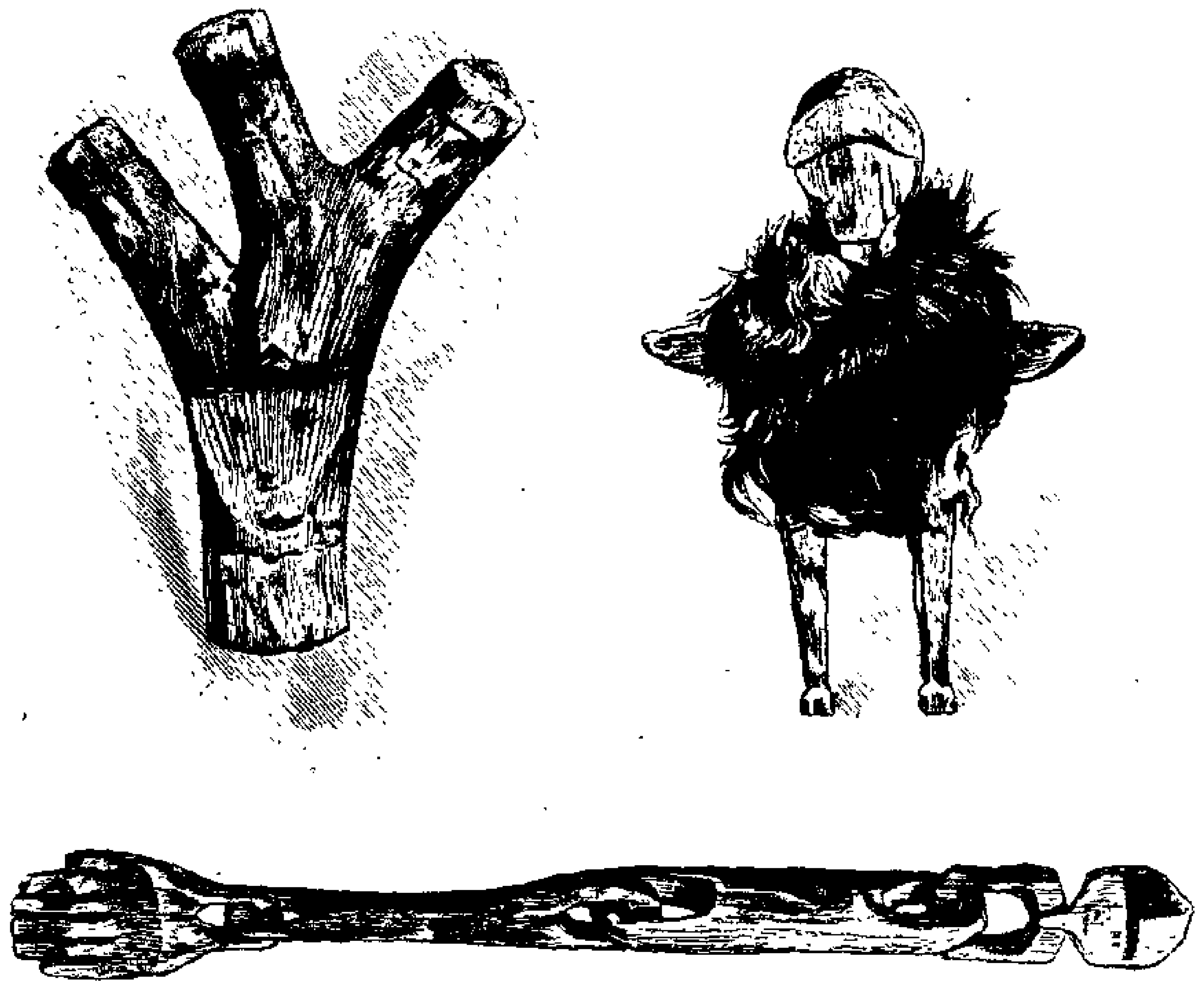
Storm and thunder are dreaded, and therefore worshipped. During storm and tempest the Chukchis throw reindeer and walrus meat as an offering to the thunder, "else he kills a man." "When a man dies there is much wind" was once given as the cause of a *storm*. Among the Lapps the storm-god is Bieggagales "the ancient of storms," the Lapp Aeolus, who drives the storm forth from his cave with the club in his right hand, while with the shovel in his left he compels it to come in again. To him the reindeer drovers pray, especially on the high fells, when they are out there with their herds—more particularly at the season when the calves are born, for they easily freeze to death in the icy wind before the mother has licked them dry. This god has also to avenge them on their enemies, to which end he gives them, in return for copious sacrifices, a wind with three knots in it, which they let loose against the foe. When the first knot is untied, there is at first a gentle wind; the third makes a hurricane. The legend of the winds, which are to be bought in Lapland, extends as far as Germany.

The curious veneration of the bear, which is also found among American Indians, Ainos, and others, runs through all the Hyperboreans of the Old World. From the Tungooses to the Finns, he takes rank directly next to the sky and the queen of the under-world as a divine being, particularly as the lord of all spirits, a god endowed with power and wisdom, hidden under the bear's skin. Superstitions connected with animals and hunting flourish in great profusion. Women may not cross a trail, nor touch the hunting-gear. The head of the musk may not remain attached to the skin, nor may the flesh of the sable. Before the end of the hunting season many persons avoid all dealings with animals. Many usages probably rest upon obscure totem-traditions, as when, among the different Samoyede tribes, the Chantais devour sea-gulls, the Avams will not touch them, or the Assyas abominate the great northern diver, which, as they say, strikes men dead, while others on the contrary snare him. Middendorff gives a picture of a larch stick with human face, and a leaden reindeer hung to it, the use of which as a staff is said to secure a Samoyede from pain when suffering from the stone; and of a reindeer similarly carved out of wood, which he found at a sacrificing place on the Taimyr river. Freaks of nature in wood or stone, taking the shape of animals or men, are sure to be venerated and smeared with the blood of victims on the part regarded as the mouth. When we read that the Orochone worships various gods whom he fastens together with a hare-skin on a tree near his *yaourt*, we must understand it of these sort of fetishes. The Tungooses use concave mirrors of copper to catch ghosts with, and to inspect for oracular purposes.

The Shaman's cap and clothes are hung full of fetishes; particularly a long strap reaching from the back of his cap to the ground. For incantations he puts on a robe made of skins stitched together, adorned with flaps, thongs, and appendages representing all manner of beasts. It is reserved to him to take in his hands without hurting himself objects calculated to excite horror, just as the poets of the sagas put into the hands of witches remedies for which most people feel disgust—as portions of dead men, spiders, and other vermin, all obtained and

employed in secret or during the night. There is an Australian ring about Middendorff's tale of the Yurak who carried about his father, dried into a black mummy, as his household god.

Foreign influences, Buddhist and Christian alike, have certainly long since touched and transformed the religious notions of the Hyperboreans. Long before our information as to the Lapps of the Scandinavian peninsula took any definite form, Christian ideas may have reached them from Tronyem, one of the most renowned centres whence Christian teaching radiated in the north, while the relations of the Russians with the Samoyedes reach back to the fifteenth century.



Goldi idols and charms—from the Amoor. (After Jacobsen.)

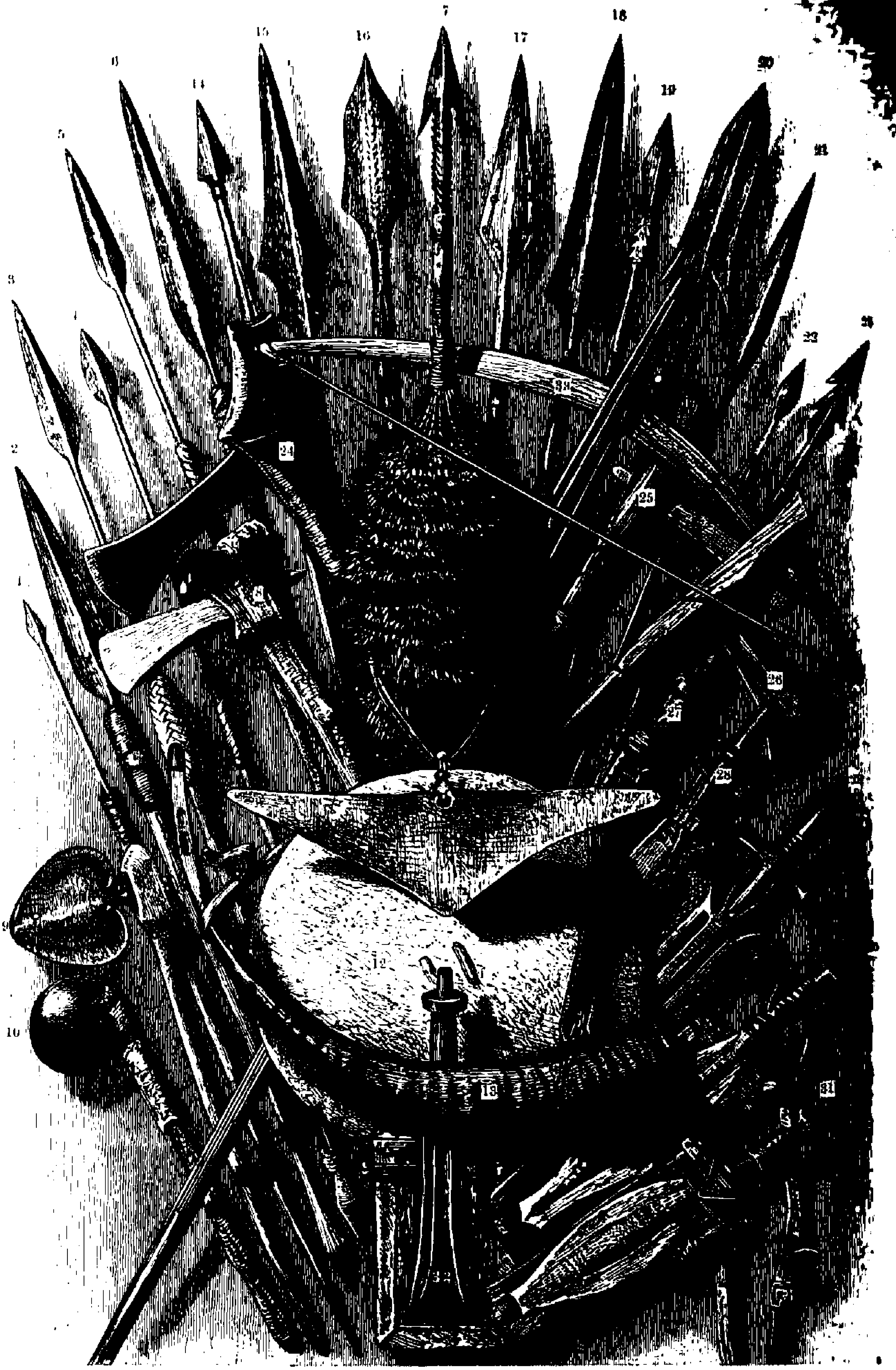
Perhaps to them may be due the upper heaven, that is a realm beyond the air and the stars, where Radsie-Achtche has his throne. Thus the heathen Samoyedes worship a god by the name of Mikola, who is the Russian St. Nicholas. When we hear that even among the Christian Samoyedes divine service is held only once a year, because the pope lives far away and his flock is scattered over a wide space, we can understand that Christianity does not take root very deeply among them. Among the baptized Tungooses there are still many women who play the part of soothsayers or Shamans; and are fetched from a distance to the Chukchis; while among the Lamouts the Christian benediction of a marriage does not take place till some years after the wedding has been solemnised in the old heathen fashion by walking round the tent, and exchanging presents. The great Russian proverb: "One candle for God, two for the devil," holds good here also.

Shamanism is supported by the belief in sorcerers. The sorcerer can make good weather and bad; is half man, half woman; occasionally pulls his eye out

and eats it; sticks a knife into his breast, or lets a bullet be shot through his head, without being any the worse for it. Through the Hyperboreans the belief in magic, which is no less strong among the Finns and Lapps, has passed into literature. The "Kalevala" is the epic of that wisdom which controls nature and spirits by magical means. It runs through Finnish mythology, and constitutes the principle of the magic art. In Lönnrot's description of the Finnish magician: "His demeanour is that of a maniac, his utterance becomes forcible and vehement, he foams at the mouth, his hair stands up," Castrén recognised the main features of Asiatic Shamanism, and even of the negro magic referred to in vol. i. pp. 54, 55. Here also by long sojourn in the desert the sorcerer acquires a spirit which makes him powerful, and by help of which he is then able to heal the sick, interpret dreams, conjure other spirits, overcome bad magic. In difficult incantations it is requisite to get into a convulsive state. There are magicians of various grades to whom functions of varying importance are committed. It has been admitted even by persons strongly prejudiced against the religion of the Hyperboreans that not merely jugglery, though this no doubt plays a great part, especially in the public exhibition of these sorcerers, but also actual knowledge is brought into play. The ordinary remedies, such as blowing or spitting on the part, fastening a leather strap round the head and lifting it on a stick, to see if it is light or heavy, sucking out the disease, puncturing the body to let the evil spirit out,—also killing the souls of people at a distance by shooting arrows, and other forms of magic are often practised by persons who stand to the Shamans in the same position as dabblers in magic to priests. Often, however, the two functions blend into one. The magician's ghost is to be dreaded after his death; and therefore his corpse is dragged into the depths of the forest or up a mountain. A tendency to a religious enthusiasm marks the Christian converts of the Arctic races. The Lapps pass for excellent Christians, and the Kamchadales are praised for their religious turn of mind.

The modes of burial among the Hyperboreans lie within the circle of which the centre is strong animistic belief; but the customs seem to be modified by climate, since the ground, hard frozen, or covered with ice and snow, seldom allows of real interment, and the wandering tribes are often compelled soon to leave the place of mourning. The Samoyedes of the Oural bury in graves during the summer only, in winter they put their dead away in wooden boxes above ground. Individual customs are of world-wide distribution, such as the early removal of the dead from the circle of survivors. The corpse is stripped naked and taken out of the house, a new opening being made for the purpose in the wall of the tent or hut. A longer or shorter period of exposure follows, since during a certain period the soul might return. The body is then tightly tied on to a sledge—far into Russia the sledge is used for funeral purposes, even at a time of year when it is otherwise out of use—or laid on a scaffold. Both usages are found among the Tungooses and Yakouts. Where Samoyedes have stayed for some time, men's, women's and children's sledges, each betokening a grave, are scattered all over the *tundra*. The Yakout corpse-scaffolds with their weather-bleached bones are still found occasionally deep in the forest, or on the *tundra*; but interment is now the rule. Among the reindeer-Chukchis four reindeer are killed and laid one at each side of the grave, while all the man's hunting-gear, and a *nart*, are laid upon the body, which is covered with a skin. Billings relates

that in the place where a corpse has been burnt stones are laid to imitate the body of the deceased; the largest, at the top, is called the head and anointed once a year with marrow and fat. The skulls of dogs, reindeer, bears, walruses, also help to deck the grave, which after a short time so completely ceases to inspire fear that footpaths lead through these skull and stone circles; but people to the last avoid touching the skulls. Cremation is reported as occurring among the reindeer-Chukchis, but is stated to be performed only by the wish of the deceased. If in the process the smoke rises straight up, it is said that the soul is seeking the sun; if it sinks, as often happens, to the ground, the soul remains on earth, and if the dead man has in his life been cruel to animals, migrates into some domestic animal—dog, horse, or reindeer. Among the Yakouts the ox who has drawn the funeral sledge is in his return driven between two fires. There is a ring of the far south, of Polynesian or South American customs, when we find some Tungoose tribes laying their dead in little boats or *vetkas*. In his lifetime the Tungoose takes about with him such a boat, made of three thin planks, 6 feet long by 14 inches wide, sewn together. The dead man in the boat is covered only with a reindeer skin. The soul-images, which the Obi Ostiaks make immediately after a death to take for some years the place of the departed in the tent and at meals, also link on to world-wide customs. Favourite articles, like tobacco, hunting-weapons, and so on, are also laid on the grave, which is how we hear of "monuments" of reindeer horns. Occasionally food is laid on the grave at considerable intervals. Women show mourning by neglect of their external appearance; and the men too, among the Tungooses, when in mourning, let their hair grow and do not plait their pigtails.



AFRICAN WEAPONS.

(1-10, 14-32.) Spears, lances, battle-axes, throwing-clubs, Kaffir, Congo, and Central African (Museum of the Berlin Mission, Berlin Museum, and Christy Collection). (11-13.) Breastplate, shield, and war-trumpet, from the East Coast (Christy Collection and Berlin Mission). (33.) Fan cross-bow (Christy Collection).

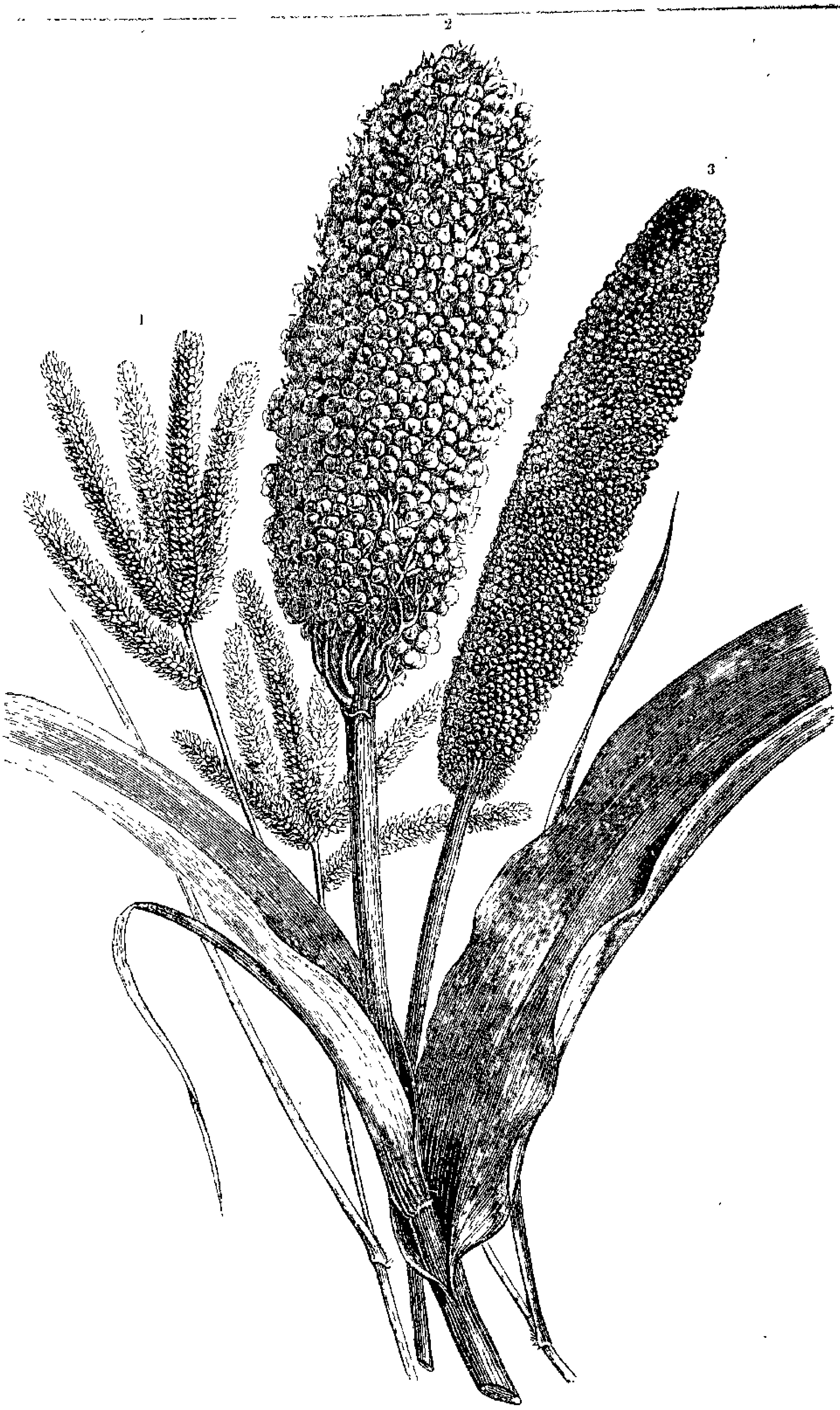
# BOOK III

## THE LIGHT STOCKS OF SOUTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA

## § 1. AFRICA AND THE INDO-AFRICAN GROUP OF RACES

Position and shape of Africa—Peninsular character of Africa—Physical deficiencies of its coast—Limited navigability of its rivers—Surface formation and water—Influence of natural characteristics on inhabitants—Climate—Flora—Fauna—The Indo-Africans—Relations of Africa to the regions north and east—Distribution of the Negro element in Africa—Mixed races—The four racial areas—The groups of languages—Ethnographic characteristics—Affinities with Asia and relations with Melanesia and Australia—Numbers of the population—Historical results and outlook.

WE must bear Africa in our eye if we would understand the Africans. The destinies of races are in truth dependent on the soil upon which men travel and whence they draw their food, according as it limits them or lets them spread; on the sky which determines the amount of warmth and moisture that they shall have; on the dower of plants and animals, and we may add minerals, from which they get the means of feeding, clothing, and beautifying themselves, and of providing themselves with friends, helpers, and allies, but which may also raise up enemies. Africa is the most westerly portion of the mass of land which covers over a third of the Eastern Hemisphere in a vast connected system, and it extends nearly as far to the south as Australia. The southern border of the Old World encloses a great basin, whose western edge is skirted by Africa, its eastern by Australia—the Indian Ocean. In it lie the largest African and Asiatic islands, Madagascar, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, as well as the peninsulas of Somaliland, Arabia, Hither and Further India. Far beyond it, to the eastward, extend lands and islands, so far that one may well ask whether the unoccupied space between Easter Island and South America formed a permanent bar to the extension of races which had already covered a space three times as wide. When one has to speak of the ethnography of the African races one must always remember this great half-enclosed bight, which might be called the Indo-African Mediterranean. Oceans separate countries and connect races. There are people settled in Madagascar whose nearest relatives live on the opposite edge, in Sumatra; and whatever culture is to be found in Africa points to Southern Asia. Africa and Australia both look south into the desolate Antarctic space; Africa has to the westward the Atlantic with its few islands; Australia has to the eastward the Pacific, teeming with islands; both oceans have only in recent times become filled with the commerce of the world. This unfavourable position at the end and on the border allows of connections on one side only, which accounts for the backward condition in which the people of Southern Africa and of Australia have remained. But the drawbacks disappeared as soon as the roads to the Atlantic and Pacific were opened. For Africa, the discovery of a sea-route to India round its southern point meant the opening of that half of it which lay south of the equator, of its southern extremity above all, to traffic and civilization. Africa is not a wholly




The three principal kinds of African millet: (1) *Panicum*; (2) *Sorghum* (Dhurra); (3) *Eleusine.*

detached portion of the earth like the island continents of America and Australia—by the Isthmus of Suez it hangs on to Asia. In strict geographical terms it

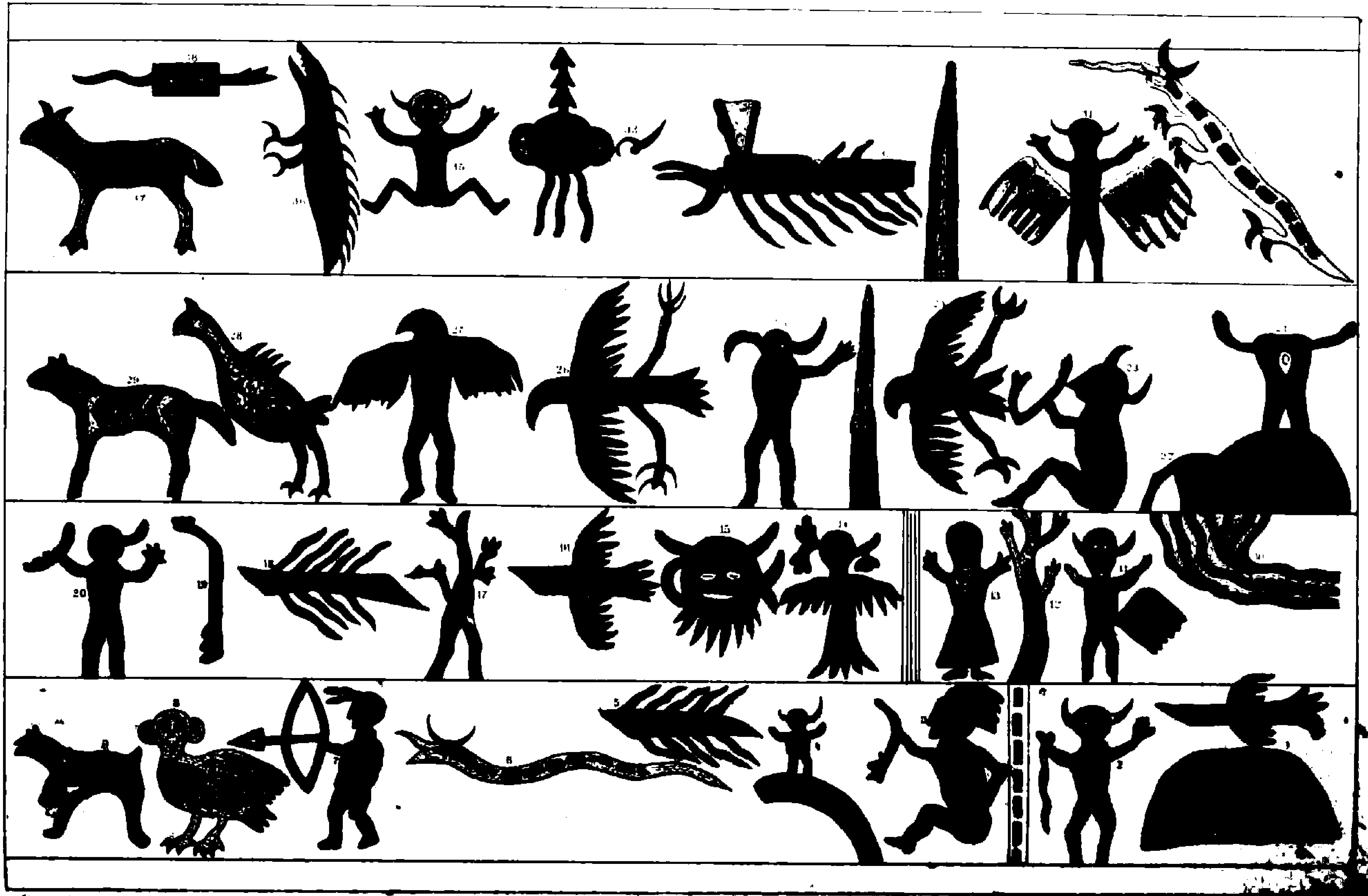
ought therefore to be the south-western peninsula of that quarter. Even if the connecting band is only some 70 miles wide, and that desert, it has always formed a bridge for nations and for traffic. The Red Sea too, with its numerous islands, is barely 250 miles broad in its widest parts, and only 20 at Babelmandeb. Still narrower is the strait which divides Europe from Africa at Gibraltar. Further, we have the line of Mediterranean islands from Majorca to Cyprus, leading north and north-east to the shores of Europe and Asia Minor. Thus the connections of, and approaches to Africa lie in the direction of its northern and eastern sides; and the ethnography of Africa will be constructed on a general Old World, and specially Asiatic basis. For on the west and south it is far removed from other quarters of the globe, 1500 miles from South America, 4500 from Australia.

When we are considering the possibility of navigation between the remoter coasts of Africa and other quarters of the earth, our thoughts turn spontaneously upon its shape. We miss features favourable to navigation, gulfs and bays, peninsulas and islands. Owing to the absence from this continent of arms and inlets of the sea, the tribes of the interior have always been cut off from intercourse with Europeans; while the ruling principle of the coast-tribes was to hold the position of middlemen between them and Europeans. The length of the coast-line of Africa, compared with that of Europe, is little more than one-fifth. Only the north-east and the north, so far as they are bordered by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, show a little more variety. But this is just where climatic conditions encourage the desert-formation to extend at many points as far as the coast. Madagascar, the only large island of this quarter of the earth, has led a separate life of its own.

Other forces have also had a checking effect on the development of African culture. What a great portion of the earth may lose in the way of accessibility through defective conformation may in some measure be compensated for by rivers. In Africa, however, the physical geography does not allow this compensation to operate in an adequate degree; the interior, a highland region surrounded with mountains, causes the rivers to descend to the lowland, itself of no great dimensions, in cataracts. Along their more distant course in the interior, some rivers, in conjunction with the great lakes, are important aids to intercourse so far as native requirements go; but the road to the sea is cut off.

Africa is the region of highlands and table-lands. In a general survey it is one great plateau, almost everywhere over 1000 feet high. Speke compared it to an inverted dish: the bottom being the interior plateau; the raised ring, the mountain-chains on the coast; and the rim, the sloping strips of lowland. Lowlands, that is land under 1000 feet, form an appendage, to some extent casual, along the coasts and the lower courses of the stream, to the rim of the continuous highland, or are interpolated into its gaps. The mountains do not stand conspicuously out from the plateau either in breadth or, as a rule, in height; they are isolated chains or groups, often only portions of table-land rather higher than the rest, or little groups of volcanic mountains, the only summits which reach the glacier-level. These formations have no other connecting band than the plateau. There is no dominant range as in America, no common buttressing of a central plateau as in Asia. The mountain structure of Africa bears the character of having been shattered. Africa was never capable of producing or preserving the

Fruit clusters of (1) Date-Palm; (2) Doom-Palm; (3) Oil-Palm.



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HIS p ate represen s a [illegible] idea of the picture-writing of the Ojibbeway Indians, and shows what an aid this offers to the memory. The song is sung by a man initiated into the Wabeno mysteries. It is rendered by Schoolcraft as follows:

FIG. 1.—A preliminary chant. The figure represents a lodge prepared for a nocturnal dance, marked with seven crosses, to denote dead bodies, and crowned with a magic bone and feathers. It is fancied that this lodge has the power of locomotion, or crawling about. The owner, and inviter of the guests, sings solus:

"My lodge crawls by the Wabeno's power."

FIG. 2.—An Indian holding a snake in his hand. He has been taken, it is understood, underground by the power of medical magic, and is exhibited as a triumph of skill: "Under the ground I have taken him."

The inscription is here marked by a bar, indicating a pause. At this point the singing becomes general, and the dance begins, accompanied with the ordinary musical instruments.

FIG. 3.—An Indian in a sitting posture, crowned with feathers, and holding out a drumstick:

"I too am a Wabeno" (*bis*).

FIG. 4.—A spirit dancing on the half of the sky. The horns denote either a spirit, or a Wabeno filled with a spirit: "I make the Wabenos dance."

FIG. 5.—A magic bone decorated with feathers. This is a symbol indicative of the power of passing through the air, as if with wings:

"The sky! the sky I sail upon!"

FIG. 6.—A great serpent, called Gitchy Keenabic, always depicted, as in this instance, with horns. It is the symbol of life:

"I am a Wabeno spirit—this is my work."

FIG. 7.—A hunter, with a bow and arrow. By appealing to his magical arts he fancies himself able to see animals at a distance, and to bring them into his path, so that he can kill them. In all this he is influenced by looking at his secret symbolical signs or markings: "I work with two bodies."

FIG. 8.—A black owl. (Rara avis.)

"The owl—the owl—the great black owl."

FIG. 9.—A wolf standing on the sky. A gift is sought. This is the symbol of vigilance:

"Let me hunt for it."

FIG. 10.—Flames: "Burning flames—burning flames."

FIG. 11.—This figure represents a fœtus half-grown in the womb. The idea of its age is symbolised by its having but one wing. The singer here uses a mode of phraseology by which he conceals, at the same time that he partly reveals, a fact in his private history or attachments:

"My little child—my little child, I show you pity."

FIG. 12.—A tree, supposed to be animated by a demon: "I turn round in standing."

FIG. 13.—A female. She is depicted as one who has rejected the addresses of many. A rejected lover procures mystic medicine, and applies it to her breasts and the soles of her feet. This causes her to sleep, during which he makes captive of her, and carries her off to the woods. (A pause in the ceremonies is denoted by bars between figures 13 and 14.)

FIG. 14.—A Wabeno spirit of the air. He is depicted with wings, and a tail like a bird, to denote his power in the air, and on the earth:

"Wabeno, let us stand."

FIG. 15.—An anomalous symbol of the moon, representing a great Wabeno spirit, whose power is indicated by his horns, and rays depending from his chin like a beard. The symbol is obscure:

"I have made it—with my back."

FIG. 16.—A Wabeno bone ornamented similar to

FIG. 17.—A tree with human legs and feet. A symbol of the power of the Wabeno in the vegetable kingdom: "I dance till daylight."

FIG. 18.—A magic bone. By this sign the performer boasts of supernatural power:

"Dance around, ye!"

FIG. 19.—A drum-stick. The symbol of a co-labourer in the art: "And I too, my son."

FIG. 20.—A Wabeno with one horn, holding up a drum-stick. This figure denotes a newly initiated member: "He that is a Wabeno, I fear."

FIG. 21.—A headless man standing on the top of the earth. A prime symbol of miraculous power and boasting:

"Your body I make go (alluding to Fig. 1)."

FIG. 22.—A tree reaching up to the arc of the sky. He symbolises the great power of the tree to whose magic power he trusts:

"I paint my tree to the sky."

FIG. 23.—A human figure, with horns, holding a club. It is the figure of a Wabeno:

"I wish a son."

FIG. 24.—The *falco furcatus* or swallow-tailed hawk, called Shau-shau-won-e-bee-see, a bird that preys on reptiles. It is an emblem of power in war:

"My Wabeno sky."

The next figure of vertical lines denotes a pause. The dancers rest and then resume the dance.

FIG. 25.—A master of the Wabeno society, depicted with one horn reversed, and a single arm. The idea is, that with but one arm his power is great. His heart is shown to denote the influence of the Meda on it: "My body is a great Wabeno."

FIG. 26.—A nondescript bird of ill omen:

"My son's bone—the walking bone."

FIG. 27.—A human body with the head and wings of a bird: "They will fly up, my friend."

FIG. 28.—Mississay—a turkey. A symbol of boasted power in the operator:

"The turkey I make use of."

FIG. 29.—A wolf. A symbol of assumed power to search: "I have a wolf,—a wolf's skin."

FIG. 30.—A flying lizard, or dragon snake. He calls in question the power assumed:

"There is no spirit! There is no spirit! Wabeno spirit."

FIG. 31.—A Wabeno personified with the power of flying:

"Great Wabeno! Great Wabeno! I make the Wabeno."

Here is another pause or division of the ceremonies, and songs.

FIG. 32.—A pipe of ceremony. This is the emblem of peace. The operator smokes it to propitiate success:

"What, Meda, my spirit brother, do you [illegible]?"

FIGS. 33 and 34.—A symbol of the moon, with rays, etc. Represents a man and a snake:

"In the night I [illegible] you."

FIG. 35.—A Wabeno. This is, apparently, a symbol of the sun: "I am [illegible] the east."

FIG. 36.—A dragon-winged serpent, or Gitchy Keenabic. Denotes great power over life:

"With my body, brother, I [illegible]."

FIG. 37.—A wolf depicted with a [illegible] heart, to denote the magic power of the Meda:

"Run, wolf—your body [illegible] mine."

FIG. 38.—A magic bone, the boasted symbol of necromantic skill. The words accompanying this

contrasts in the development of culture which were denied to the nature of her soil. No limits to migration, no immediate juxtaposition of luxuriant fertility with the poverty and roughness of soil which compel to nomadism. Africa has her deserts, but they have been the scene of no history, and her steppes form the border of her deserts and the transition from them to the forest-land.

Africa lies in greater measure than any other quarter of the globe between the tropics, and remote from the colder parts of the temperate zones. Its climate is therefore warm, dry, and continental. Of the two great elements of the tropical climate, Africa possesses more warmth than moisture. The rainfall is tropical only in its distribution in the year. When the sun is at its greatest altitude comes the period of greatest rainfall. Its arrival forms, in the tropics, a division of the year, distinguishing the dry from the rainy season. It is only from the Middle Congo to Lake Victoria that rain falls at all seasons, producing that luxuriance of vegetation which is common in other tropical lands, especially in the great and ethnographically important forest region. On the coasts of Natal and New Guinea monsoon-like sea winds, blowing from the cooler sea to the heated land, extend the rainy season. But they are only climatic islands in the broad ocean of the north-east trade-wind, which finds no barrier all across the Sahara and into the Congo district, except the increased weakness which comes to it with distance. But though the desert does not reappear here so sharply defined as in North Africa, and the Kalahari has more the nature of a steppe, yet there are, even under the equator, regions of little rainfall. The south-west trade also confines the region of rain, forest, and agriculture, more especially on the south-west, to within a few degrees from the equator. One must also reflect that night is the winter of the tropics. The extensive and regular elevations cause a rapid interchange of diurnal warmth and nocturnal cold, corresponding to the almost universal tendency to dryness; and this again belongs to the continental climate. Fertility of soil with precarious rainfall produces in Africa too the dangerous coincidence of increasing masses of population with decline in the quantity of food. In Nubia, Kordofan, Sennaar, Darfour, and throughout the central Soudan, it is the same picture: drought, locusts, famine.

A Nama. (From a photograph belonging to the Bremen Mission-house.)

The flora of Africa bears, as a whole, the marks rather of tropical heat than of tropical moisture.* In spite of great internal variations, drought and lack of water have set on it a common stamp of continental affinities. The Mediterranean

flora of the northern border soon shrivels up to that of the Sahara, poor in species and in forms. In the tropical kingdom, savannahs and tall grass prevail, with isolated trees, forming not so much forests as groves. Thus in the Soudan proper a park-like scenery has arisen. In the damp lowlands the primeval forests, spreading out from the narrow "galleries" of the valley bottoms, occupy a large space—largest in the Middle and Upper Congo district. But the whole region has only half the species of the corresponding but much smaller regions of Asia and America. The flora of the Kalahari and the south-western coast-tract is a desert flora, that of the Cape country a steppe flora. Thus the vegetation reflects the distribution of the rainfall. We find, indeed, in each of the natural "provinces"

Bushmen. (From a photograph by Professor Fritsch.)

of Africa a large list of useful plants—such as the gum-acacia, ebony, various dye-woods, the kola-nut; but of cultivated plants calculated not to serve a momentary need, but to support a steady development based on the cultivation of the soil, or a gradual progress to higher aims, there is no excessive plenty. The origin, too, of many useful plants is undoubtedly not African. Within historical times, European, Egyptian, and Arabian influence has introduced wheat, barley, maize, rice, sweet potato, and more recently the potato as well; also tobacco, though serious botanical geographers have raised the question whether tobacco be not originally African, on the ground that it is inconceivable that it can have struck its roots so deep in the habits of the people since the discovery of America. Undoubtedly the African cultivated landscape has been greatly transformed by these naturalisations. From the point of view of culture, too, the Africa which had not the manioc, maize, or tobacco was quite a different country. It is principally due to the millet species that agriculture is so extensive a power

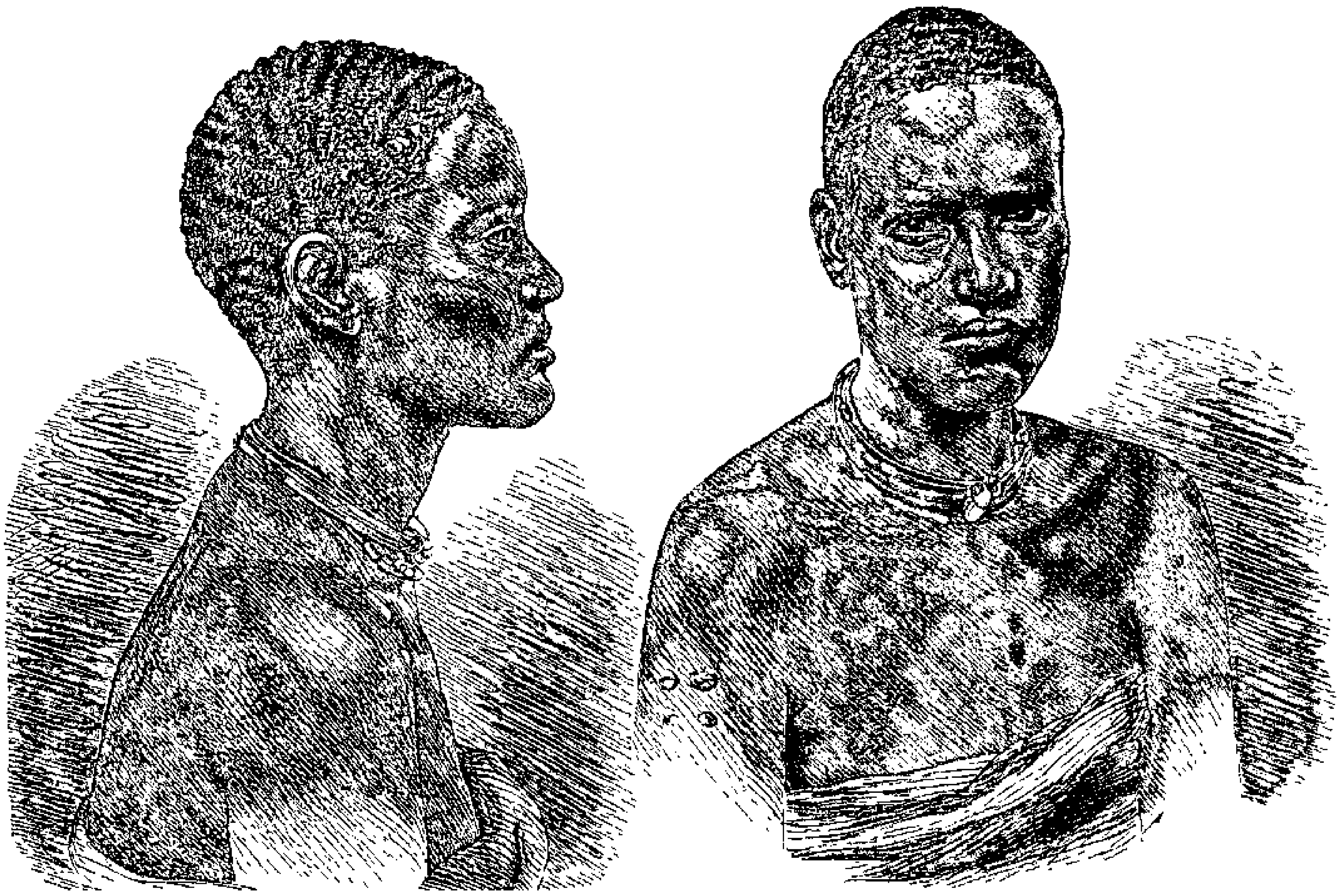
in Africa; but the origin of these valuable cereals is obscure. Unfortunately the family which of all useful plants are perhaps useful in the most directions, the palms, are far less represented here than in Asia and America. Yet the date-palm first made the north with its deserts habitable, and the oil-palm still furnishes the only article of African export which can compete with slaves and ivory.

Africa is in proportion to its size the richest land of the world in mammals; and since the most important domestic animals belong to this class, the conditions should here be favourable to the acquisition of them. Yet even here most are of non-African origin. The Africans breed cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, camels, horses, and poultry, and also keep dogs and cats; while it is a mark of the Ethiopian zoological province that the first five of these are altogether lacking in the wild state. There remains therefore only the ass—the horse does not appear on Egyptian monuments before the 18th dynasty—and the dog, which may be of native descent; the cat, which certainly is; with the guinea-fowl, or Numidian hen, as the ancients called it, and the universal honey-bee. From the abundant ruminants of the antelope species servants for man could surely have been obtained; the taming of the ostrich has indeed been effected with advantage in recent times. The African elephant, unlike the Indian, seems never to have been tamed—even Hannibal's elephants are supposed by many to have been of the Indian species; and it is doubtful whether we can, with Schweinfurth, see in his "relapse" an effect of the general retrogression of culture in Africa. A great portion of Africa is productive hunting-ground. With the exception of the Lower Egyptians, no race has ever been so exclusively devoted to agriculture or cattle-farming as not at times to have sought its subsistence in the chase, and purely hunting-races are distributed throughout Africa. There are water-nomads, too, who profit by the wealth of fish in the rivers. The deserts, wide regions of the west and of the wooded interior, are poor in animals. Mischievous animals, from the carnivora to the locust, are largely represented. After the Matabele wars of the 'fifties, the lions and leopards got so used to human flesh that they became quite a public nuisance on the Middle Zambesi. Elephants, rhinoceroses, and hippopotami devastate the fields, and the Cape buffalo is of all ruminants perhaps the most dangerous to man. There are crocodiles in all the waters from the Nile to the Orange River; but of poisonous snakes Africa has in general fewer than other hot countries. On the other hand, it has abundance of noxious insects of the dipterous and the locust families. Poisonous flies, above all the *tsetse*, exclude horses and cattle from wide districts in South and Central Africa.

A man of Fezzan. (From a photograph.)

On the other hand, in regions otherwise poor in animals, many of the *diptera* are of value for their *larvæ*, for the African lets nothing go to waste.

The position of the great mass of the African races towards other groups of mankind is given by their pronounced affinity to the Indo-Africans. Like India, Africa has received influxes from the north, but here the dark population could not be merged in the lighter invaders. In the permeation of the light elements with the dark, the latter have hitherto predominated in area, number, and vitality. We do not wish to break up Africa into racial territories, but to premise the



A Princess of Unyoro. (From photograph by R. Buchta.) See also vol. i. p. 95.

unity of by far the greatest part of the races of this quarter of the earth, and starting from this, regard the differences as varying shades.

Natural boundaries, such as might form an absolute check to migrating races, do not exist in Africa. The deserts no doubt make intercourse difficult, but yet allow it to filter through. As places of refuge they bring together fragments of the most remote races, and produce hybrids, few indeed in number, but widely distributed. The population of the oases in the Libyan Desert, once Berber, is on the way to become wholly Negro. Mountain-structure and river-systems have in Africa done more to link together than to separate. The only separating force left, then, is the spontaneous action of the peoples themselves. But in only one case, that of Egypt, have these raised themselves to the social level, one condition of which is a long sojourn in an abode. So far as we know their history and present state, all the others come under the conception of "natural" or of semi-cultured races; they have been unstable in every relation, races without permanence or cohesion, exposed in the highest degree to hybridisation, annihilation, or transforming renewal.

Shifting of abode is a characteristic of African races. Whether we take the word in the wider sense of nomadism, or that of wandering from one pasturage to another, or in the yet more limited sense of changes in the site of villages, instability is everywhere. Therewith culture remains essentially at the old mark. In Europe the movement of history has been preponderantly inward, here it has been outward. A certain ethnographical uniformity cannot deceive us as to the changes that proceed under this shell. The stationariness of everything is only apparent. If a race seems to keep its individuality in matters like tattooing, or mutilation of teeth, its blood yet keeps altering. Africa is above all other countries remote from civilization the agricultural quarter of the earth, and one showing a certain degree of settlement; but this, owing to the low stage of general culture, is weakened and limited in its operation.

A Nubian. (From a photograph.)

Under such circumstances we shall expect to find sharply-defined racial types only when foreign races have immigrated at no distant period; for any thing which has had time to develop would have been absolutely obliged to strive for assimilation. And in fact the sharp differences between the Africans proper have not maintained themselves; they are obsolete collective designations.

It is not meant that Africa from end to end is filled with a homogeneous mass of mankind; we wish merely to note that the right method is not to make a one-sided search after points of separation and consider these, but first to proclaim the points of community that are unquestionably present, and then only point out the variations. For this reason we apportion our task so as first to show, by way of introduction, the great common feature of African mankind, and then to indicate by individual descriptions how and why races here or there present themselves as peculiarly constituted.

The nucleus of the populations of Africa in respect both of geographical position and of mass, is Ethiopian; dark brown skin, woolly hair, thick—or rather everted—lips, and a tendency to strong development of the facial and maxillary parts. To such races Africa, south of the Great Desert, has belonged from the

earliest historical period, and the Desert itself probably once did belong. In the extreme south, in a compact group, and in small groups also in the interior, lives a light brown variety, of low stature. The north beyond the Desert, however, is inhabited by men in general of light colour, whether reddish like the Egyptians, or yellowish like the Arabs, showing curly rather than woolly hair, and a less conspicuous facial and maxillary development. The Berbers of the Atlas are even like southern Europeans. But the characteristics of the mass are not sharply opposed to the Ethiopian, deviating rather by way of mixture and attenuation.

That this is more than an idle assumption is shown by the history of the African races. From the earliest times of which we have any knowledge dark

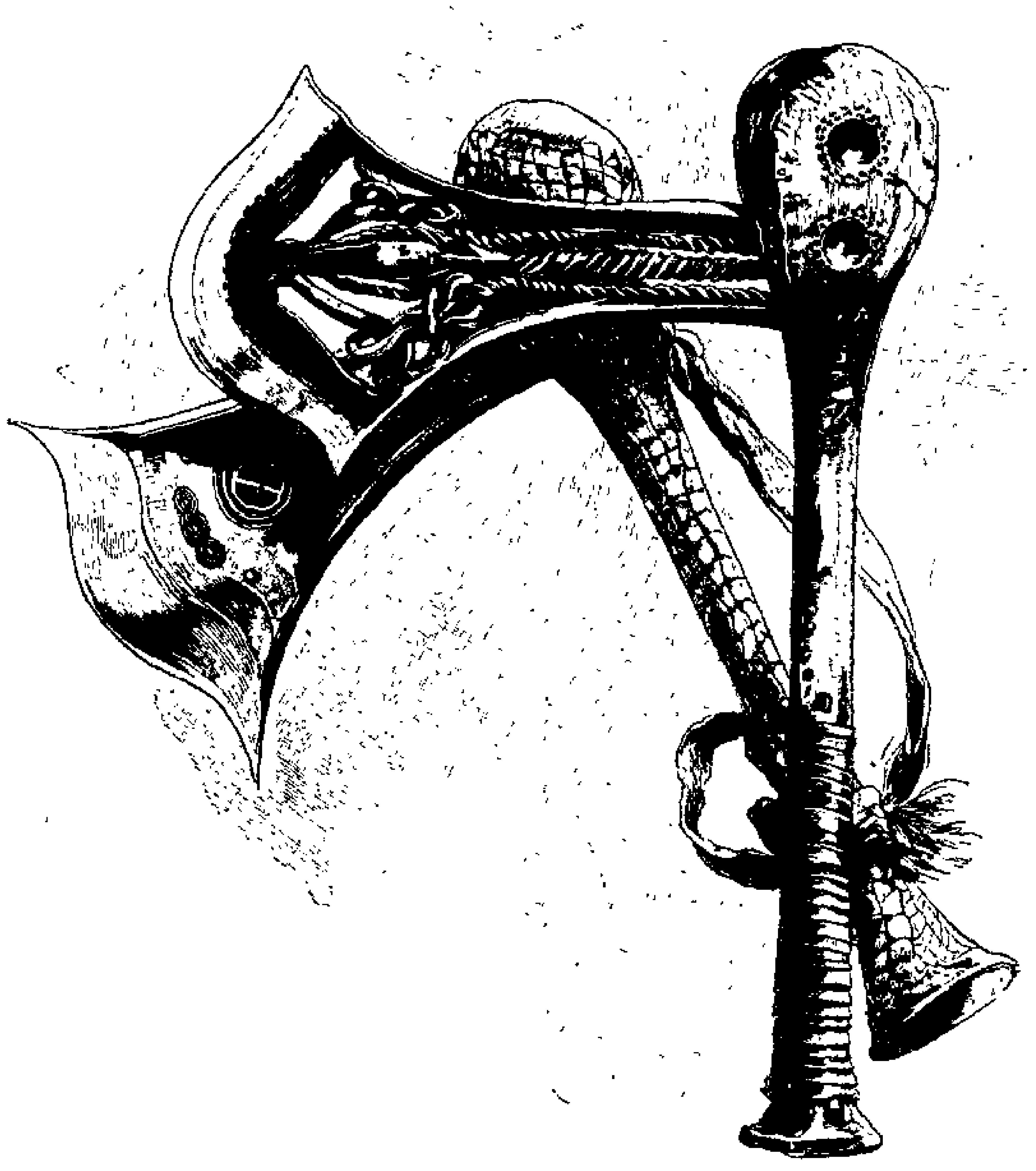
An elderly Hottentot. (*From a photograph by Professor Fritsch.*)

men have continually filtered through, chiefly by way of the slave-trade, to the lighter north. For this reason we may say with Fritsch that a general consideration of African ethnology shows the Soudan to have been the starting-point. It forms the middle member between dark and light Africa, apparently divided parts, out of which its mobile races have tended to make one whole. Negroes crossed the Alps with Hannibal, and fell at Wörth beside MacMahon. Whatever their original nature may have been, all this population must have been alloyed with a strong Ethiopian element, as our cut of a Fezzan man shows. The entire Semitic and Hamitic population of Africa has in other words a mulatto character which extends to the Semites outside Africa.

Imbedded in the dark complexioned population of Africa there are tribes whose type of feature approaches the nobler forms of white faces, although their colour is as dark as that of the typical Negro. An example is shown in the portrait on p. 244. Thus no necessary relation exists between colour and other physical characteristics. It is interesting here to note that to the more nobly-formed people among the dark Africans belong especially the tribes of the west side facing Arabia, and many on the north-west and west as far as the Benue. The Nubians, Abyssinians, Gallas, and Somalis, the Fulbes, Mandingos, Houssas, and others are included in these; but the Wahuma, Azandeh, and Monbuttus, the

"bronze-statues" from the Upper Congo to the Cameroons, form a second rank behind them, more of the Negro kind. Among some, foreign influence is demonstrable; among all it is probable. Even anthropologists like Quatrefages speak of signs of Semitic admixture among the Zulus; and see the portrait of Sandili on p. 13 of vol. i.

Thus in the mass of the African Negroes, we find the Bantus—properly Ba-Ntu, "men-folk"—predominant in the east and south marked off from the tribes that preponderate in the west and north. The Bantus live in regions that lie most open to Indian and Arabian, possibly also Malay, immigration; the west has been less exposed to influences of the kind. Africa as well as America shows a richer ethnological development on its inner than on its outer side. The so-called dwarfs, the light-coloured, woolly-haired, long-headed race of whom we have heard so much, come into line here; they formerly lived compact in the south part of the continent, and have sent only isolated outliers across the equator. Lastly, in the north a broad zone of half-Negroid, half-Caucasian mixed races extends from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, and across the desert to the shores of the Mediterranean. Thus we have two regions of pure Negroids, and two of mixed races.



Basongo chief's axes, engraved and embossed work, damascened with copper, the handles bound with copper wire and crocodile skin—one-fifth real size. (Wissmann Collection, Berlin Museum.)

As always happens, languages in Africa are more sharply divided than races. In the south the Khoi-Khoi (Bushman and Hottentot) group of languages show less similarity among themselves than do the speakers of them. Then follow the Bantu languages in an unbroken chain as far as the Equator. The languages of Central Africa are manifold. We must assume that at the point of meeting languages originally Bantu, and another or others of a northern type, have invaded and permeated each other. A fact which speaks with especial force in favour of their having arisen from amalgamation, is that in proportion as we go away from the region where Bantus and Hamites are in contact we find each language in its

respective territory displaying the greatest uniformity over wide distances and under quite dissimilar conditions. Lastly, the extreme north is shared between the Hamitic languages of the ancient Egyptians, the Libyan and Cushite tribes, immigrants probably from Asia, and the Semitic Abyssinian and Arabic.

To look for old connections between these languages which have hitherto been kept apart, will be in the future a main task of ethnography. Little has been done in this way. It was a stimulating idea of Lepsius that the Hottentot had come in from Asia with the Hamitic languages, while the Bantu were the original languages of the African aborigines; that the Soudanese or half-bred Negro tongues were to be derived from Hamitic and Bantu elements; and that the old connection between the Hamitic of North and South Africa had been dissolved by a second advance of the Bantu tribes who had in the first instance been driven back, whereby the mixed speech of the Negroes north of the equator had come into existence. Comparative philology can, however, afford any continuous assistance to such conclusions only by elucidating the more recent phases; for the rapid extension and changeable nature of the languages forbid us to search very deep.

Ethnographically, Africa belongs in its main sections to the southern domain, as explained in vol. i. p. 7, and falls entirely within the region of iron. It has gone through two periods of disintegration. If we compare work from the interior of Africa, which has not been touched by European influence, with Melanesian work, we are conscious of a dependence and impoverishment which has penetrated with the iron. The property and customs of the Negroes belong to a later stage of development. It is impossible to find any difference between certain Melanesian and African Negroes. In its northern section, however, Africa is not in sole possession of itself. The North Africans, who are reckoned with the Caucasian or Mediterranean stock, are found again in Western Asia and Southern Europe. The Asiatic origin of the Egyptians is asserted by serious inquirers, while for that of Arabs and Abyssinians there is historical evidence, and prehistoric monuments in the Atlas seem to point to ancient relations between the races of North Africa and Europe, to which may be added the scattered instances of blonde persons in the Atlas. It would be unjustifiable to try to establish the origin of the African populations without reference to the neighbouring portions of the earth. The favourite question as to autochthones must retire into the background.

As regards the relation borne by the light-coloured "dwarf" of something under 5 feet high in the south—a mere sprig on the stem of the Negro races—to the other Africans, especially to their next neighbours the Negroes, the physical resemblance of the two is undoubted, while the affinity of language is still indistinct. Similar relations prevail also between small races of Southern Asia, Negritos, Andamanese, Veddahs, and the Negroids of those parts; the stock evidently has a tendency to form dwarf varieties. Ethnographically the two halves are not solitary. The Hottentots are a pastoral race after the African kind, the Bushmen are hunters, with bows and poisoned arrows like the dwarfs of the Central African forests. The discovery of light-coloured, small races, resembling the Bushmen, in the interior of Africa has gone on pushing the limit of the light-coloured South Africans further to the north. In South Africa itself the two lighter groups, the pastoral and the hunting, may once have extended further

north than now; they have been pushed back by the Kaffir immigration, which no doubt took place from the north, furthest on the east side. The tribes of

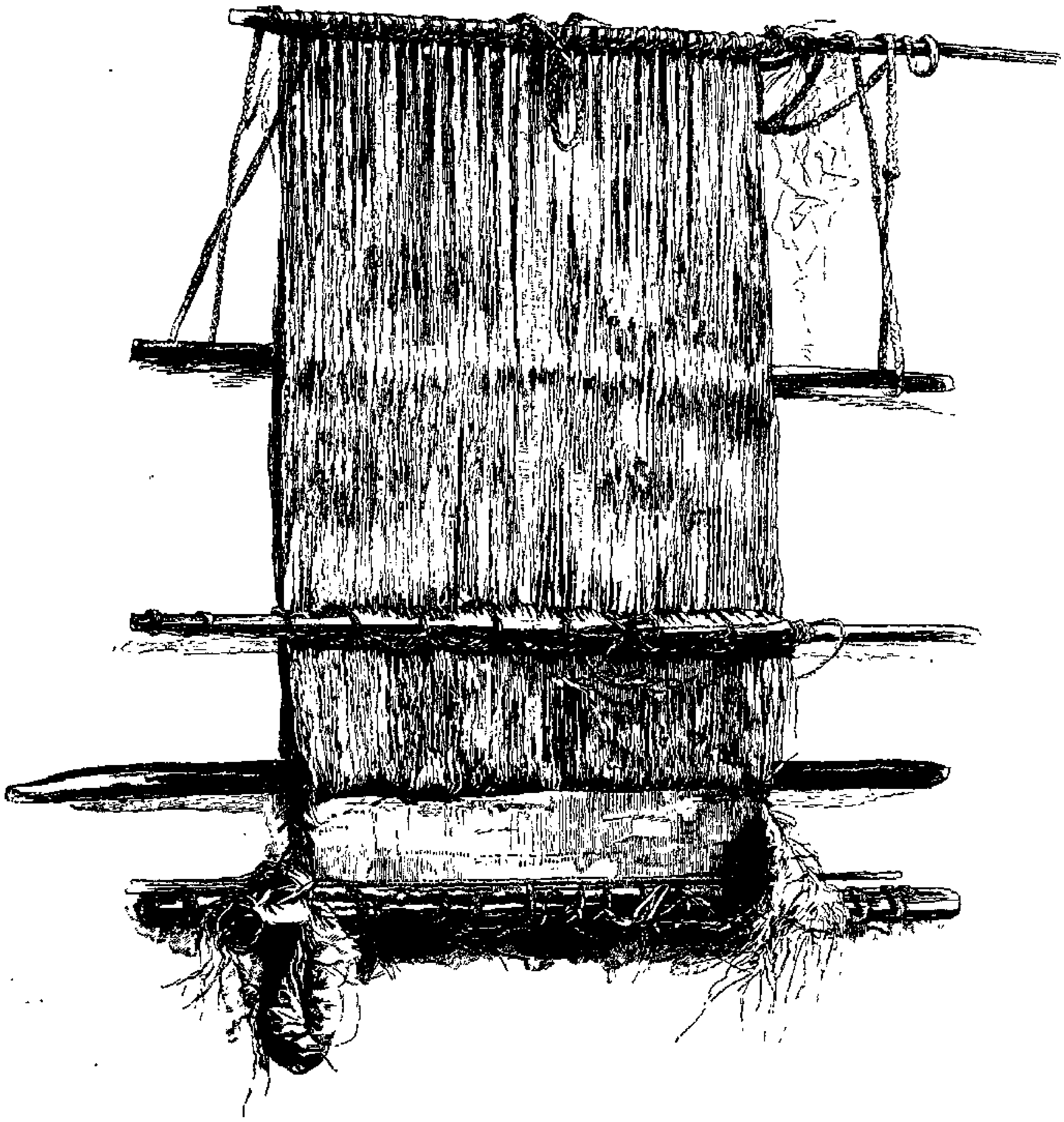
Herero women. (From a photograph belonging to the Barmen Mission.)

little hunters found in the interior of Africa are also absent from the East African highlands, and form properly a group belonging to West and Central Africa. In any case, however, these races are peculiar neither to Africa nor in Africa.

But to return to our consideration of the races from a geographical point of view. What are we to think as to the origin of the Negro? Looked at biologically, Africa appears as a peninsula of Asia, on which singularly many species and forms of creatures have continued to exist in a backward state. The seclusion towards the north due to the deserts must have lasted until seamen, better than Africans now are, from elsewhere, struck the coasts of Africa; it caused immigrants up to the desert limits to come principally by the circuitous route through Western Asia. On the continent of Asia mighty floods of races split up the Negroes and pushed them into the south and south-east; only Africa offered them space to expand undisturbed. The thing of most value to the history of mankind about the Negro peopling of Africa is that it affords the only example of a freely and broadly developed branch of the great Negro stock, which everywhere else is surrounded by a wide belt of retrogression. Since waves of people have often flowed across from Asia to Africa, whereas there is no authenticated case of a converse movement, analogy also is in favour of a Negro immigration from the eastward. If such immigrants found inhabitants already there, they must, owing to their small number, have found themselves compelled to be absorbed by the aborigines, even though they had the upper hand; and in this way mixed stocks would come into existence, outnumbering by a little the natives. But after this process, which we see embodied to-day in the Somalis and Swahelis, had been once and again repeated, and one wave after another from the east had surged on into the interior of the continent, the whole population became nearly uniform. Whoever thinks these repeated immigrations improbable should recollect that history tells us of four Semitic invasions, lasting in some cases for centuries: the Hyksos into Egypt, the Arabs into Abyssinia and the further parts of North and East Africa. While yet earlier in East Africa ancient Hamitic and Arab, perhaps also Indian influences, had extirpated or at least worn down much that was genuinely Negro, and while decomposition is the prescribed destiny of the western border, in the interior old things survived in a more genuine state.

Whenever the older African stock of culture points to any exterior source, it is to the east. Africa falls in great part within the limits of the distribution of iron, of the Indian ox and pig, of the domestic fowl. The iron industry of Southern Asia and the cattle-breeding of India are prominent points in African ethnography. Similarly agriculture, with its varieties of millet, in part of Indian origin, draws through Central and South Africa, Southern Arabia, and India (where the preponderance of millet over other food-crops is as a rule overlooked), a belt which joins on to that of rice in Eastern Asia, and lies south of that of wheat, barley, and rye. Madagascar alone forms a remarkable exception with its strongly predominant cultivation of rice and some maize. The fashion of covering the fore-arm and lower part of the thigh with brass or copper rings one over another, or sometimes in a connected spiral—often as much clothing as finery—is found in East and West Africa no less than among lower races in India. That ivory has money value and is highly esteemed in both regions is an ethnographical affinity based on zoology. The loom is essentially the same on both sides of the Indian Ocean. While among the races of Central Asia, the Hyperboreans, and the American Indians, the double-curved bow, with a depression in the middle, is predominant, the simple bent form is usual in

India and Africa. Other points of resemblance extend to New Guinea and into the Pacific. We need only notice the bows with knobs and strings of rattan on the Kassai and in North New Guinea: this can be no casual coincidence, it must be common origin. So, too, the contrivances for the hand-guard rest on a similar basis. If perhaps the great fact that the Africans possess iron may seem to contradict this view, recent research is ever more clearly bringing out the existence in former times of a Stone Age extending over Africa, the very con-



A Bakuba loom—one-tenth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

dition, that is, in which the majority of the Asiatic and Australian Negroes were at the time of their first contact with Europeans.

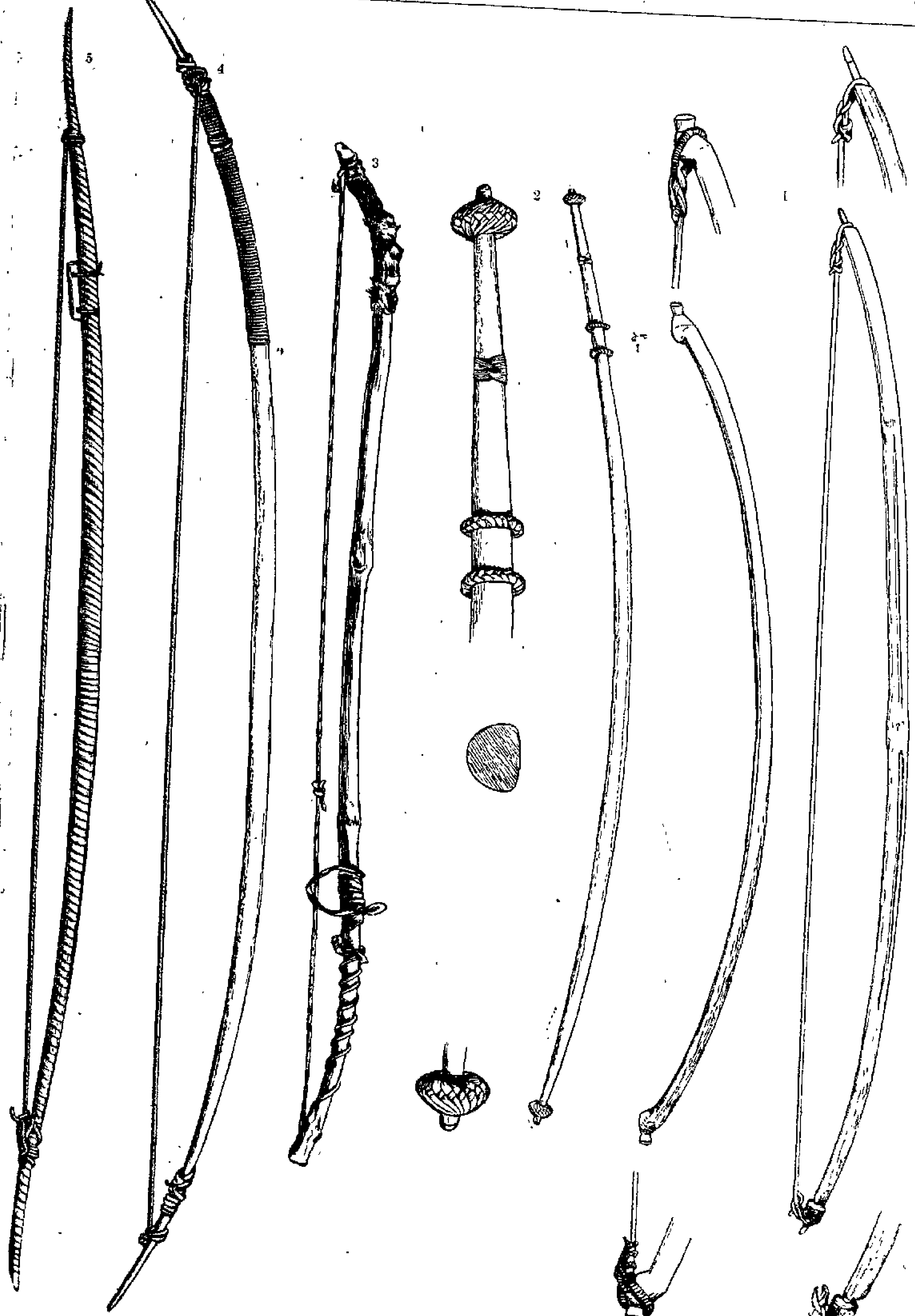
In the sphere of imagination again, the contact is often very intimate. Bleek has called attention to a number of points of agreement between the star-legend of Bushmen and South Australians. These races, who are jointly regarded as the most backward in culture, both possess an astounding wealth of legends and poems about a whole list of heavenly bodies. Besides this, obvious agreements occur in the legends. The Australians trace the origin

of the sun to an emu's egg which men of former days threw into the vault of heaven, the Bushmen to a man who was similarly thrown by his fellows. The Milky Way, according to the aborigines of Victoria, came into existence from the smoke of those men's fire, according to the Bushmen from ashes, which they threw into the sky. Both connect a bright star, the Australians Arcturus, the Bushmen Canopus, with wild food, for example, ants' eggs, which it teaches them to find. In the Magellanic clouds one race sees a pair of birds, the other a pair of antelopes. Peschel has called attention to the correspondence between South Africans and Fijians in curious legends relating to mortality. The Fijian story is that two gods, Moon and Rat, contended whether men should die and come back again like the moon, or die once for all like the rats. Rat got the best of it, and now men are mortal. Among the Hottentots the Moon sends the Hare to tell men that they shall fade away and come to life again as it does. The Hare gives the messages in the contrary sense, so the Moon throws a stick at it, and splits its upper lip. The Basutos make the Lizard bring the right message, but the Chameleon overtakes it with the wrong one, and men believe the Chameleon. It is impossible that these resemblances can all be casual.[1]

Of course, however, we must not overlook the possibility of an identical source which originally may have had very little to do with either. We are disposed to think of this especially in presence of the fables and tales of the yellow South Africans which often resemble those of Europe. The fragmentary condition in which the myth of Hephæstus and the Polynesian legend of Maui recurs here as a tale of a one-legged man, allows us to hear the common source only as a far-off rippling; but we cannot doubt that it once flowed in greater strength. In the highly-developed legal life of the Negroes too, foreign elements can be demonstrated. Negroes possess in a high degree the faculty and disposition for adopting foreign bodies of manners, and are poor in inventions of their own, which must affect, not only their material, but also their intellectual culture.

For this reason cultures of importance in the history of the world have found a permanent footing only on the borders; Africa has developed no Mexico or Peru. Instead of this, soil, climate, and human material have impressed an African stamp on germs introduced from abroad. This holds good, even of Egyptian culture. The "whence" of it is just now indifferent to us; what alone interests us is its "whither," that is the direction in which it radiated. The sceptre-knife of the Monbuttu chiefs, the Kaffir or Angolan woman's spindle for her cotton, the five-stringed guitar of the Niger, whole strings of customs about agriculture and cattle-breeding, in domestic affairs and in war, repeat those of Egypt, and at the same time those of ancient Asia, or at least have a strong ring of them. Then from Western Asia, Arabian culture took its course from the north and the east into the heart of the continent; and was approaching it when

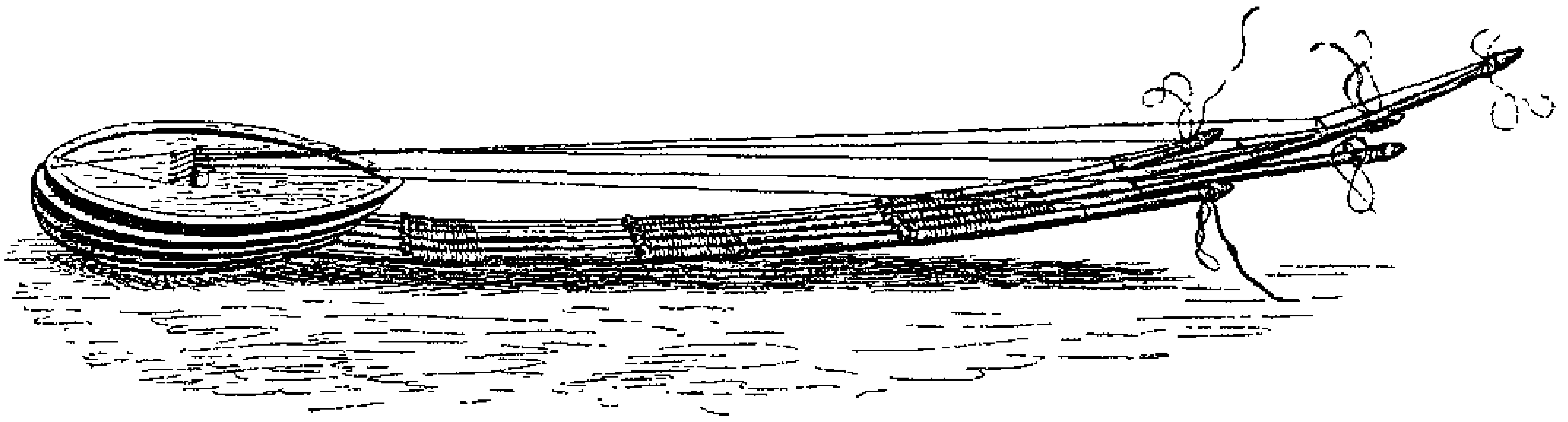
[1] [Many people will be inclined to think with Mr. Lang that "similar phenomena, presenting themselves to be explained by human minds in a similar stage of fancy and of ignorance, will account for the parallel myths." The present translator met with a case in which a little girl, wanting to indicate an article in common use, the name of which happened to form part of the name of her governess, described it by means of a periphrasis, explaining that "we never say that since Miss —— has been here." A similar etiquette with regard to chiefs' names prevails among Kaffirs, under the name of *Hlonipa*, and among various Pacific tribes. Did the English child borrow from them or they from her?]




Chief types of African bows: (1) Bangala bow (Schütt Collection); (2) Bakuba bow, with knobs of plaited rattan (Wissmann Collection); (3) Bow, probably Houssa, from the country inland from Togo (Zimmerer Collection); (4) Bow from Uha (Reichard Collection); (5) Bari bow, wound with an iron band (Piaggia Collection)—all in the Berlin Museum.

Europeans first began to follow in the footsteps of those "pioneers of civilization." It brought about the foundation of real centres of culture in the form of permanent states, large towns, numerous active races, but only in the Soudan, the natural region of passage from North to Central Africa. The Europeans who founded colonies on the north coast as early as the eighth century B.C., and in later times got a foothold, owing to the Roman dominion, from Numidia to Egypt, have, except in South Africa, remained on the border, and till quite recent times have had less influence than Arabs and Egyptians.

In alliance with stimulus from without, the interior of Africa has had a development of its own, variable no doubt, but wherever it has been undisturbed, copious. The striking point about African ethnography is that as we go towards the interior, the level of culture, so far as measured by the abundance and variety of its stock of possessions, by persistency in the conditions, by the prosperity and density of the population, is greater than in the outer districts. At the same



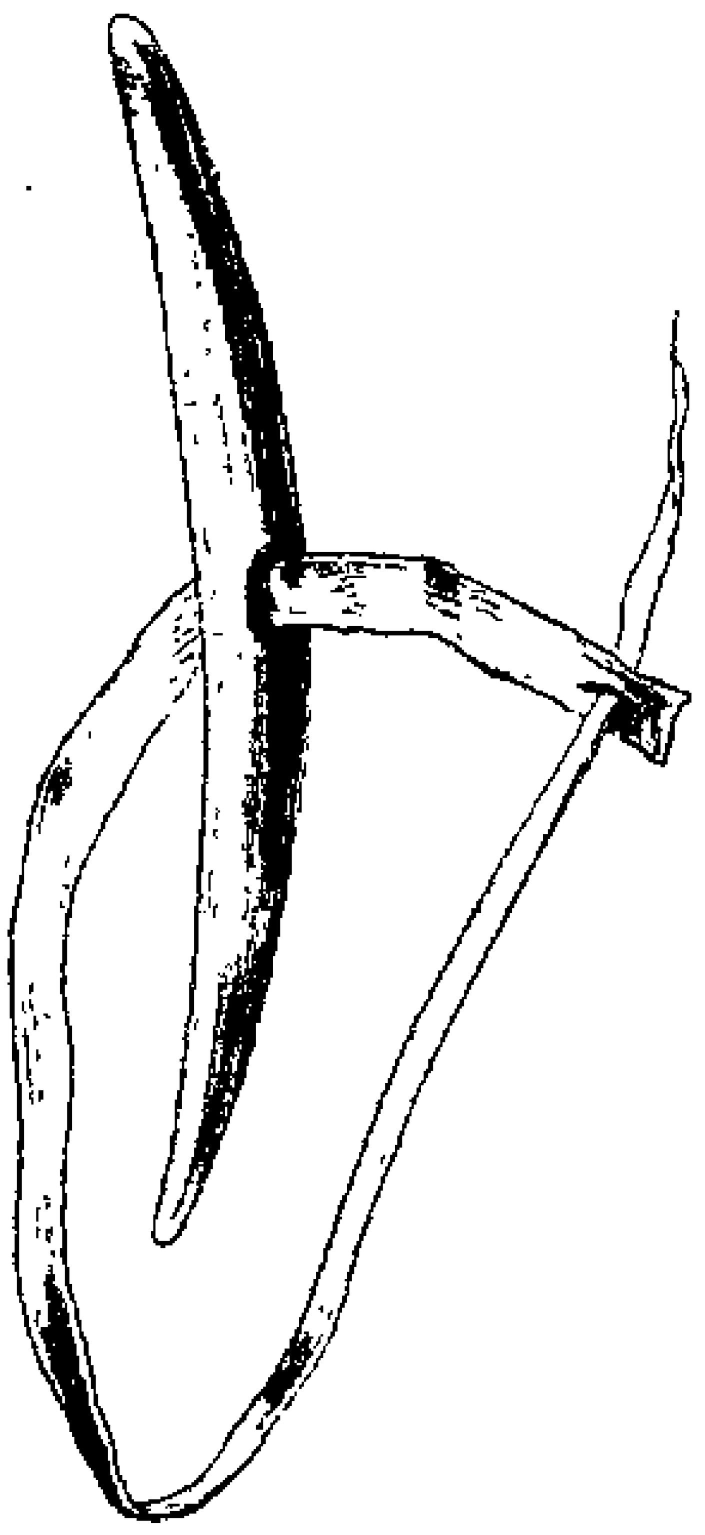
Guitar strung with grass strings, from West Africa—one-tenth real size. (Christy Collection.)

time we must not on this account speak of unexpected differences of culture within the circle of inner African races. From among the developments, in general low, which inner Africa has to show, more favoured outgrowths rise conspicuous, which, brightly as they may stand out from their surroundings, are still, when compared with the circle of Arab and Egyptian culture, not yet out of barbarism.

In connection with the question of the African capacity for development, and the possible points at which higher culture may take hold, we will give a closer glance at the points where a notable superiority to the standard of inner Africa is observable. No injustice is done to the "autochthonous civilizations" of the Monbuttus, the Waganda, the Bangala, and others, if we look for their superiority primarily in the material ingredients of culture. Therein they do but maintain the inmost essence of African culture; for it is just the contrast between the high development of the material side and the backward condition of the spiritual that gives African culture as a whole its peculiar character. In that industrious pursuit of agriculture and cattle-breeding beside so limited a development of political and religious institutions there seems to be something heavy, depressing, stationary. Hence, too, the astonishing regularity of its distribution. This condition of things bears, in the first place, the mark of an inland life, but has also a deep root in the Negro disposition, of which the chief strength lies not in dash, but in perseverance. The Negro is more industrious than people often think, nor is he so brutishly stupid as he was long, from interested motives, represented to be, but he seldom rises to spiritual heights.

One of the most important facts of African ethnology is the comparatively

numerous population. Even excluding Egypt with its teeming humanity, and including the thinly-peopled desert, Africa is better off for inhabitants than pre-European America or Australia. We do not believe that the prairies of North America were once uninhabited, but they were never so densely peopled as the grass country at the back of the Cameroons, or on the north bank of the Ubangi. Without cattle-breeding or iron, the provision of means of subsistence for a population at that stage of civilization numbering more than two to the square mile would be altogether too difficult. But if in the more favoured lands of Central Africa the density is five to eight times as large, one may say that this quarter of the globe shares, with Southern Asia, not only many valuable elements in the store of culture, but also the operation of them upon a dense population. The usual estimate in the present day for Africa is 200 to 206 millions of men, of which the more accurately known lands and colonies in North and South Africa, the deserts, and the islands, account for about 30 millions. If, however, in the future from 30 to 50 millions have to be deducted from the 170, which are almost entirely based upon estimates, in part exaggerated, even so large districts of Africa will still appear thickly peopled. But these figures are too limited and fluctuating to allow us to generalise from them. The estimate based upon the alleged dense population of Manyema and Monbuttu-land not only overlooked the difference in the distribution of population caused by the lower level of culture in the Negro countries, devoid as they are of towns and roads, of a large trade, and of the industries which feed it, but also other ethnographic peculiarities which make irregularity, resulting from instability, the most essential characteristic in the geographical distribution of the Negroes. The natural features too, which bring the domains of nomadism close to those of settlement, are not enough considered. In short, those estimates suffer from the essential defect of assuming a geographical and anthropological continuity which is actually to be found neither in the natural condition nor in the population of Africa. The impression already made by the inexhaustible export of slaves that Africa was a land specially fertile in men remains indeed in existence, but the view that from individual instances of density we may conclude a universal density, as in our own civilized lands, must be controverted.



Hand-guard used by the south-eastern Masai in shooting with the bow. (After Stuhlmann.)

If we test the accounts, we find prominence given to settlements in favourable positions on rivers and trade-routes, which again are just those most visited by travellers, to small states that have exceptionally been left undisturbed, and to European colonies, where the coloured race also shares in the blessings of a strict administration. Between these lie wide regions, thinly-peopled, even uninhabited. And these abrupt and frequent intervals have their causes deep in the nature of the continent and the stage of culture of its people; for the very minimum of population, absolute emptiness, is to be found also in civilized regions, or their frontiers. To what maximum Negroes can attain with their ways of management,

their family, their civil society, we can learn only from experience; and here it might appear that the population had never been denser than in the Shillook country. In 1871 there were in the Shillook territory proper, according to an estimate, some 3000 villages with a population of a million. According to this there must have been on the average more than 333 people to the square mile, over the 300 or so square miles, inhabited by the Shillooks in Schweinfurth's time, on the banks and the islands of the White Nile. We shall have to refer to the attraction which water-supply exercises on settlement. But often this too soon finds its limits; the population on the Lower Congo and the Lower Ugowe is thin. Above all, however, a dense population anywhere in Africa always presumes the neighbourhood of a thinly-peopled region, if it be not surrounded therewith. This causes a further difficulty in proceeding by way of averages. If the dense population is warlike as in Uganda, it depopulates the neighbouring countries by its raids. If it wants to live in peace, it shuts itself off by a border region which may only be occupied by little hunting-settlements, like those of the Batwas in Central Africa, and which in the case of the smaller states demands as much—with the Nyam-Nyams even more—space than the populous region. As a third case we have the broad thinly-inhabited hunting region of the Dinkas on the eastern bank of the White Nile, where the Shillooks have the western bank.

A Nyam-Nyam. (From a photograph by R. Buchta.)

The weaker hold on the soil causes fluctuations unheard of among Europeans, even in colonial districts. Thus whole colonies of Mittoos, who would not submit to the lordship of the Arabs, moved into the Nyam-Nyam country. Even races previously and subsequently settled migrate in order to escape political oppression or danger.

European colonial policy has thus to reckon here with the living and replenishing force possessed by a stock long at home in their vast country, with a stock capable of increasing rapidly, and losing none of its force under civilization, in spite of the diseases that have made their way in with it. It sounds melancholy no doubt when Brazza, writing in 1885 from the Congo, says: "It is wretched to see the spread of syphilis in these villages (where the Alima joins the Congo). Men, women, and children are covered with ulcers." But numerous medical men since Lichtenstein have given it as their opinion that these diseases have a less destructive effect on Africans than on Europeans.[1] Smallpox, measles, consumption, influenza, and all the various scourges of American Indians, Australians, Polynesians, Northern Asiatics, have never depopulated wide districts in Africa,

[1] [So Livingstone, *Missionary Travels* (1857), p. 128.]

unless in the south, where sources of aid are rare and the population is always thin. The retrogression had more the character of a social phenomenon. Kidnapping, slavery, polygamy, cannot but destroy the natural composition of the population and check increase. Among the warlike and predatory Waganda, for example, there are, according to Felkin, seven women to two men.

It is assumed of a number of African races that they are hybrids; hardly one has been designated by all observers as wholly pure. And even when we consider those which have sprung up in historical times from the combination of known elements, no other portion of the earth offers so many, so large, and so influential hybrid races; the Moors to the north, the Soudanese to the south of the Desert, the Swahelis in the east, and the Bastaards in the south. And in this it is not merely a case of a little drop of African blood, but it takes the first place; we must not call it Europeanization or Arabization, but Negroization. On the east coast this process can be observed in the descendants of Arabs, on the west in those of Portuguese and Negro women. Similarly the population of the Libyan Desert, of Fezzan, even of Morocco itself, is in a fair way to become Negro.

It is in their numbers that the historical force of the Africans has hitherto lain. Masses of them have been thrown on to the coasts of Asia, America, and even Europe. In America whole islands, as San Domingo and Jamaica, have fallen to the share of the Negroes; several States of the Union, as well as Nicaragua, show Negro majorities, and in Brazil all classes are permeated by the Negro element. As a rule, indeed, they have remained patiently in lower walks of life, thereby not belying the basis of their historical character. Their capacity for education, however, is by force of circumstances gradually being realised in results that may, at perhaps no very remote epoch, materially alter our judgment as to the capacity and historical destiny of the stock.

Even in earlier days a deeper thinker might not have agreed with our great, but in this respect short-sighted historical philosophers, who held that Africa was only in the ante-chamber of universal history. The land which bore Egypt and Carthage will always be of importance in the world's history; and even the transplantation without their own will of millions of Africans to America remains an event having most important consequences. But since Africa, both politically and economically, has been brought nearer to us, the above-mentioned idea has had altogether to give way. That continent, the greatest portion of which longest remained a *terra incognita*, has suddenly been called on to play a great part in the history of the expansion of the European races. In our days Africa has become the scene of a great movement, which must fix its destiny in history for thousands of years. While a century ago the great political and trading powers were still merely hanging on like leeches to its outskirts, to-day the "spheres of interest," domains of power of which the extent is not yet known even to their owner, are meeting in the far interior of the continent. Herewith for the first time Europeans are coming into close connection with the most vigorous shoot of the dark branch of nations, on the soil most appropriate to it, but to them in the first place by no means favourable. Now it will be decided whether much or little of these, the oldest of all now living stocks, will pass into the mankind of the remoter future. And that is one of the greatest problems of the history of the world, which must be the history of mankind.

## § 2. THE LIGHT-COLOURED SOUTH AFRICANS IN GENERAL

Position of the light-coloured South Africans among the African races—Relations of Bushmen to Hottentots—The Hottentot languages—Ethnographical agreements and traditions.

ONE section of African humanity, peculiar in build, languages, and partly also in customs, dwells in the peninsular southern angle of the continent, especially in the west and south. It lives under unfavourable conditions; there is nowhere much space for agriculture, and thousands of square miles are too stony for pasturage. Add to this the absence of intercourse due to the corner or border

Two Namaquas. (*From photographs belonging to the Barmen Mission-house.*)

position, which existed till Europeans established themselves on the coasts, and it will be understood how much these races suffered from lack of the gifts of culture. In all the outlying corners of the earth, Tierra del Fuego or Tasmania, Labrador or Lapland, we see the same picture; only here we have in addition the deeper anthropological distinction of low stature and light colour of skin. Their languages are undoubtedly peculiar. The most obvious suggestion, to see in this the effect of seclusion under less favourable natural conditions, is opposed by the sporadic occurrence of similar races in the most various parts of Central Africa. But even if those appear as the only compactly preserved fragment of a population that was once far more widely spread, and that has been pushed back by the dark Negro tribes which are dominant to-day, we cannot divest ourselves of the thought that in these small light-coloured stocks we have to see not an ordinary variation, but what Virchow calls "a limb that has retrograded a long way," of the Negro stem.

At all events the older Portuguese and Dutch found genuine Negroes on the

Sofala coast, at the mouth of the Quama, etc. The east, being favourably situated, was taken possession of by the advancing Kaffirs; their present frontier towards the Hottentots and Bushmen forms a line almost bisecting South Africa from Lake Ngami. The tribes formerly settled here had to content themselves with the west side. May not the low position of these light-coloured Africans be ascribed, in the first place, to their removal into unfavourable conditions of life? Besides this the Bushmen had to fight with the Kaffirs for their hunting-grounds, the Hottentots for their pastures; while the closer they were pushed together the more they were forced mutually into the old inevitable strife between hunter and herdsman. The inherited enmity between Bushmen and Hottentots has, however, contributed to keep the old racial characteristics sharply distinct.

The anthropological relations of the two light-coloured races of South Africa, if impartially regarded, lead to the conclusion that the Bushman displays purer and more sharply stamped characteristics than the Hottentot; though it must not be overlooked that to the north of his territory he too becomes stronger and darker. If we take as common features the small stature, the light, wrinkled skin, the small hands and feet, the hair felted into the appearance of peppercorns, and among the women the fat hinder parts, and the so-called "Hottentot apron," we find all this more persistent among the Bushmen. Their character too, is more decidedly savage. Even if certain physical distinctions may be explained by the probably different degrees of crossing, the abrupt contrast in the mode of life always remains. The Hottentots have the following legend of the origin of the Bushmen's mode of life: In the beginning there were two men. One was blind; the other was a hunter. The hunter found a cave out of which wild animals came, and he killed the young ones. The blind man groped about and smelt and said, "That is no game, that is cattle." After that he got his sight and saw that it was cows with their calves. Then he built a kraal and smeared himself as the Hottentots do. Now the hunter was hard put to it to track his game, and when he saw what the other did, he thought he would smear himself too. "Look here," said the other, "before using the ointment you must throw it into the fire." But the flames blazed up and burnt his face sadly, so that he was glad to run away. But the other called after him in mockery, "Take your club, and run into the mountains; you can look for honey there." This was the origin of the Bushmen.

The Hottentots approach the Kaffirs in their manner of tending their herds; they also have many customs in common with them, and with all their physical and linguistic differences, may be regarded as ethnographically connected with them. Those who have wished to make a sharp separation between them on the ground that among the Hottentots the women milk the cows, while among the Kaffirs this is strictly forbidden, though it recurs among the North-East Africans, overrate the value of such isolated variations. That the Hottentots worship the moon in a larger proportion than the Negroes, who are said to subscribe rather to the belief in ancestors, is not a view that can be wholly maintained. These herdsmen, taking one thing with another, are in the same stage of culture. The Bushmen, on the other hand, are equally far removed ethnographically from both. The opinion that the weakening of the Hottentot characteristics may be the result of crossing with Bantu tribes, with whom they share the pastoral life, has many adherents. And there seems no doubt that the Gonaquas, who have

long disappeared from the scene, but were reckoned among the Hottentots, stood nearer to their dark neighbours not only in externals but in the numerous Kaffir words they used; and they have passed into the Kaffirs by intermixture. As far as concerns the Hottentots of to-day, Fritsch has also admitted the possibility of their hybrid character. The view that there are no longer any pure Bushmen, or at most only in the most inaccessible spots of South Africa, has been frequently expressed. Those similarities may, however, extend further than their nearest neighbours, and what is universally African may appear under the garb of a loan from the Kaffirs. Hottentot legends often turn up again among the Kaffirs. The Hottentot water-sprite—half man, half crocodile—haunts the Kaffirs under the name of Hilihili. The *gora* belongs alike to both. The Kaffirs borrow their words for sheep and horse from the Hottentots. The "clicks" of the Kosas, Zulus, Bayeye, and others have perhaps a common origin. In this connection the occasional occurrence among Kaffir races of bows and poisoned arrows may be mentioned. Moreover, even traces of a recognition of Bushman law are found in Kaffirland, when the Amapondo abandon to the hated Bushmen the best piece of the slaughtered game. No doubt the ancient southward migration of the Kaffirs, which would, but for European opposition, have certainly advanced on the east side as far as the extreme south point, has caused an exchange in many cases of ideas, knowledge, and customs, and a mixture of blood. Thus after all the labour of two centuries we have got happily back to the opinion with which Peter Kolb concludes his discussion of the resemblances between Hottentots, Jews, and Troglodytes: "For my part I make bold to think that we have here primitive African peoples, who, being continually dislodged, and as time went on chased ever further from their ancient abodes, welded themselves together no less out of those Jews who were carried hither, than out of other peoples of Africa, and Carthaginians in particular, and at last betook themselves to this extreme point of the land. And seeing that there were so many and various nations, one was ever taking somewhat from another, and each alike forgetting its own peculiar customs; so that by this time a state of confusion is found among them." Robert Hartmann, again, observing only actual points of affinity, found among Bushmen and Hottentots, in spite of some national transformation, much that was the property of the Negro stock; their physical and mental being was not wholly remote from that of the Niger tribes. Even manners and customs, together with many peculiarities, presented much that was universal and of original African growth.

Passing over the hypothesis of Bleek and Lepsius, built upon a linguistic and weak ethnographic foundation of North African and West Asiatic affinities, we may here draw attention to the far-extending points of resemblance, both in mode of life and in bodily build, between the Bushmen and the so-called dwarf races of the interior. But in what relation did the Bushmen stand to their neighbours of Kaffir and Hottentot stock before they had been broken up and disintegrated by the invasion of the Europeans? We know that with the decrease in the game, and the advance of the cattle-breeders, the Bushmen have become more and more dependent on the Hottentots and Bastaards. But it would be much more interesting to know whether these hunting tribes, in a primitive division of labour, did not stand towards their pastoral and agricultural neighbours as the dwarf tribes do towards theirs. John Mackenzie speaks of the "Bushmen

who belong to Sechele or to the tribes in his neighbourhood," and of "the other Bushmen belonging to the Bamangwato and scattered over the country as far north as the Zambesi; and compares their position with that of the Bakalahari and Baharutse, who "similarly are serfs in Bechuanaland." Such a position may certainly be assumed for the Bushmen of the Ovampo country, and the Bushmen when more numerous are said to have saved the Basutos by means of their hunting at a time when Chaka had carried off all the cattle of the tribe. This kind of association, half as serfs, half as allies, is certain to lead to crossing.

In language, Bushmen and Hottentots are undoubtedly akin. If the former are less well off for words and forms, they agree completely in the principles of word-formation and transformation and in syntax. The relation of one to the other, says Bleek, is somewhat that of English to Latin, and they are sharply

A Bushman. (From a photograph by Dr. Fritsch.)

separated from the languages of their darker neighbours to the east and north. The Bushman language is less well known, but the Hottentot places the much-worn inflexion after the root; thus from *khoi* "human being," we have *khoib* "man," *khois* "woman," *khoigu* "men," *khoitu* "women," *khoin* "people." Its second peculiarity is the distinction of gender, to which some philologists have attached an exaggerated importance. The Bushman dialects do not possess it. The harmonious sounds, the prepositions, the nominal prefixes of the Bantu languages are absent. But what gives its strangest character to the outward form of the Hottentot language are the clicks, which are found to a similar extent in the Bushman languages only, where indeed they are even more abundant. Sounds produced by the gums and tongue such as we only use to express regret or annoyance, or to stimulate a horse, are here deeply embedded in the structure of the language; which causes the peculiar difficulty of acquiring these tongues. Yet on this point, too, exaggerations are more in favour than the facts justify.

In conclusion, we may point to some indications of the antiquity of the races in these regions. In the energetic husbandry of Europeans stone weapons are constantly being ploughed up on the "karoo." Most of them consist of quartzite, and are so like the palæolithic axes and arrow-heads of Europe that they might be

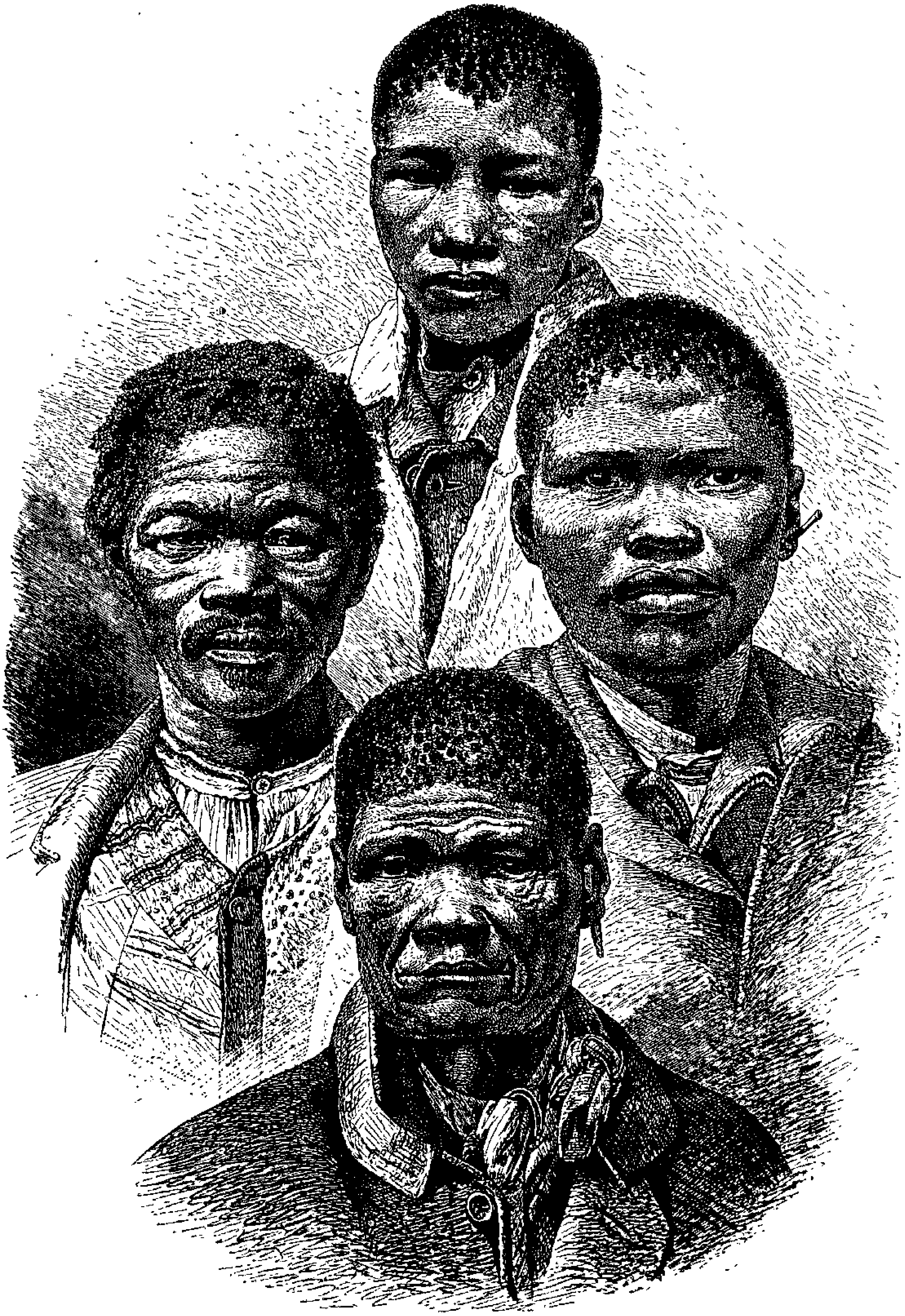
taken for them, only that these latter lie in the drift, and are therefore almost certainly much older. Also in Cape Colony old stone implements have been found, including forms which were no longer in use even among the stone-armed Bushmen of the seventeenth century; spear and arrow-heads, knives, axes, and numerous stone cores, as well as stones like those which the Bushmen now use as weights for graves. These are as a rule roughly hewn; only the regular notching of the edges testifies to more careful work. In the Cape Flats, coarse earthenware, such as often occurs in the shell-heaps on the South African coast, was found in company with stone implements of this kind; not, however, on the surface, but covered with sand and growing turf, so that it was not discovered till the latter was removed and the former blown away. Among the Hottentots reminiscences of the use of stone weapons are said to be still found.

## § 3. THE BUSHMEN[1]

Place of abode and numbers—Physical build and capacity; nomad life; cruelty and courage—Clothing and ornament—Weapons—Dwellings, implements, arts and dexterities—Family life—Political condition—Inklings of religion; modes of burial; legends and beast-fables.

THE Bushmen formerly shared South-West Africa with the Hottentots, and extended further toward the east and north. Even in pre-European times their distribution, in accordance with their mode of life, was as sporadic as that of their Central African kinsmen. The Europeans found them at the Cape—George Spilberg, who explored and named Table Bay in 1601, notices their mulatto-like colour, their hideous faces, their leanness and fleetness of foot—and broke them up still more. Driven back into the mountains and deserts, they lead a miserable existence as compared with the Hottentots. Only in a few districts are they found together in larger numbers—chiefly in the great Bushman Land towards the Orange River. At the beginning of this century they were still dwelling immediately north of the Lower Bokkevelt, but by Lichtenstein's time they were already disturbing the Roggevelt. It has never been possible to get them on to "reservations," partly from their own dislike to it, partly from opposition on the part of the Boers. It is only at the foot of the Stormberg that Bushmen live in company with Fingoes and Hottentots. In Namaqua Land on both sides of the Aub they escape subjugation only by scattering and roaming about in the most desert regions. They live, too, further on in the more productive belt bordering on the Kalahari desert, the interior of which is occupied by broken-up Bakalahari and other Bechuana tribes. Here they form large tribes with a fairly regular organisation. Among the Ovambo as far as the Cunene River their position fluctuates between servitude and freedom. To the west and north-west of

[1] The name "Bushman," written also Bosjesman, was given by the English and Dutch colonists, and needs no explanation. It may, however, not be superfluous to point out that this general name is also given to some tribes of the west coast who have nothing to do with these Bushmen. They call themselves San, the plural of Sab, or Sagua. The name has been variously interpreted as "outcasts," "subjects," "settled people." An official document of Cape Colony, dating from 1685, says that "Captain Claas, a Hottentot chief, is at war with the Sonquas, commonly called Bushmen." The Kaffirs, when they come in contact with them, call them Batoa, probably equivalent to "Batua," their general designation for strangers. Compare "Batwa," the name given to the dwarfs of the interior.



Bushmen of Cape Colony. (From photograph.)

Lake Ngami they live in a state of independence. East of that lake the Madenassana tribe between the Zuga and the Zambesi is noted as specially vigorous and specially dark. Five days' journey again to the north of the lake they were found by the Swedish sportsman Andersson, and further east by Livingstone in subjection to the Bayeye and Bechuanas. This carries their frontier and therewith the distribution of the yellow South African races generally to 17° South latitude, that is to the same region where Dampier speaks of the "Hottentots of Monomotapa," who no doubt were Bushmen. Anderson

Bushman women with *kaross*, amulet, and ornaments. (From a photograph by Dr. Fritsch.)

the surveyor at all events places the most northerly Bushmen at 15° S. on the Upper Kubango, and says that Bushmen of the Kaikaibrio, Masarwa, and Kasaka clans are the only constant inhabitants of the country between the Kubango, the Chobe, Ovamboland and Damaraland.[1] As regards the east, some few Bushmen live, according to Merensky, on the high flats between Olifants River and the Vaal, and Wangemann heard so late as 1867 that they came out of the Drakensberg and took toll of Langalibalele's herds. Isolated ruins of Bushmen's kraals are found on hills in the Orange Free State. This gives them in the east an extension not further than 25° S. A good hundred years ago, however, Sparrmann found them as far as the pasturages on Sunday River and in the region about the sources of the Great Fish River, but so sparse that for days together no kraal would be seen. The most southerly rock-drawings undoubtedly of Bushman origin, but not very ancient, are found in the Engoro

[1] [*Sic;* but, to judge from the map, it looks rather like saying that the Genoese and Provençals dwell between the Loire, the Rhine, Poitou, and Spain.]

Mountains in Damaraland, where to-day no Bushmen are known far or near. They are well-executed in ruddle, and represent hunting-scenes, so faithfully drawn that each kind of animal can at once be recognised. In the scattered and dependent life of these people crossing cannot be uncommon. Apart from the Nama-Bushmen of western South Africa, degraded hybrids from Hottentots, Mountain Damaras, Hereros, and no doubt also whites, the genuine Bushmen where they are not dying out are on the road to being absorbed by their neighbours. Even now quite half of them must be regarded as mixed. In the Kalahari, as Dr. Schinz kindly informs me, out of 5000 Bushmen, 3000-3500 are still of unmixed blood.

The most conspicuous thing in the Bushman's external appearance is the smallness of him. Fritsch found the average height of six grown men to be

A Bushwoman. (From a photograph by Dr. Fritsch.)

4 ft. 9 in. Older, but less trustworthy measurements gave even a lower figure. Schinz, however, in the Kalahari puts his smallest Bushman at 4 ft. 11 in., his tallest at 5 ft. 4½ in. No difference in height appears between men and women; Fritsch's average from five Bushman women was one-sixth of an inch more than for the men. The build is slim, and the limbs very lean, to the point of emaciation. Even the children show little of the round outlines of childhood. The amount of fat under the skin is extremely small in both sexes; hence the skin itself is as dry as leather, not unlike morocco, and falls into strong folds about the belly and at the joints. The effluvium of the skin, which is so striking in the true Negro, is not found in the Bushman. The ground-tint is reddish, passing into copper. Weak development of hair corresponds to the lack of strength in the skin. The individual hairs are tightly rolled up, and form as in the Hottentots felted knots like peppercorns. In age the hair becomes grey, but baldness is seldom seen. There is none of the usual fine downy hair on the body, though a weak stubbly growth appears in the parts where hair usually grows; on the face it is often the moustache alone that shows. The pendulous belly is for the most part peculiar to young persons. The generally angular sunken outlines resulting from leanness form a sharp contrast to this hanging protuberance, which draws in the lower region of the loins in an unsightly fashion. On the other hand, the

extreme mobility of the lumbar vertebræ produces an enviable faculty of curling up in the smallest possible space. On the lean limbs the cords of muscle often project under the slack skin like those of mummies. Hands and feet are proportionately even smaller than in the Hottentots. The deposit of fat on the buttocks is not so much developed as among the Hottentot women.

The face, with its broad forehead, slight prominence of the cheek-bones, and lateral broadening of the lower jaw, may be compared to a rectangle. The eyes are placed horizontally, but often a little obliquely. The look is shy and savage. The nose is depressed at the root, turned up at the tip. The mouth is wide, the lip moderately everted, the whole region of the jaws projects and the skin is rounded, so that the lower part of the face often has quite the shape of a muzzle. The Bushman skull, like that of the Hottentot, is long and low. The difference between the male and female pelvis is striking. All parts of the skeleton are compactly built. May not the somewhat tender structure of the bones be the reason why the Bushmen often suffer from sunstroke? They are also very subject to malaria. This physical capacity is to be sought rather in endurance than in momentary manifestations of strength. With their light and sinewy build they are admirable as runners both for staying power and speed. They successfully pursue certain kinds of game on foot. The acuteness of their senses is a result of their training; they are unsurpassable in seeing and tracking. They have great capacity of enduring hunger and thirst, and of rapidly recruiting; otherwise so casual a life as that of the Bushmen would be inconceivable.

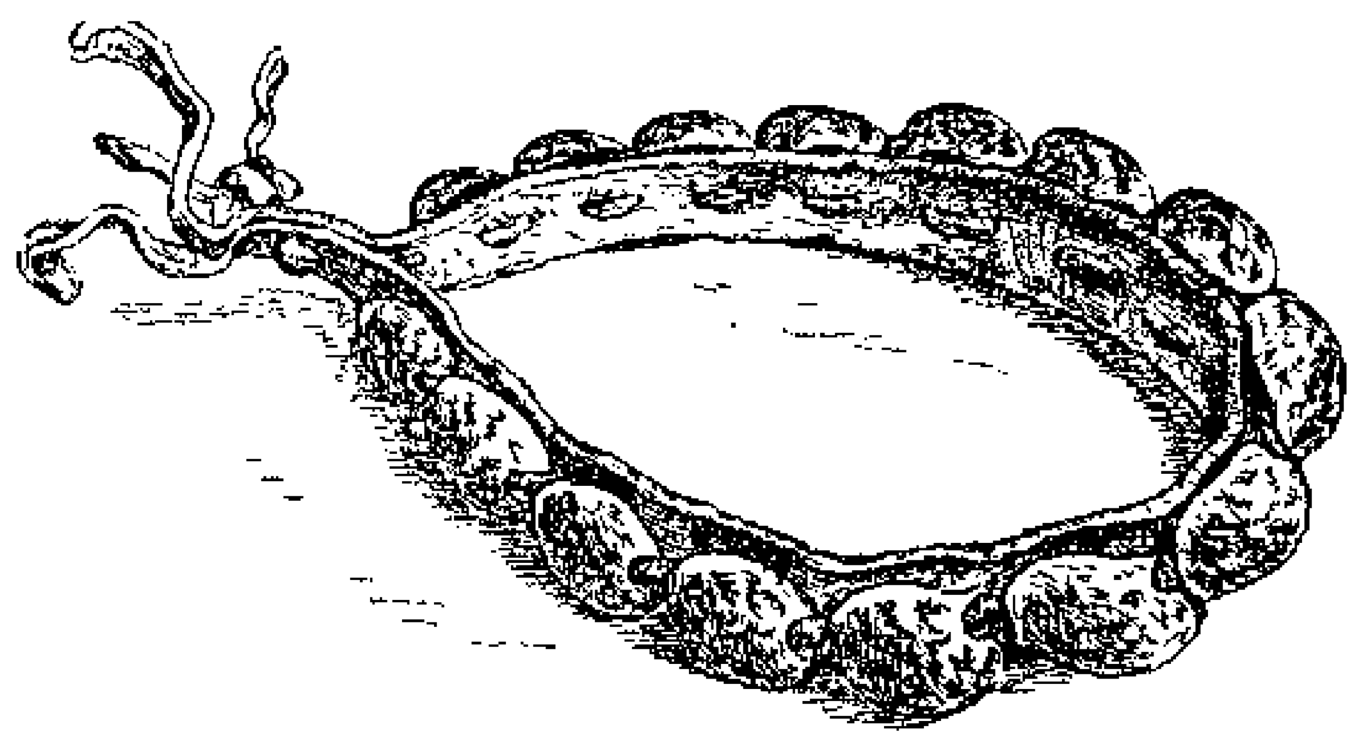
A Bushboy. (From a photograph by Dr. Fritsch.)

It is difficult to determine the intellectual and emotional status of people as wild as these. Intellectual capacities, will be mostly devoted to the sustenance and enjoyment of life; and we are therefore led to infer their endowments mainly from the ability shown in the pursuits which are necessary to support life—in the present case, that of hunting. Besides this we may note some fragmentary ideas about the supernatural, some faded and confused traditions. These exhaust all the evidences of mental life. Yet, with this scanty list of ideas, we must not at once speak of mental poverty and brutalisation. The mode of life will always afford a great and unique ground for mitigating the judgment passed upon the intellectual life; and this applies even more to the character. What evidence have we here of external mitigating circumstances, what is innate? "The Bushman is the unfortunate child of the moment," is Fritsch's verdict. The frivolity of his Hottentot kinsmen rises in the Bushman to the point of fatal thoughtlessness; the inclination of the moment is decisive with him, and this explains all the contradiction and bad qualities which has made him, of all South Africans, the one most detested by white and coloured men.

The idea of a hunting race covers the whole contents of the Bushman's life at all ages and in all positions. The Bushmen are the most pure and simple of

hunters, and at the same time the most dexterous. Dependent on his game, the hunter changes with his place of sojourn. He can only live as one of a small band, for larger communities scare the game away. This life has an unfavourable effect on the increase of population. Pregnant women and little children have to go through the same hardships as the men, and to dispense almost entirely with the necessary rest and tending. In these conditions the individual is evolved, but not the society. The capacities in their own line of individuals are great; but what are called the social instincts are starved. Acuteness of the senses, bodily toughness, savage self-consciousness, defiant audacity to the point of contempt for death, together with an insinuating cunning and great knowledge of nature, are the characteristic traits of this most genuine of hunting races.

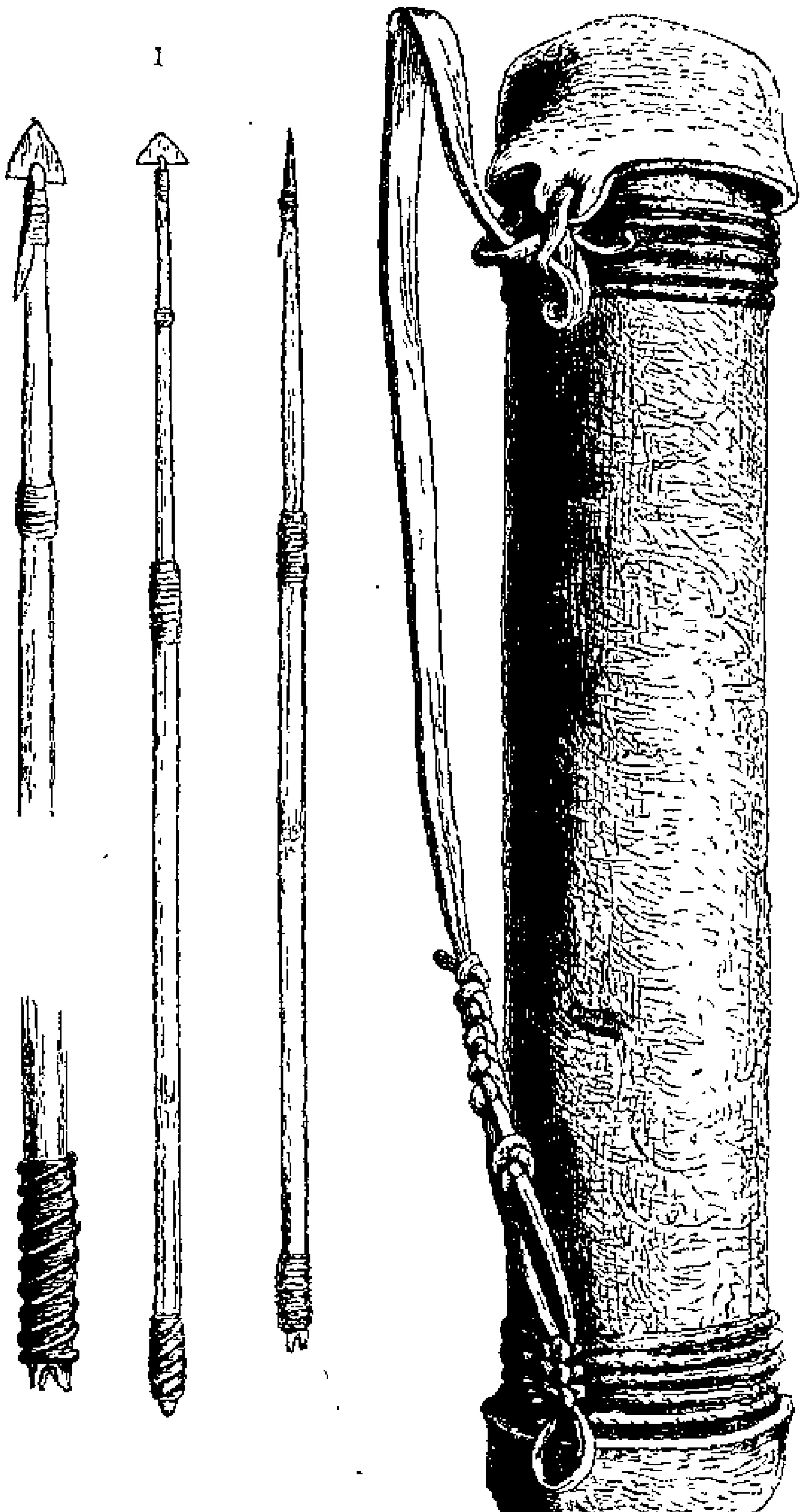
They have one ennobling quality, possessed no doubt equally by the beasts: a love of freedom, in which the Bushmen are superior to all other Africans. Unlike the Hottentot, the Bushman never bowed to the yoke of slavery. In captivity the wild impulse of the genuine son of nature towards freedom never deserts him. Hence a destructive warfare born of savage hatred against all, whether white or black, who wish to limit this impulse; and above all against the herds which cut short the borders of his hunting-grounds. But at the Cape the interests of white men and Hottentots are so closely bound up with their herds that injury to them stamps the cattle-thief as a public enemy. But what makes him an outlaw and puts him outside the pale of humanity is the cruelty with which he carries out his raids. The Bushman is the anarchist of South Africa. On the other hand, wherever he comes, as a servant, into permanent relations with white men, he has always the reputation of trustworthiness. The Bushman has undoubtedly a harder heart than either Hottentot or Negro. It is as though his soul partook of the wiriness of his body. Marvellous stories are told of his cruelty and his courage. Fritsch was often told by people who knew, that with a dozen tame Bushmen they would not be afraid of a hundred Kaffirs; and he says he would himself back the Bushmen. The fear of the Bushmen has indeed produced an effect in the disforesting of South Africa; since the colonists, in order to guard against stealthy attacks, removed all the bush near their dwellings.


Bushman amulet set with Cypræa shells. (Berlin Museum.)

The copious source of insight into the being of men in a state of nature, which is opened by their passage into more civilized conditions, can be but scanty in the case of the Bushman; for it seldom happens that he does come over into the "tamed" state, and still more seldom that he perseveres in it. All the less ought we to overlook the original sketch of Bushman life, drawn by a Kaffir hand, which Dr. Callaway has brought to our knowledge: "The Abatoa are much smaller than other children of men; they hide in grass and sleep in ant-hills; they go into the mists; they live in high rocks; they have no settled place of abode; their home is wherever they kill game; they eat it all up and go on. That is their way of life. They are much dreaded, not for their size of body or their human appearance; on the contrary. They disappear in

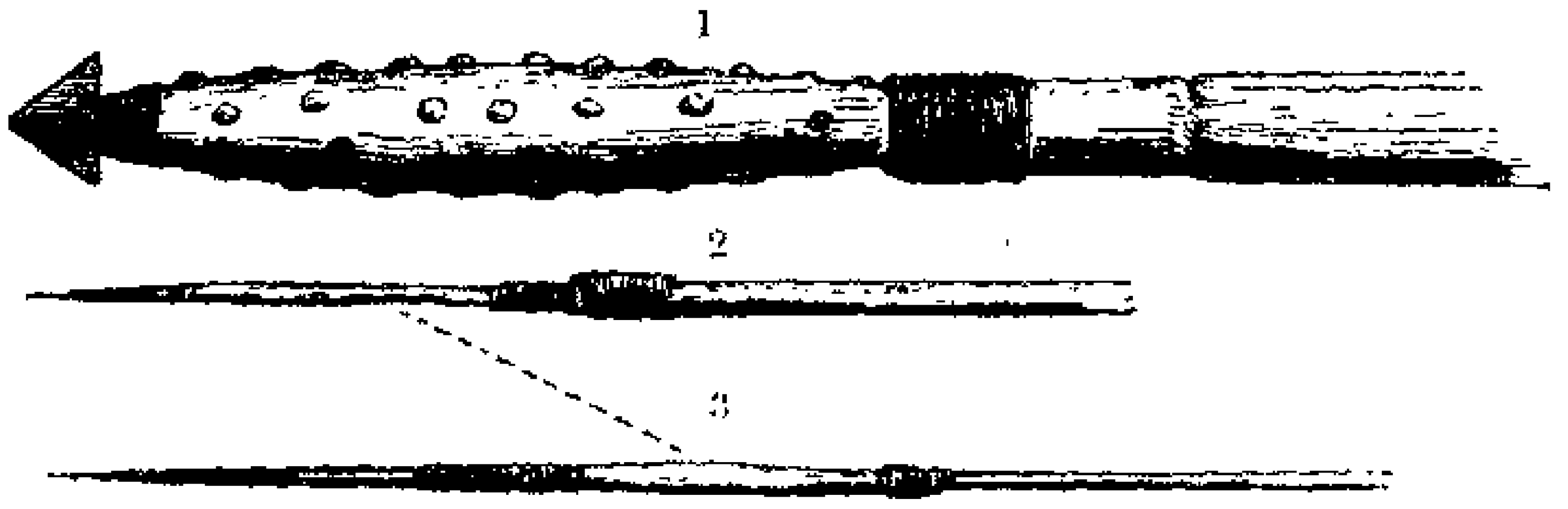
the grass. Unexpectedly the hunter becomes aware that the Abatoa is near, when he is pierced with an arrow, but he sees not who shot the arrow. The Abatoa are like flies, you cannot see them come." A genuinely Kaffir description, but probably accurate.

Rich as it is in vicissitudes, in no region has the history of South African missions to record such decided want of success as in the missions to the Bushmen. Landmann Florus Fischer thought that among the Bushmen on the Zak River he could recognise a wish for religious instruction, and was one of the first who sought to stop the source of endless hostilities by an honourable bargain. But the station could only reconcile the Bushmen to its existence by copious gifts of tobacco, and the life of the first missionary, Kicherer, a German, was in constant danger. In 1806 the mission had to be given up. The same fate befell the missions which were founded at Toornberg, now Colsberg, and at Hephzibah. That on the Caledon River did not flourish till it became a Bechuana mission, now Bethulia.



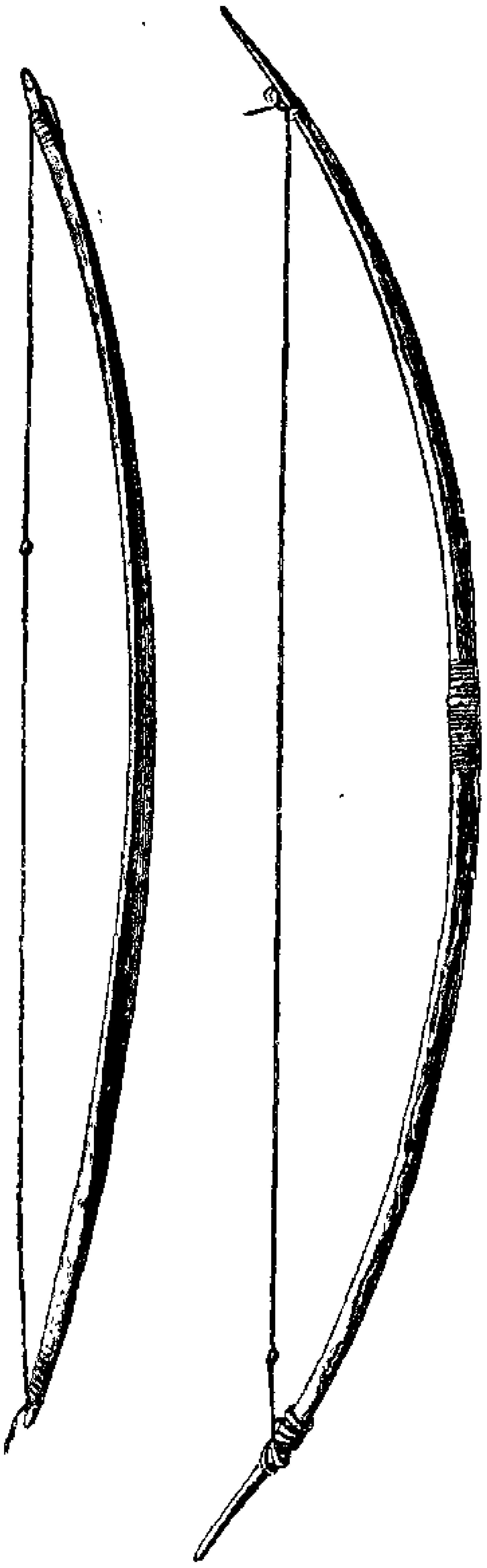
Bushman weapons: 1. Arrows; 2. Quiver of aloe bark and leather. (Berlin Museum.)

Compared with the severity of the climate, the Bushman's clothing is incomplete. Among the "natural" races, however, clothing depends less upon this than upon the degee of culture they have attained. For the Bushman a triangular bit of skin, passed between the legs, and fastened round the waist with a string, is often enough. In the neighbourhood of Hottentots the women especially often adopt their *jakal*, which gives more covering; and in the western Kalahari, near European traders, Bushmen may be seen in jacket and trousers. Many carry the *kaross*, of skins sewn together, on the shoulder during the day, and wrap themselves in it at night. The deficiency of clothing is often made up for by a coat of dirt on all parts of the body. A thick coating of ashes and grease covers the face and the thin limbs like a rind.



Bushman arrows: 1. Arrow with little plate of iron, real size; 2 and 3. Poisoned arrows—reduced. (After Wood.)

The reason of this among the Bushmen who have got a lick of Hottentot "culture" is the habit of smearing themselves with their favourite *buchu* ointment; among the more primitive sort, uncleanliness pure and simple. The Bushman finds it easy to arrange his sleeping-quarters in warm sand or ashes, or even in an ant-hill. The woman's covering is more extensive than the man's, and is furnished with leather fringes; while the *kaross* converted into a shawl affords shelter to children in arms. Men and women alike occasionally wear sandals of hide or plaited bast. Finery is scanty and inexpensive. A few rings of brass or iron, a string of dark beads, some little sticks strung in a row like beads, bits of iron or brass according to taste, decorate neck or hair. Trophies of the chase form a more natural adornment; feathers or hares' tails in the hair; teeth, hoofs, horns, shells, on the neck and arms. They carry their tobacco in short goats' horns, or in the pretty shell of a land-tortoise; while boxes of ointment or mysterious amulets are hung around the neck or waist. A jackal's tail on a stick fulfils the functions of fan and pocket handkerchief.


Bushman bows. (From the Schinz Collection, Zurich.)

More necessary to the Bushman than clothing or ornament are his weapons. These make life possible to him, and are at the same time the most remarkable testimony to his clever workmanship. He is able to use bow and arrow with great dexterity. The bow is usually 5 feet long, taller, that is, than the man himself, and consists of a stave of hard wood (*grevia*, according to Schinz), bent into a sharp curve and little or not at all smoothed. The string is as thick as a straw, and made of twisted sinews. The shaft of the arrow, usually of reed, is the thickness of a finger; it is bound with thread to prevent splitting, and notched at the butt end for the string. At the point is fitted a head of bone, usually from the shin-bone of an antelope or the hard leg-bones of the ostrich; or else a small triangular piece of iron is inserted, connected with the shaft by a tubular joint. There are also arrows of simply sharpened reed, for the chase of small animals. A notch in the joining-piece allows the shaft to break off as soon as the arrow sticks, or else a small poisoned slip is attached barb-like at the insertion of the head, so as easily to be left in the wound. The arrow is always heavy towards the head, and its separate parts are bound together with sinews; a straight feather in a groove at the hinder end steadies the flight. The length of the arrows fluctuates between 2 and 3 feet. The distance at which a Bushman can hit has been exaggerated. He can hardly make sure of hitting at twenty paces, though for a hunter with his keen sight and power of noiseless approach that may be sufficient. The quiver is made from the rind of *Aloe perforata* or from

tree-bark, and furnished with a bottom and a lid of leather, or even covered all over with it; it contains about thirty arrows, a piece of wood split into fibres for spreading the poison, sticks to rub fire, and often also a stone to sharpen the arrows. On the war-path the arrows are fastened like rays round the forehead to be in readiness. Next to these is the *kirri* or "knob-kerrie," a club available for throwing and striking. It is a cudgel some 20 inches in length with a knob as big as a fist, usually made from the hard "giraffe-acacia." Assegais and knives are rarities of foreign importation. No Bushman tribe is said to carry spears till we get north of Lake Ngami. Among their other equipment is a wallet of antelope skin (not sewn), a net of mimosa fibres, which holds the water-supply contained in ostrich-eggs with grass stoppers, or in skins, and the digging-stick, weighted with a perforated stone, as in the cut on p. 88, for grubbing up roots or buried animals, or for digging pitfalls.

The Bushman seeks his dwelling in caves and clefts of the rock, in sheltered spots beneath overhanging stones, or lies down in dry watercourses or in the

Bushman's poisoned knife, with the poisonous juice dried on. (Museum of the Berlin Mission-house.)

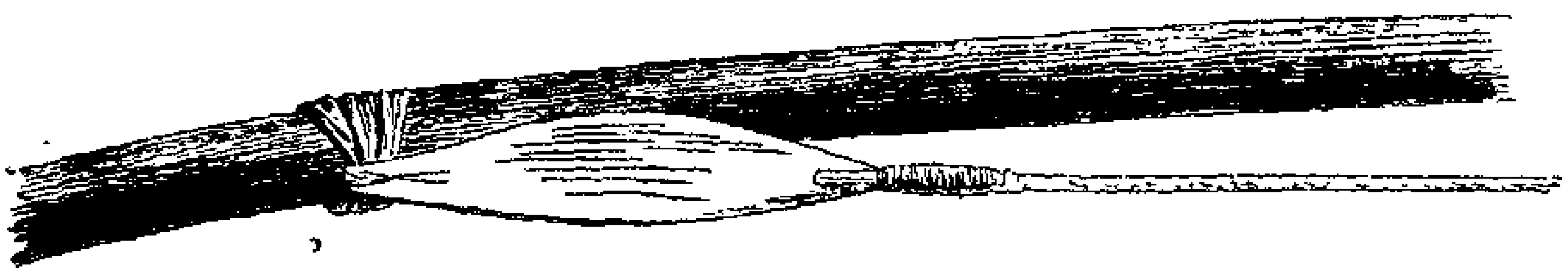
deserted pit of an ant-bear. It is quite a sign of progress when he bends down the boughs of a shrub, and weaves them with other boughs and moss into a shelter from the wind, heaping up a lair of dried leaves and moss under it. Only in the rarest cases does he advance to hut-building; but when, owing to abundance of game he selects some open district for a prolonged stay, he condescends to cover some poles with branches, rushes, or skins. The women then aspire even to the plaiting of coarse mats. But the Bushman's way of life never allows even these habitations to become permanent. He is said, however, in the rocky districts of the Boer Free States, to have erected loose stone walls of circumvallation as lurking-places, surrounding them with rings of pitfalls. Barrow even describes a kraal consisting of twenty-five grass huts, poor, but carefully made.

As to household gear there is nothing to say, for what a Bushman cannot carry with him he has no use for. Even domestic animals—whenever he has "lifted" them, as he does, in a herd—seem to him a burden, of which he gets rid as soon as possible. Hunting dogs are only found in his possession casually; when they exist, says Barrow, they are a kind of small, sharp-nosed sheep dog. Pottery is almost entirely absent, perhaps only because ostrich-eggs make good vessels. Water is carried in them, and buried in the sand to cool it. For his food the Bushman needs no appliance but fire, which he produces by rubbing hard and soft wood together. The pieces of meat are usually thrown into the fire for a short time only. Often the game is not completely drawn. The only things the Bushman takes quite raw are insects, especially lice, and white ants' eggs, which are much liked. If he has no game he puts up with anything; lizards, snakes—even those, it is said, whose poison he has extracted for his arrows—frogs, worms, caterpillars, grubs, he eats with relish. Honey is one of his favourite articles of food, and he looks upon any bees'-nests which he has discovered

Bushman designs, slightly incised in hard stone. (Vienna Museum.)

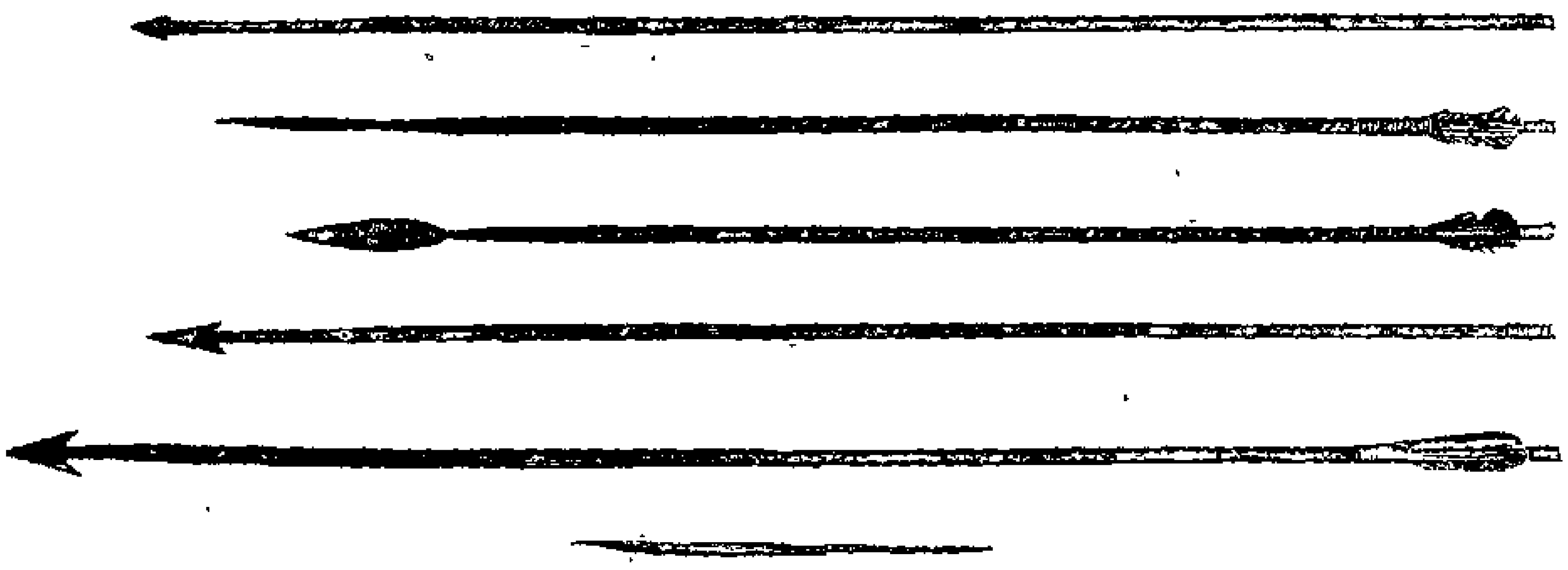
as the property of his family or his party. Even when the surface vegetation is quite dried up he finds bulbs and roots by the remains of the plant or by the hollow sound of the ground when tapped with a knob-kerrie. In spite of its bitterness he eats the wild water-melon, and its juice is often his only means of quenching his thirst. Like the Hottentot, he is a passionate smoker.

With this unexampled contentment, such is his knowledge and ability. How much more comfortably might he live if he would sedulously turn to account his



Quill of the Bushman's *gora*. (After Wood.)

acquaintance with nature, whose gifts he has thoroughly investigated, even to the most nauseous. No doubt he would have in that case to give up some of his unconfined existence; and here is clearly the thread which binds him to his life, fluctuating between enjoyment and misery. He is a curious bundle of dexterities and contrivances. Little strength, little that is imposing save a sudden flaring up into desperate courage; inventiveness, cunning, power of dissimulation and imitation—all points where the weak are dexterous. Contemplating him most temperately, one can in any case not deny that there is hardly a race on the earth more poorly equipped by nature, or more unfavourably placed amid an endless struggle for existence. Doubly attractive therefore is it to consider the ways and means that he has hit upon to help himself in his destitution.

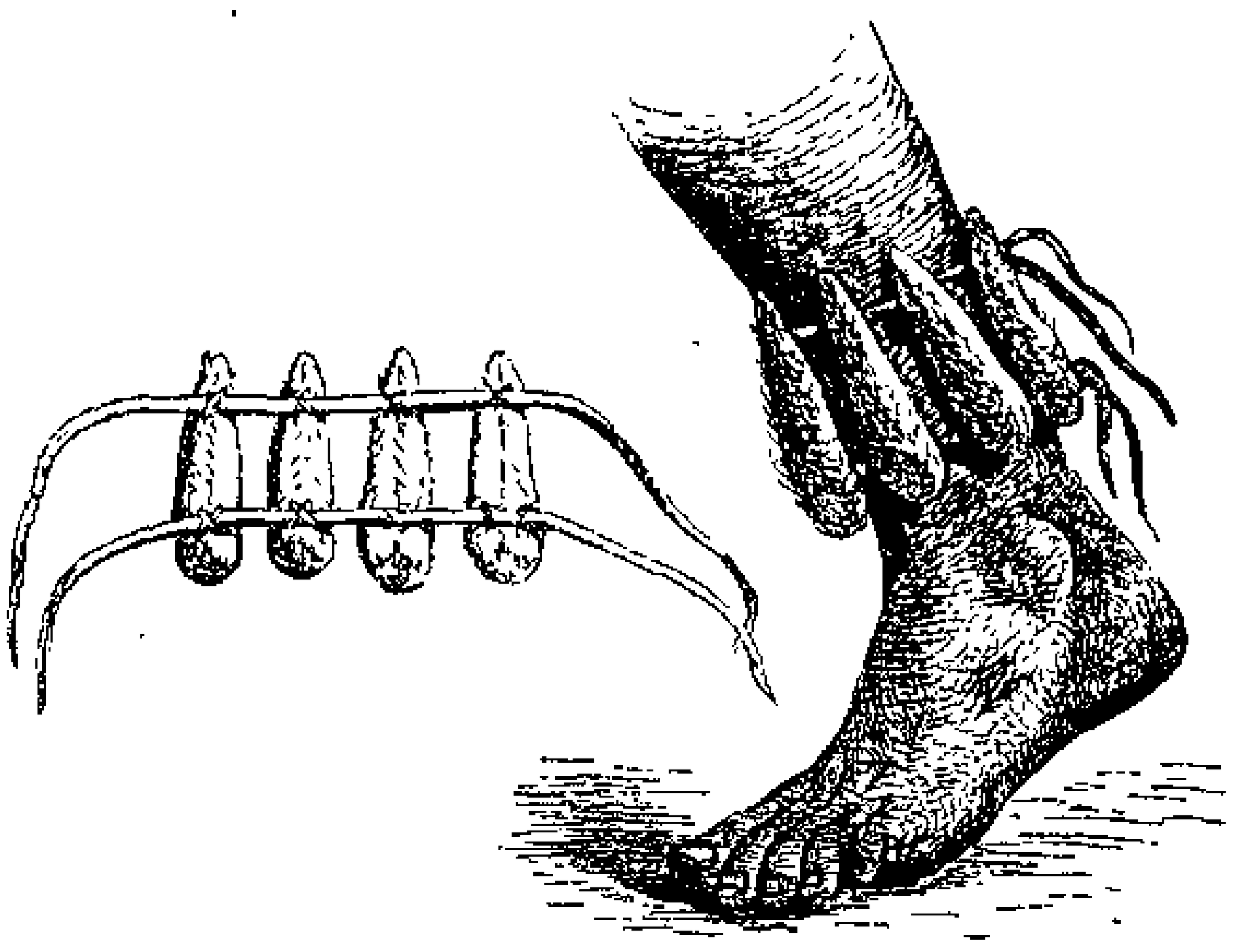


Bushman arrows. (From the collection of Prof. Schinz, Zurich.)

The poison of the Bushman's arrows kills even the larger animals in a few hours. The preparation of it is kept a secret, but most authors agree that its chief ingredient is snake poison; this is worked up with the juice of certain *euphorbiæ*, principally no doubt the *Euphorbia candelabrum* with which the Mountain Damaras poison the drinking-pools of the wild beasts, and the more viscous matter of a bulb, the poisonous amaryllis, *Hæmanthus toxicarius*. According to Schinz the Bushmen of the western Kalahari use also the juice of a chrysalis which they scrape out of the ground. They themselves are much afraid of the poison, and therefore carry the poisoned arrows in their quivers with the heads wrapped in sinew. Yet from the researches of our toxicologists it would seem to be more perishable than that of the Central Africans.

Pitfalls and snares they set so cleverly that even of the swift ostriches more are said to be taken by this means than by the white men with their best rifles and fastest horses.

Their imitative gift, the faculty of rendering with their supple tongues the cries of birds no less than the rougher tones of quadrupeds, helps them in stalking. In ostrich-hunting they contrive to make themselves as like as possible to the birds by fastening on their shoulders a saddle-shaped cushion covered with ostrich feathers, and surmounted by the stuffed head and neck of an ostrich, and painting their legs white. With bow and arrows in the left hand they move up the wind towards the game, with such a natural movement that the deception cannot be detected a couple of hundred yards away. Movements of men and animals are imitated rather as a joke. In the same direction, too, they must be credited with the faculty of drawing figures of men and animals in crayon and colours. The few remains of such drawings, which have been preserved in sheltered walls of caves in places where they formerly dwelt, give the idea of higher artistic skill than the innumerable rock-scratchings of the American Indians. These designs are partly painted on rocks with the four colours, white, black, red, and yellow ochre, partly engraved in soft sandstone, partly chiselled in hard stone. Besides human figures, they accurately represent a number of the characteristic animals—ostrich, antelope, quagga, baboon, also cattle. The occurrence of horses in these Bushman drawings shows what an impression that animal, first introduced by Europeans, made on them.



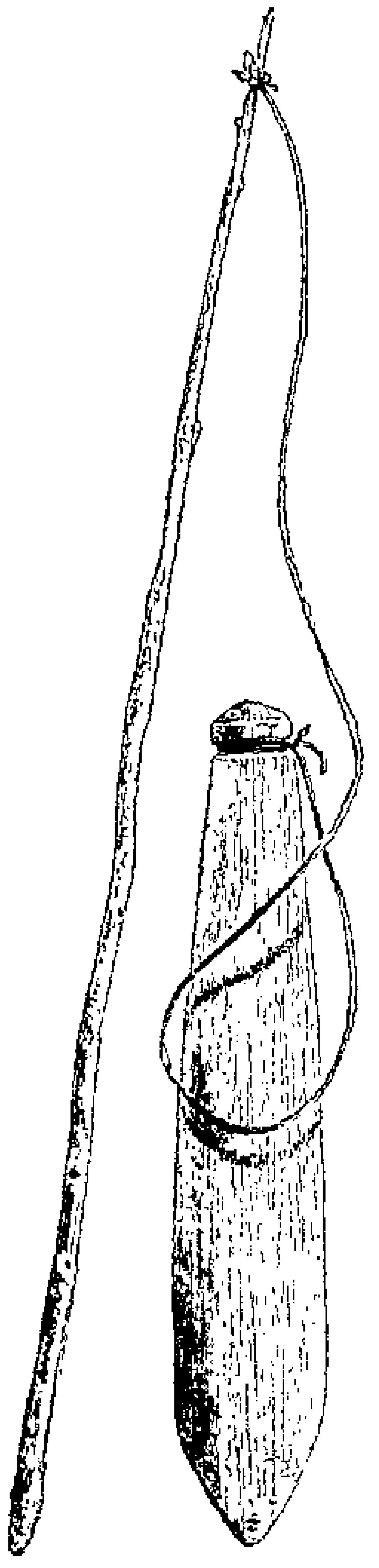
Bushman dancing-rattle. (After Wood.)

The Bushman is like the Hottentot in his turn and capacity for music. Wherever he can snap up an old fiddle from a European, or make a rudimentary one for himself out of a gourd and two strings, he extracts a tolerable tone from the instrument, and reproduces any pretty airs that he may have heard at the mission or in his dances. There is a metallic ring in his voice. Besides the gourd-fiddle we find also the *gora*, and a drum, which often consists of a pot with a little water in it and a skin stretched over its mouth. The function of this music in the Bushman's life is to accompany the dance. The modulation of the voices are said to be intimately interwoven with the movements of the body. The Bushman dance is a gradual and methodical outbreak of licentiousness reaching the point of convulsion. The rattles for the ankles shown in the preceding cut are worn on these occasions.

Little is known of the family life of the Bushmen, and we must be all the more on our guard against undervaluing it. The Bushman, when of age to marry, looks out for a wife—not by way of purchase so much as by sending presents, which are conveyed by kinsfolk. Acceptance gives consent. The marriage is ratified by a carouse and by presents to the relations or friends of the bridegroom. Among the Kai tribes, at least, it appears that the youth must

give proofs of expertness in shooting and cleverness in hunting before he is allowed to sue for a wife. Marriage is not allowed between parents and children or brothers and sisters; but we know nothing of the manner of inheritance. The avoidance of parents-in-law, which is a Kaffir peculiarity, is also found among the Bushmen. Good observers say that the morals of the Bushmen are less profligate than they were described to be by Lichtenstein and others, who seem to have come across demoralised groups. However, it would appear that adultery incurs no severe reprobation.

As the natural consequence of the general mode of life among these people, the position of women is low. On their journeys they carry their children, besides the greater part of their property; at the halting-place they have to see to fire, food, water—the last often difficult enough to procure, to the utensils; in short to everything not immediately connected with the chase. If food runs short, they are the first to be stinted, and get ill-treated as well. A weak, old, or sick woman is often left behind without more ado. A bowl of water, a root or two, a bit of meat, are placed beside her; and the wild beasts soon accomplish her destiny. In the treatment of children by their mothers, the animal that is in man equally emerges. They are suckled for a long time, but also in the very first days of life fed upon chewed roots, meat, and other hard articles of diet. They even learn to chew tobacco at an early age. The child grows up without cleaning, watching, tending, without anything to cover its little head, often quite exposed to all weathers; the boy is early initiated by his father into the mysteries of shooting, tracking game, seeking honey. The only production that gives the impression of costliness and elegance is the sunshade of ostrich feathers which tender Bushmen mothers plait for their children.



Bushman's rain charm, or "bull-roarer" (see cut, vol. i. p. 389), said to be also used as a clapper in driving game. (Berlin Museum.)

But little is to be said as to the social and political circumstances of the Bushmen, for they have sunk to the level of the crudest individualism. Name and dialect are often the only indications of a tribe's connection or identity. Individual families join together in villages and appoint their most respected member "Kaptein," but no permanent or more extensive organisations have arisen from these. Their rapidly diminishing number, moreover, still further impedes any constitution in larger communities. In Sparrmann's time there still were troops of Bushmen consisting of a hundred families.

We cannot expect to find among the Bushmen clear and consequent ideas of a higher Being, or of the continued existence of the soul after death. They have religious conceptions, but no religion. A thread of tradition has been spun from generation to generation until the present day; which binds together traces of religious ideas; and these traces are so numerous that we may speak of the ideas

as bearing a favourable proportion to the general stock of culture. For them, too, it is easier to be cultured than to be rich. All Bushmen without exception carry amulets to keep off evil spirits, and bring good fortune in their enterprises. One tribe will not eat goat, though the goat is the commonest domestic animal in their district; others reverence antelopes, others again the caterpillar called *n'gwa*. They try to charm their luck in hunting by means of "bull-roarers." The custom of cutting off joints of the finger alike as a medicinal process, a sign of mourning, and an expiation, looks like sacrifice. You seldom meet a Bushman whose left-hand fingers have not lost some joints. Traces of a belief in a future life are chiefly to be seen in the monuments erected to great people when dead. Stones are thrown upon chief's graves so long as the memory of them lasts. Later generations then suspect the presence of evil spirits beneath these sepulchral

A Bushman. (From a photograph by Dr. Fritsch.)

mounds, who will twist their necks if they omit to throw their stone upon the heap. But their mode of burial points even more certainly to the belief in souls. The whole family deserts the place where any one has died, after making his hut into a heap of stones. The dead man's head is anointed, then he is smoke-dried and laid in the grave in an outstretched position. No rule seems to prevail either as to the quarter towards which the head points nor as to the way in which arms and legs are laid; but an old Bushman told Campbell that the sun would rise later if dead people were not buried with their faces that way. Then they place stones like a roof over the corpse so as to prevent the earth from falling in upon it, and pile others in an oval form on top. Objects of value according to Bushmen notions are often put in the grave; thus near Colesberg, Fritsch found a tin ladle, a cup, and sheep and shears, the last on the breast. The wild Bushman put his weapons with the dead man.

Mythical imaginings are fragmentary. In the North-West Kalahari they believe in a big snake with a crest and wattles as red as fire and bright skin of many colours, and making a low chattering noise which leads men astray. The crocodile water-fairy of the Hottentots seems in the Herero country to have become an aquatic deity. Unfamiliar European implements are thought to be possessed by spirits, for every one deems the white man to be rich in magic

devices. It is not that Kaffir professional conjurors have strayed to them; the Bushmen themselves have plenty of fancy, and know more about nature than the Kaffirs do. Hardly any African race has a more copious store of beast-legends. In the narratives of the Cape Bushmen the prominent figure is always the locust. He and his wife bear many names. Their adopted daughter is the porcupine, her real father being the "all-devourer," with whom she will not live for fear of being eaten up. The common offspring of her and Kwammana is the clever ichneumon, who plays a great part as the helper of his grandfather, the locust, and as the discoverer of his misdeeds. The monkey behaved badly to the locust, and he tore the bladder of an eland to pieces on a bush and caused darkness, but when it got too dark, he threw his shoe into the sky, ordering it to become the moon. But the shoe was dusty with the dust of the Bushman country, so the moon is red; it was also nothing but leather, so the moon is cold. Or the hero fights with a being that has eyes in its feet, or with the cat; and the cat sings a song about the lynx, who had asserted that the cat could not run as fast as he could. Then the mother of the hyena tries to roast him, and singes his wings; but he dips them in water and gets new ones. Then he fights again with the ticks which get into the fleeces of his sheep. There is an interesting story of the theft of the locust's plaything, the springbok, by an elephant who leaves her own calf in the place of it; but the calf is discovered by its inarticulate replies to the locust's inquiries, and put to death. Pursued by the elephant, who has swallowed the springbok, the locust follows him into her maw, and at last, with his companion, makes his way through the angry elephant, and gets home safe and sound.

A Bushwoman. (From a photograph by Dr. Fritsch.)

Dr. Bleek has no doubt that the Bushmen have advanced as far as the adoration of the heavenly bodies. Not only fables and myths but also their knowledge of the stars and their names, testify to their good observation. The sun lived on earth as a man whose armpit radiated light, which was only of use a little way round his house; so the first Bushmen sent some children, bidding them throw him up to the sky. When the moon appears independently, it is a man from whom the sun in his anger cuts away bit after bit with the knife of his rays, until he begs that a little may be left for his children; that grows again till it is full moon. The moon was a creation of the locust, therefore it can speak, because "Everything that belongs to the locust can speak." The beginning of death also comes into connection with the moon. Bushman children call out rude words to the moon as it waxes, although their parents rebuke them; the moon goes angrily into the sky, and darkens itself till its heart is at ease again.

Of all the stars, Canopus is best known to the Bushmen; they have five

distinct names for it. Constellations also have figurative names, but not because of their form. They call Orion's Belt three she-tortoises hanging on a stick; Castor and Pollux, the cow elands; Procyon the bull eland; $\alpha$, $\beta$, and $\gamma$, in the Southern Cross, the lionesses; while the other stars of the same constellation are the lions; the Magellanic Clouds, the steinboks; Achernar, the stone of the digging-stick. They have names also for the planets, and to these again they attach myths. A girl of an earlier race wished to make a light so that people might find their way home; she threw red-hot ashes into the sky, and these became stars. The lions of the Southern Cross became stars through a look. There were two pairs of birds—one of them being cranes,—and the male birds were roasted by the lions. The *Ki* hen rejected the flesh of her husband when it was offered to her; but the blue crane accepted it, and got eaten too. Then Ki went with her child to the crow that lives in the thorn-bush, who drew her up with a cord of gemsbok-hide. The crow made a fire and heated stones. Gu, the lion, who was following Ki, came and wanted to be pulled up too. By direction of the crow, Ki let down a cord of mouse's entrails; it broke, and the lion tumbled into the fire. The other lion, Thane ta hou, came up, attracted by the smell of meat, the birds having meanwhile departed; he took a piece of meat out of the flank of his friend, who suddenly woke up, and wanted a bit of his own meat, and the two ate it together. Then they went hunting, but in vain, till they saw a male tortoise, and Gu swallowed it without sharing it with his companion. After that, as soon as he came near water the tortoise called to it to dry up; when game approached he bade it run away; and when men came it begged them to throw firebrands at the lion. So the two lions took nothing. Even a lame old woman who lived with a young hare escaped them. It was not till Gu had died of hunger that the other lion got food again.

The planet Jupiter, called "the heart of the twilight," has for his daughter one of the stars that usually rise a little before him. He calls her "my heart," swallows her, and brings her up again; then she becomes a "heart of the twilight," and produces from her mouth a child, which follows the two. She was a lynx, once in the form of a beautiful woman; and a younger sister carried the digging stick after her. Her husband hid her child under the dry leaves of an edible root, in the hope that she would find it. But other animals came first, and each asserted it was the child's mother; but the child mocked them all, and recognised its own mother at last. Among those who were thus mocked were the jackal and the hyena, who turned the lynx, by means of enchanted Bushman's rice, into a lioness; whereupon the hyena took her place. But she was discovered by the "heart of the twilight's" child and wounded by it with a spear. In running away she burnt her foot, and has gone limping ever since. The bewitched mother was enticed out of the reeds by her younger sister and captured by her brothers, who pulled off her lion's skin, and she became a woman again. But as she had been bewitched with Bushman's rice she could never eat of it again, and so she was turned into the carnivorous lynx.

With these histories are mingled long soliloquies and conversations of hyenas, lions, and jackals, and many smaller beast-fables. Thus it is said also that the jackal, the hyena, and others, were once men, that ostrich feathers which have fallen out become male ostriches, that the moon and the male ostriches get back to life again, and such like.

The "earlier people" who preceded the Bushmen, turn up with striking frequency. Again, men are turned to trees by the glance of girls, girls into frogs, *karosses* into springboks, and so forth. Actual, or at the least probable, beast-stories occupy no small space in the stock of narratives from which the Bushmen get the material for their endless gossip. Here too, however, fancy often encroaches largely. The lion plays the first part in them, the hyena and jackal certainly the second.

The lively dramatic effect is increased by the way in which the animals talk the Bushman language each in a fashion significant of himself, the narrator striving to give his mouth the characteristic form in each case. In this more clicks are used than in ordinary talk, and Dr. Bleek thinks it probable that this points to the presence in former times of more than five clicks in the Bushman language.

## § 4. THE HOTTENTOTS

Physical characteristics: skin, hair, structure of bones, shape of skull—Clothing and ornament—Painting and greasing—Implements and weapons—Mode of fighting—Hunting and superstitions connected with it—Huts and villages—Transition from nomad to settled life—Cattle-breeding and agriculture—Food—Luxuries—Craftsmanship—Art—Course of life: birth, naming, education, circumcision, marriage, burial—Inklings of religion; legends; Heitsi Eibib and Tsui Goab—Political organisation—Hospitality—Punishment for murder—The Afrikaaner family—Converted hybrid tribe, the Griquas.

THE Hottentots now represent only the debris of a stock which two centuries ago was the most powerful over the greater part of South Africa. Local names, notably in the Herero country, with an unmistakable Hottentot ring, traditions, hybrid races, unite in bearing witness that the Hottentots once extended far beyond even the limits which Barrow assigned to them a hundred years ago, of 32° S. on the east, 25° S. on the west. Their mode of life being bound up with pasture-land, limited their choice of fresh places of abode in a country like South Africa, where the *veldt*-character prevails and which is partly desert. In the Cape Colony, where even at the beginning of the present century seven great Hottentot tribes were settled, they were confined, reduced, finally annihilated. Even the tribal names have been wiped out. The only name left is that of the Griquas[1]—a name denoting to-day a hybrid race whose miscellaneous composition is a matter of common notoriety, and generally used in western South Africa in the sense of a mulatto. As early as 1810 the last free "captainship" of the southern Hottentots, who still held together under the last Gonaqua chief, was suppressed; and the enfranchising "Ordinance" of 1828, which declared all Hottentots in the colony to be free, came too late. The want of land could only hasten the break-up. Nor can the "locations" which, by an arrangement similar to that which has founded the reservations of the North American Indians, were established on the Kaffir frontier, be acquitted of a share in the result. Six thousand Hottentots were settled in twelve locations on the southern slopes of the Winterberg about the Kat River and its tributaries; five other locations were in

[1] [In Griqua, Namaqua, etc.—*qua* is a collective termination corresponding in meaning with the prefixes Ama-, Wa-, Ba-, Ova- etc., of the "Bantu" races. It has, however, become so completely part of the name that to omit the plural *s* would be pedantic.]

the district now called Fort Beaufort, which comprises a large part of the old Gonaqua country. In addition to these seventeen locations in the south-east there were seven in the south-west; and there were besides 6000 mounted Cape Rifles, chiefly Hottentots, a frontier regiment, the garrisons of which were chiefly to the eastward. The remnant of the Hottentots of the old Cape Colony proper were comprised in these three groups; and it may be said that here they were squeezed to death between the Kaffirs of the interior and the Europeans advancing from the coast.

In the north and north-west it was different. Between the Cape and the

Namaquas. (From a photograph belonging to the Barmen Mission.)

Orange River, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Griquas and Namaquas, with other tribes, dwelt, and on both banks of the lower Orange River. As Barrow proceeded northward in the west part of the colony, he came across the first Namaquas on the Hartebeest River. Both groups had to a considerable extent emigrated from their former quarters under the leadership of enterprising Bastaards, and, as there was here no Kaffir population to withstand them, found more room further north. A section of the Griqua-bastaards moved towards the Karroo Mountains in the neighbourhood of the Zak and Olifant's Vley Rivers, while a large mass of Griquas and Griqua-bastaards founded, beyond the Orange River, the Griqualand State, which has now been annexed to the British possessions. It was from this direction mainly that the subsequent migration took place of individuals and groups towards and beyond Lake Ngami, into a

country where elephants abounded. The neighbourhood of Cape Colony and the Orange Free State, together with the strong admixture of Bastaards, has caused these Griquas to adopt not only the language of the Cape Dutchmen entirely, but many of their manners and customs.

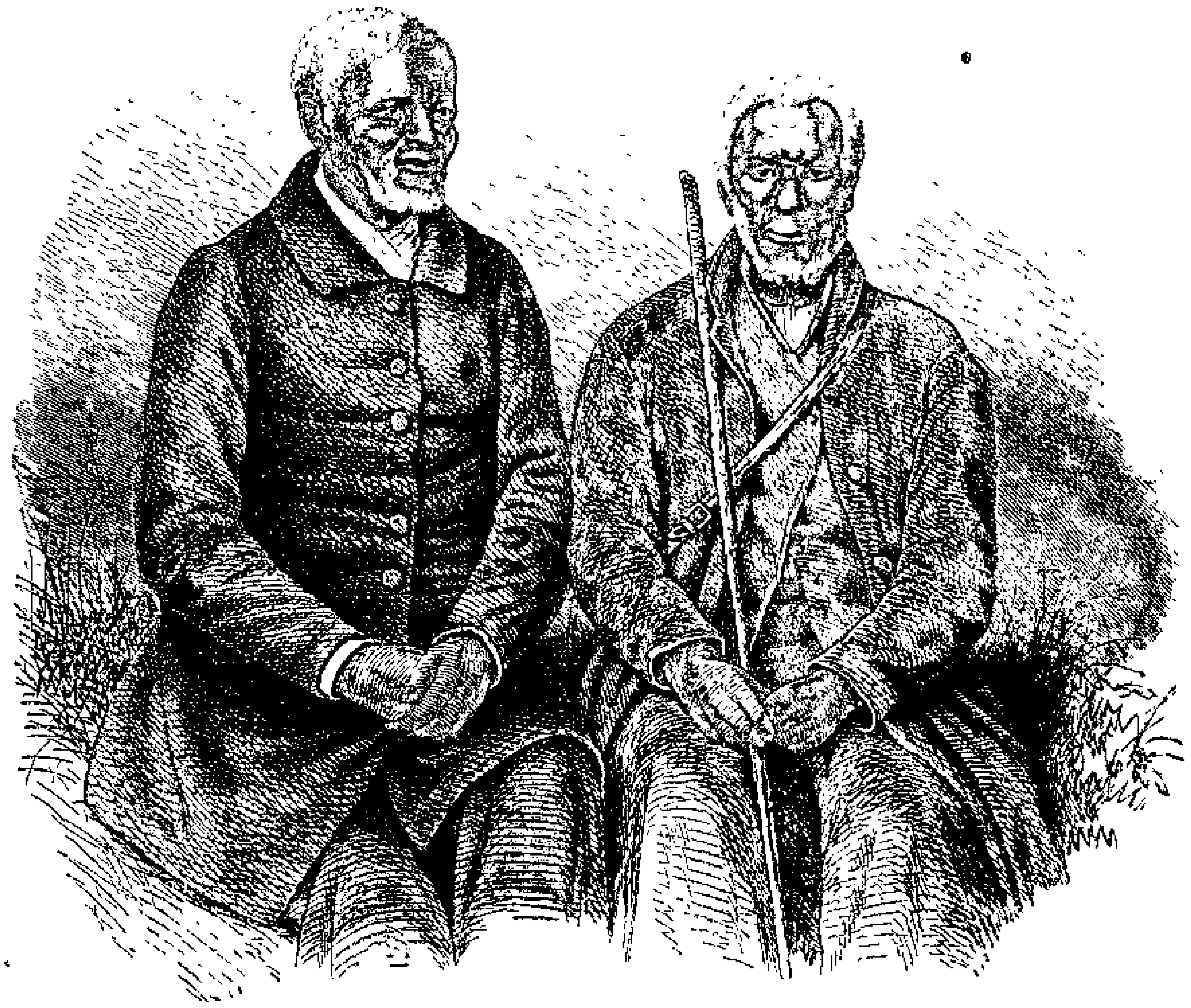
The Namaquas have spread themselves over Great Namaqualand, that is, speaking generally, the district between the Orange and Kuisip Rivers; and in this destitute corner have formed the last country of true Hottentots. The distribution of the Hottentot race is coincident to-day with Great Namaqua Land. Here alone they have enjoyed something like an independent history even to

Namaqua girls. (From a photograph belonging to the same.)

our own days, and from hence they have advanced, though hardly indeed with permanence, towards the north. This energy in the Hottentots has been brought about solely by mixture with Europeans; the majority already speak Cape Dutch. The Europeans are now advancing into these deserts, and in spite of the protection of the missions the present history of these people can be only the flicker that precedes extinction. The race will doubtless continue to survive only in half-breeds.

Those who went north bore the name of Orlams, after one of their first colonists. Before long they had taken possession of tract extending over 7° of latitude, and there were far enough removed from colonial influences; but they broke up in this wide territory, and in great measure relapsed into the nomad habits of their forefathers. They had formed those great "captainships," but

this did not secure them tranquillity. The poverty and prairie-like character of the country, their natural preponderance over the aborigines, their disposition towards plundering and roaming, carried them ever further northward, where they forced back the Hereros, and came into contact with the Griquas, who had got as far as Lake Ngami. While their fellow tribesmen, who had remained settled on this side of the Orange River in Little Namaqua Land, with the exception of the few pure Hottentots found on their own lawful soil on the Lower Orange River, and called River Hottentots, were getting more and more Europeanised, those who had wandered further were naturally unable, amid a Hottentot population, to retain their modicum of European culture, and now afford an interesting example



Old Hottentots of pure blood. (From a photograph belonging to Herr Wangemann, Berlin.)

of relapse. But the Namaquas, whose territory the Orlams invaded, partly joined on to these, partly became the overlords of small groups of them. The old tribal league of these northern Namaquas, at the head of which were the "red people" or Khaubib-Khoin, has, save for a few traces, disappeared. North of them, however, another community, the Aunin, seems still to exist, to which the Marinkus on Walvisch Bay belong.

The third great geographical group of Hottentots is formed by the Koranas on the Upper and Middle Orange River. As their neighbours the Gonaquas formed the advance guard against the Kaffirs, so did they against Bechuanas and Basutos; but this only made their position more hopeless, for like them they fell between hammer and anvil. Out of their country the Boers first carved part of their Orange Free State, and later, Stella Land; and the roads by which to emigrate were blocked to the natives, who had no self-reliance nor cohesion. The old "captainships" have been dissolved, and the total number of the race may be estimated at some 20,000 souls. Of purer blood than the Griquas, they have not

kept themselves so independent of civilized influence as the Namaquas; and their language is mixed with Dutch, Bushman, and Sechuana words. That the Koranas formerly extended further to the westward is indicated by the agreement of some of their tribal designations with those of the Namaquas. Physically they are said to stand nearest of all Hottentots to the Bushmen. The intimate contact of the two peoples has effected a mixture; while east of the Vaal River, Kaffir blood has penetrated.

Thus the latest incident in this history of a passive race is its absorption into a race of hybrids; the Hottentot element having remained purest in the Namaquas. We shall, therefore, wherever recent information is available, have to keep mainly to these, completing the sketch with the aid of materials from the old descriptions of the Cape Hottentots in the 17th and 18th centuries.

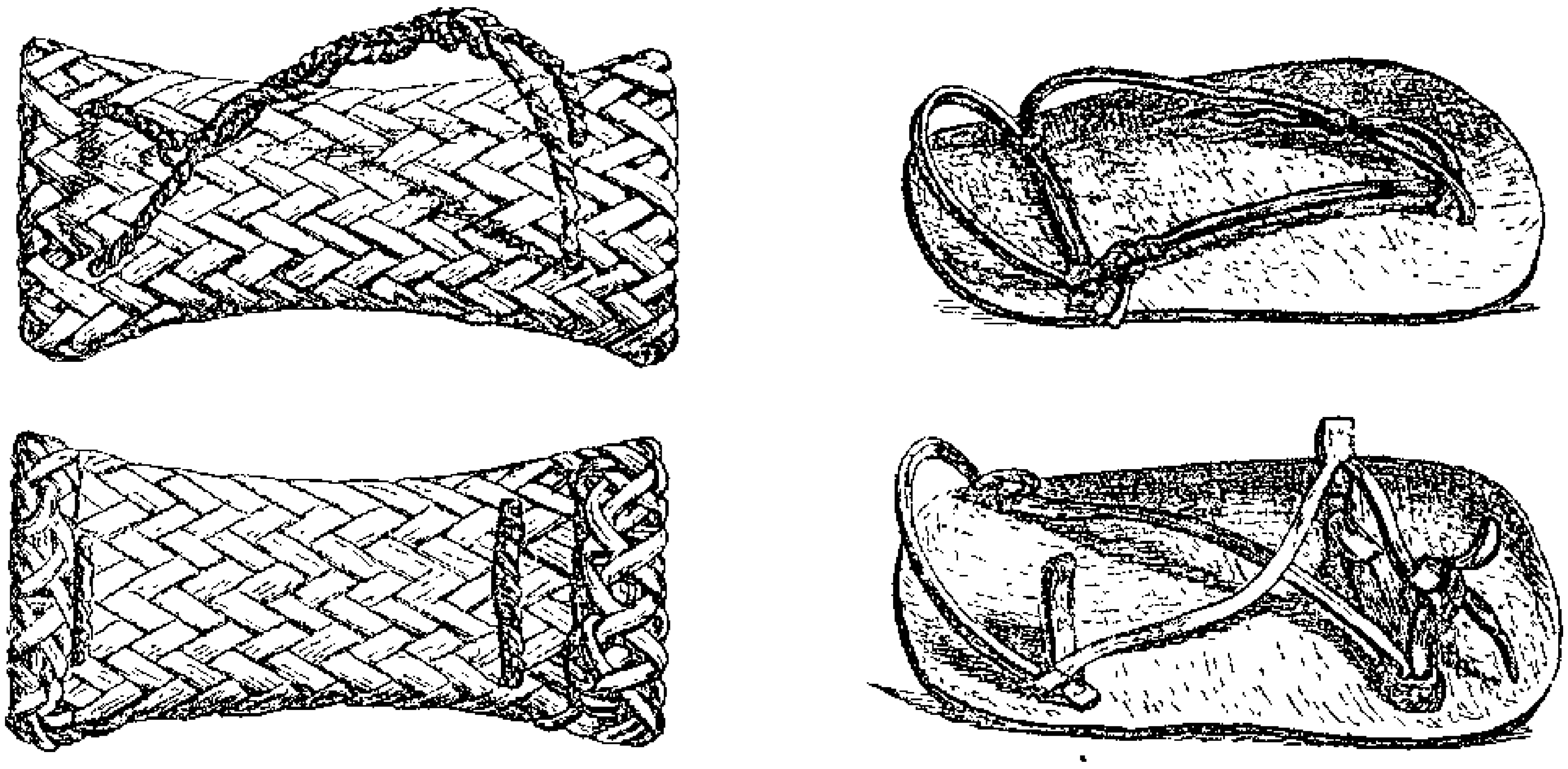
Anthropologically the distinctive marks of the Hottentots are the pale yellow skin, the curly, felted hair, the long, depressed skull with narrow forehead, the strongly-projecting cheekbones, the small development of the nasal bone, and the tendency to "steatopygy." Apart from the hair and the skull, these are not characteristics of the "African stock." The brownish yellow complexion, and the broad face with its marked cheekbones seem at first sight rather to justify the comparison often made between Hottentots and Mongols. But this Asiatic resemblance does not, on closer observation, hold with regard either to figure or features, and especially not in respect of the alleged oblique position of the eyes.

In the average Hottentot we have a man of somewhat below the middle height, between 4 ft. 9 in. and 5 ft. 3 in. The colour has been compared by Barrow to that of a withered leaf; those who know the Javanese find themselves reminded of the colouring of Malays. With the brownish yellow, a grey tint is often mingled; sometimes there is a shade of red as well. As the Hottentot has less colouring matter in his skin than a Negro, he more quickly becomes light under crossing. Fritsch notes his skin as being neither so thick and firm as the Negro's, nor possessed of so penetrating an odour. It is dry and flabby, and has a great tendency to form wrinkles. The Hottentot hair is tightly felted, frequently even so as to form small clusters like knots or tufts with clear spaces between, as shown in the cuts on pp. 241, 246; this does not therefore result in the first place from any arrangement of the roots of the hair in groups. The individual hairs are coarse. A strong beard is seldom seen, even in hybrids. The hair grows grey with age, but seldom falls.

In the general physical appearance of the Hottentot the conspicuous points are delicacy of the joints and deficiency of muscle. Elegancy of build does not, however, result from this, for harmony of form is lacking. Fritsch ascribes to the body of the Hottentot an actual tendency to irregular, even unsymmetrical development, whereby the growth is distorted to the point of caricature. Other points to be noted in the general appearance are the leanness of forearm and calf, and the slight prominence of the hips. Flat feet are common. Corpulence is rare among men, though a change in dietary conditions quickly alters the outline of the figure. The deposit of fat in the gluteal region, and on the outside of the hips and thighs, which makes many Hottentot women perfect monsters, occurs even more frequently among Bastaards of the male sex. Neither this, nor the peculiar formation called the "Hottentot apron," is very rare in other African races.

The fundamental feature in the shape of the Hottentot face is its triangular form; the cheekbones are high and prominent, and make a triangle with the pointed chin. The narrow forehead also diminishes upwards to a triangle, so that the whole face acquires a lozenge shape. The nose is short, and flat at the root, snub and turned up at the tip, the nostrils being directed forwards. The mouth is wide, the lips everted. The teeth are not, as with Negroes, large and of porcelain whiteness, but small and even, more to be compared with pearls. The eyes are far apart. They are often set slanting, the inner angle of the lids being lowest.

The most notable peculiarities of the skeleton lie in the length and lowness of the skull, the strong projection of the jaws, the narrow pelvis, and the slim rather than massive structure of all the bones. The capacity of physical performance is



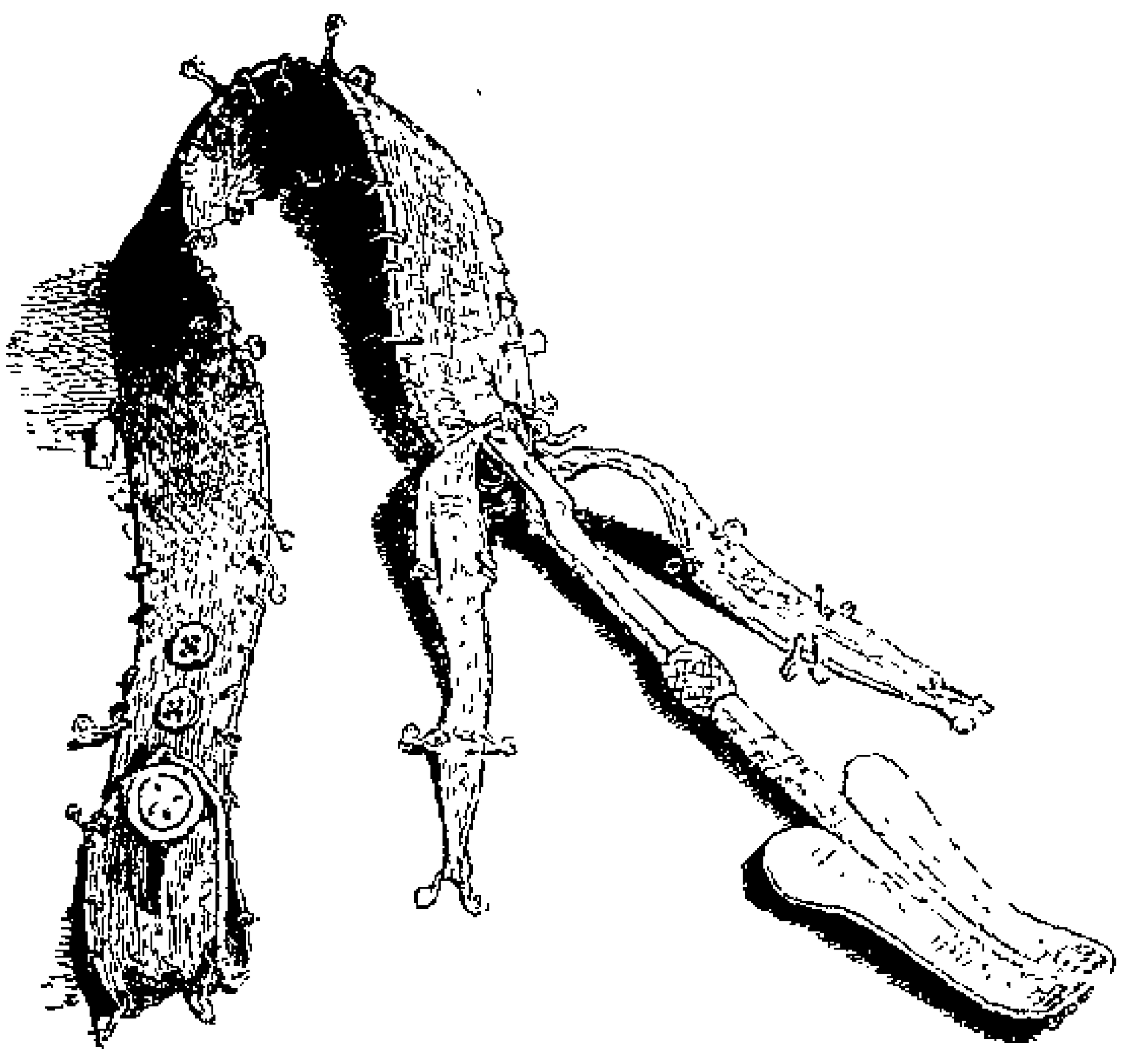
Hottentot sandals. (Berlin Museum.)

in general small; and they are remarkably slow about everything. They have of all African races the least power of resisting a tropical climate.

One would suppose from the frequent contact of Hottentots with Europeans in one of the oldest colonies that opinion as to their intellect and character must long ago have become established. But the contrary is the case. As was the very object of the Europeans in taking away the Hottentot's country, within a few decades they had been driven back, and impoverished, where they were not reduced to slavery. The average Hottentot was unfavourably situated from the outset owing to his limited physical powers and to his flabby and obtuse character. He has none of the Kaffir's high courage and blind passion, nor of the Bushman's savage audacity. The curse of feebleness, arousing even in the Damaras more contempt than hatred, rested upon him. It must, however, be considered that the rapid vicissitudes of national destinies within the Nama and Damara territories causes one race to appear wretched to-day, the other to-morrow. Their proverbial slowness is easily understood when we reflect that their existence was originally that of a pastoral people who could carelessly dream their days away. The blame for any disillusion lies really with the colonists who tried to convert them all at once to habits of dispatch and perseverance, and the very tendency to spirit-drinking and unchastity co-operated towards the demoralising influence of their subjugation. Older observers speak well of their honesty, good-nature, and

liberality; Schinz, of their readiness to oblige or assist, and of their hospitality. As servants, they were often of dog-like fidelity. The Hottentot soldiers of the Cape Government were distinguished for docility and obedience. A more favourable judgment, too, has to be formed of their intellectual endowments, since more detailed missionary reports have been received. We have first to put them in comparison with their equals. Of the three races, Hereros, Namaquas, and Mountain Damaras, Hugo Hahn thinks the second the cleverest. The melancholy history of the Hottentots has certainly contributed to a low estimate of them.

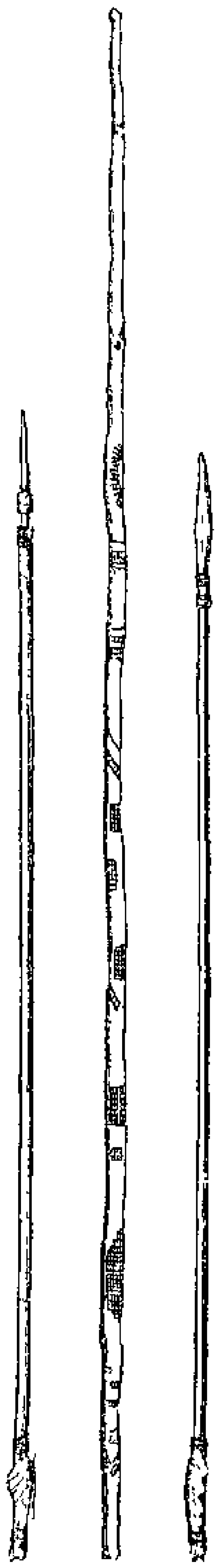
The clothing of both sexes formerly consisted of loin-cloth and *kaross*. The men wore a thong round the waist, from which depended a piece of jackal's, wild cat's, or other small animal's skin. The women wore a triangular cloth, two corners of which were tied in front; an apron depended from the knot, and in the case of adults was ornamented with fringes, hair, and beads. Formerly, the loin-cloth consisted of a piece of fur with tinkling rings of copper appended to it. Besides this, the women wore a string, passing several times round about their waists, of perforated bits of ostrich egg-shell, and on this girdle tortoise-shells, large and small, containing *buchu* ointment. Girls received all this ceremonially, on attaining maturity. The *kaross*, worn by both sexes, was made by preference of sheepskin, or the fur of jackals or wild cats; while persons of rank had it made of antelope skin. Ladies of better social position wore a mosaic of three and four-cornered pieces of gay shell on the neck part of it. Sandals, plaited or of hide, were put on for long marches; a round broad kind, adapted for travelling on sand, were depicted by Balthazar Sprenger as long ago as 1508. The present state of things when a Hottentot can hardly be imagined without trousers is a great contrast to Kolb's description. Only the women, more conservative, still wear the old loin-cloth under the cotton petticoat. Formerly, in wet or cold weather, the men used to wear over their heads a sheepskin with the woolly side in; now the felt hat is universal. The women used constantly to wear pointed caps, and to this day the Cape Hottentot women keep their heads always covered. Now they use by preference coloured handkerchiefs, which have become one of the most current articles of trade.



Hottentot snuff-ladle of iron, probably borrowed from Bechuanas. (Frankfort Museum.)

The style of ornament has equally changed. Both sexes still carry leather pouches hung round their necks, containing knife, pipe, tobacco, money; also little horns, tortoise-shells, and other things as finery or as charms. Children have little bones on their belts. But the rings of metal on the forearm, of ivory on the upper arm, the polished work of which used to arouse the wonder of Europeans, have become very rare. Therewith also the custom of attaching to them a leather bag for tobacco, provisions, and the like, has fallen into disuse. Only the women

have continued to wear leg-rings, which formerly consisted exclusively of strips of sheepskin formed into rings. Of these a hundred, three and four deep, used to be worn between the ankle and the knee. That made going laborious, but they were used to it from childhood. It may have had its merits as a protection against thorns and snake-bites, especially when the rings were made fast by interwoven rushes. Men as well as women wore in their ears, which were in consequence pulled down to the shoulder, great rings of brass, with bright mother-of-pearl shells, or bits of such, in them. They also hung beads of glass or copper in their hair, and round neck and waist, also strings of perforated bits of ostrich egg-shell, as already mentioned.



Namaqua stick and arrows. (Berlin Museum.)

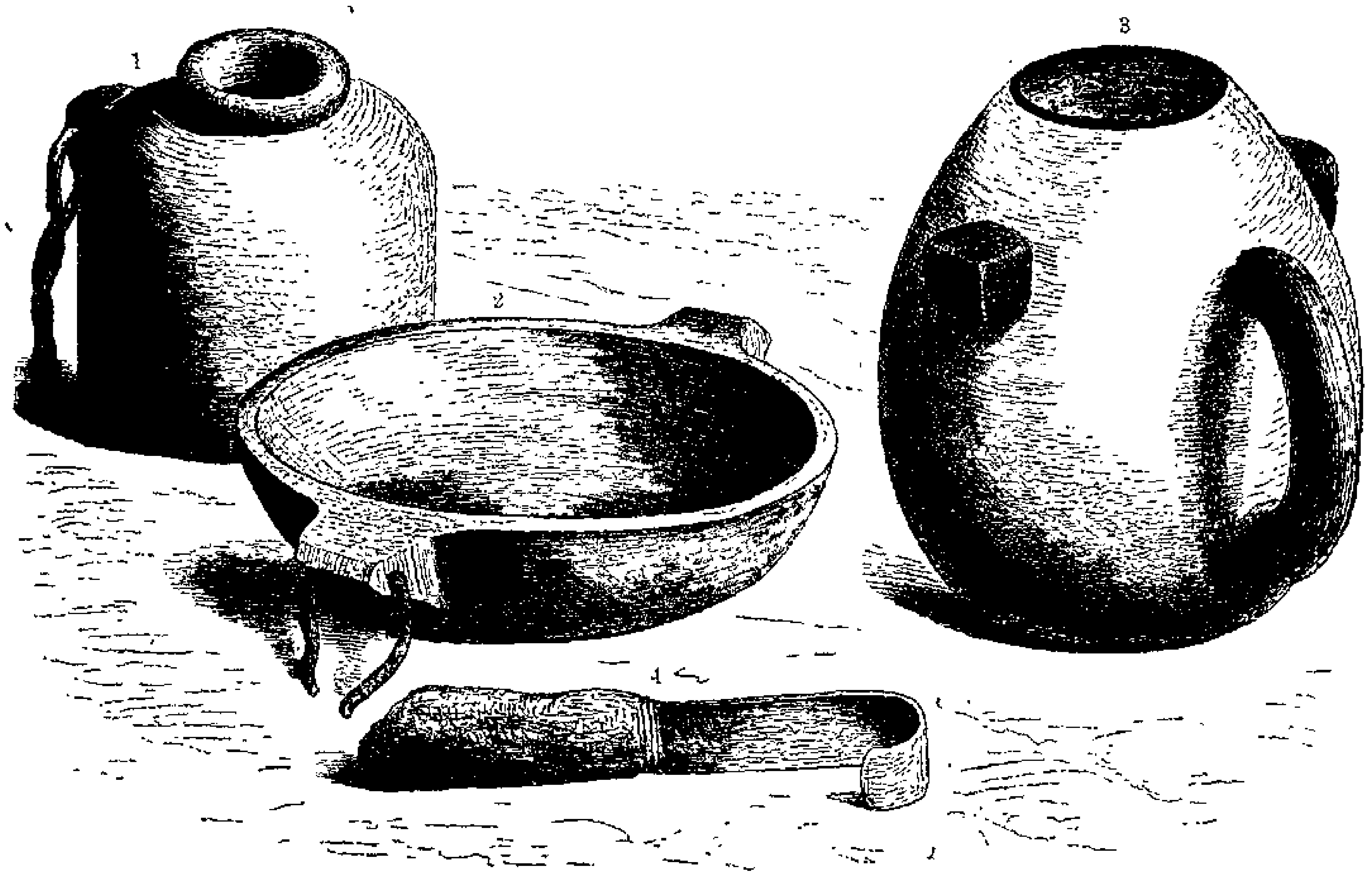
New-born children are at once smeared with mutton-fat. Grown-up people, however, smear their bodies with an ointment of grease, bruised *buchu*-plant, and soot or ochre, drawing lines on it with the fingers. This forms an indispensable part of a Hottentot's make-up. They smear the hair extra-thickly, no doubt as a protection to the head against the heat of the sun. It is still usual, even among Christian Namaqua tribes, for the women to paint their faces with ruddle. In Kolb's time the Hottentot women used on festal occasions to paint red spots on forehead, cheeks, and chin; and even to-day they enclose the eyes in marks like spectacles, paint saddle-shaped figures over the nose, curved lines on the cheeks, and the like. Complete masks result from connecting these lines. Tattooing seems to have been practised, and that only to a limited extent, in the form of a few linear scars beneath the cheekbones, coloured blue. Finally the Hottentot garb included the inevitable sweat-wiper, made of a fox's tail mounted on a stick.

They have few utensils. Pots are made from clay, the most frequent shape being a large-bellied urn with a narrow base, a mouth hardly large enough to admit the fist, and two ears through which a cord is passed to hang it up. One family, as a rule, possess several such vessels—for water and milk, for cooking, and for keeping roots in. Besides these, they use dishes. They carve spoons from tortoise-shell, ox-horn, and shells, and make knives of soft iron.

The weapons of the Hottentot, at the time of his first intercourse with Europeans, were like those of the Kaffir. The bow took secondary place; like the Bushman bow, it was made of a single stave of strong wood. The arrows had barbed iron heads, hammered thin, on a reed shaft 20 inches long. Their snake poison was no doubt similarly compounded with that of the Bushmen. The quiver, according to Kolb, was "a piece of wood scooped out or hollowed by fire," or was made from the hide of ox, eland, rhinoceros, or elephant. Their chief weapon, the javelin or *assegai*—as it is called even by seventeenth-century travellers, before we have any reports of the Kaffirs—had a plain blade half a foot in length, set on a shaft longer than the height of a man, and sharpened at the butt. According to some, it was poisoned. The last article in their equipment was the stick for striking or throwing, one specimen of which, described by Kolb, was three feet long, and

as thick as a thumb throughout, while another was a foot long and pointed. The former he calls *kirri*, and it is the shepherd's stick in use at the present day, the latter *rackum;* this, he says, is only adapted for throwing, the other serves for fighting and parrying. Both were made of hard wood and soaked in oil, to give greater firmness.

The older travellers are at one accord as to the skill of the Hottentots in throwing the *rackum* and in archery, but not as to their military qualifications and their capacity for stubborn resistance, even while their power was yet unbroken. Compared with the Bushmen, the Hottentots take, no doubt, an inferior place as hunters, to this day avoiding the hunting-grounds where the Bushmen rove; but like true children of nature they are too little of cattle-

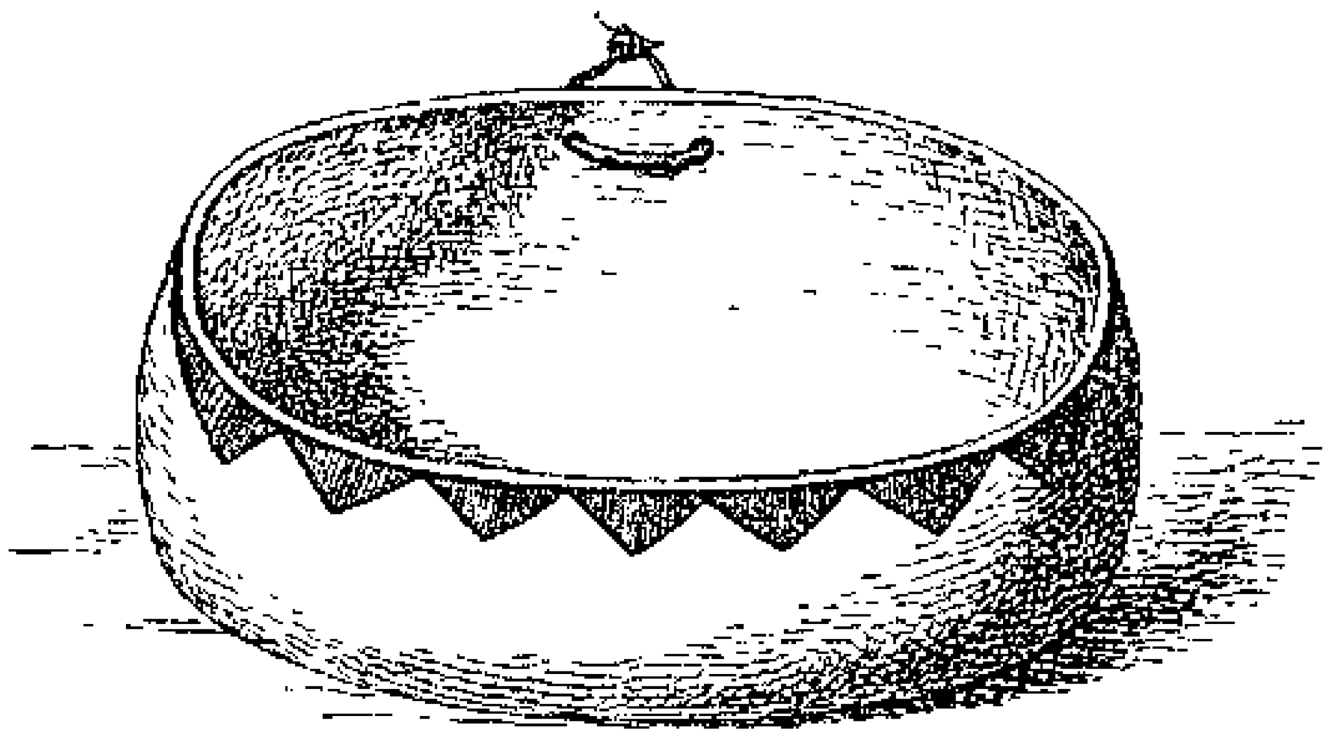


1, 2, and 4. Hottentot wooden vessels and knife for carving them; 3. Wooden vessel of Bushman carving.

breeders not to love hunting above all things. Thus they often hunt by kraals, set traps, dig pits, and so on; while as path-finders they are compared to the Redskins. This craft is, of course, valuable to the herdsman when seeking his strayed cattle on the plains. Nor at the given moment do they lack decision in presence of wild beasts; the most wonderful stories of courageous hunters are related by them. In their lion-hunts, says Schreyer, they face the king of the desert with assegai in one hand and kaross in the other. Immediately after the hunt they cut up a portion of the meat into flat strips, and dry them in the sun; the remainder is brought to the village, where the whole population remains as long as any of it is left, uninterruptedly in the condition of the digesting boa-constrictor. If we may believe Kolb, the fortunate hunter undergoes an "alterative" process at the hands of some old fellow-tribesmen, in the form of a hydraulic application which does not bear more minute description; after which the other men place themselves round him, and smoke *dakka* or tobacco, sprinkling him with the resulting ashes. Then he fastens the bladder of the slain

animal in his hair, and is admired by his fellows as a hero. His wife, however, has to fast for three days, and stay outside the kraal with the cattle; while he must live separate from her for a like period.

Opportunities of fishing are few. Having no boats, both the Hottentots and the Kaffirs use tree-stems, when required, in order to cross streams. Nor are the dwellers on the coast any better off as regards canoes or rafts. They wade about below high-water mark spearing thornbacks, and fish—perhaps following European example—with hooks made of iron nails. Thus the coast Hottentots of Walvisch Bay are a race of low type, living partly by casual services rendered to white men, partly on the fish of the Bay, and partly on the *naras* or wild gourds of the sandhills. They also have a few cattle. In former times similar tribes existed further south. In the narrative we often hear of beachmen, fishermen, watermen; it would seem that certain tribes from the interior came down yearly to the coast to live for a time on shell and other fish. At many points on the coast of Cape Colony the debris of such meals have been found, mixed with bones, even human; real "kitchen middens."



A Namaqua wooden dish. (Berlin Museum.)

The Hottentots' huts might equally well be called tents; they can be struck and repitched in a few hours. The frame consists of supple staves, stuck into the ground in an oval, then bent together, and fastened to each other at the top. The enclosed space is, in length, about twice a man's height, and in breadth less by a third. The aperture is only half the height of a man, and a full-grown man cannot stand up inside. Close mats are laid over the frame, and hides over them; the whole being weighted with stones as a safeguard against blasts of wind. The mats, the most artistic thing on the premises, are manufactured by the Namaquas as follows. The inner bark of the mimosa is softened in hot water, and by the united chewing-power of the family, and quickly spun into a thread by rolling on the naked thighs. Then rushes or grass-stalks are perforated at intervals of 2 inches, and the thread drawn through by means of a bone needle, a thorn, or an iron bodkin 2 feet in length. Not only are these mats airy in dry warm weather, but they swell with damp, and become so close that they keep off the heaviest rainfall. A single pack-ox easily carries the semicircular poles of the hut-frame, the mats, and the two or three utensils—calabashes, milking-pail, pots—with the mistress of the house and her offspring into the bargain. In the middle, opposite the door, the interior of the hut displays a hole for the fire—careful housewives always make a hearth of clay—and round it as many sleeping-holes as there are inmates. The household goods are kept on a frame near the door; which can be closed with skins. Its position is easily changed from one side to another, according to the direction of the wind, by shifting the mats, but it is originally towards the east. The construction of these residences is attended to almost entirely by the women. When the modern Hottentot has taken to the rectangular mud-hovel; he often keeps his beehive-shaped hut for sleeping in. They build their villages in a circle house by house, leaving a large wide space in the middle, into which they drive their sheep at night. Bethany, the capital and

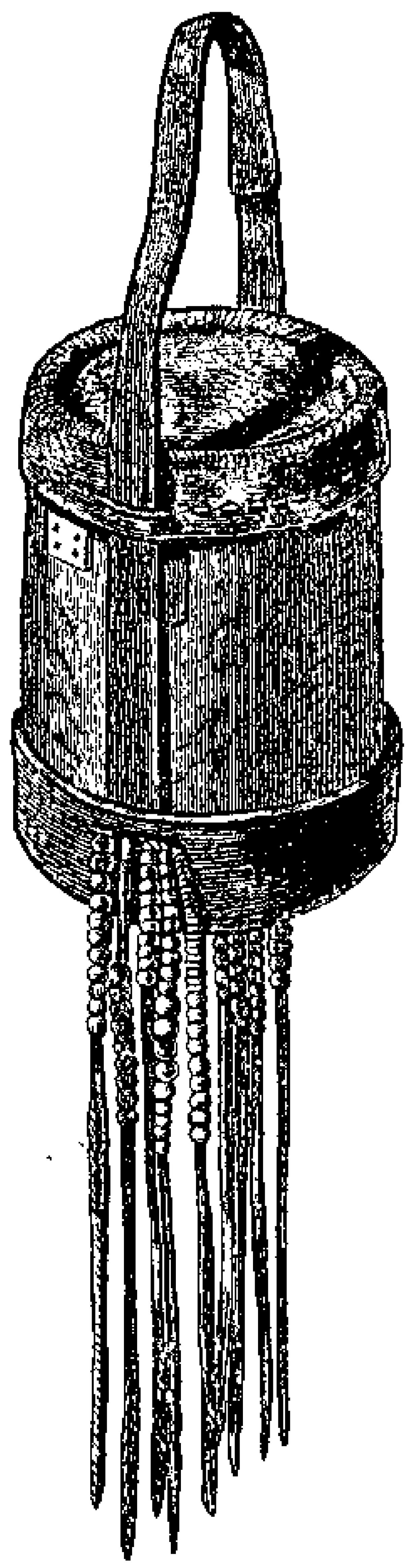
"seat of government" of Great Namaqua Land, consists of 20 to 25 huts, with 150 to 200 inhabitants.

Cattle-breeding is the pivot of Hottentot life. At the time of the first contact with Europeans the tendency to pastoral life was, owing to the growth of the herds, and the competition with the Bushmen who lived by the game, strong among many tribes, but was afterwards lessened by quarrels, cattle-lifting, and impoverishment. The first settlers could only support themselves by the aid of the natives' herds; while, for the natives, the herds were their only wealth, by means of which they could obtain luxuries and finery. The man who had nothing sought service with the richer among his people, with the sole object of owning cattle. Cattle was the money and the gold of these races in pre-European times. The tending of the cattle passes to all the inhabitants in turn. For quite young lambs and calves there is a shelter hut of their own. Experienced persons perform the requisite operation on the young males. Milking and the sale of milk take place just as with the Negroes, except that the former is the duty of the women. Both men and women may drink cows' milk, but sheep's milk is allowed to women only. The strongest oxen render great service by their strength and docility as team-animals, in the south-west, where roads are few. Cattle are slaughtered only in emergencies, or at weddings and funerals; but all that die are eaten. There are no evidences anywhere of an original agriculture among the Hottentots. The few implements of the modern Namaquas come undoubtedly from their northern neighbours; they are of somewhat different form from those of the Eastern Kaffirs. Their cleverness in handling cattle has made the Hottentots preferred as drivers of the great bullock-waggons. The mighty whip with a handle six feet long is now, as the "driver," one of the most important instruments of Hottentots and Bastaards; it is a real tool of culture.

Their diet consisted of the produce of their hunting and their cattle, also of vegetables. The women used to procure such roots and tubers as the monkeys and pigs were seen to grub for most eagerly. But like all Africans, meat was what they always sought most passionately; according to Lichtenstein, no South African savage can bear entire deprivation of meat. At a pinch they singe skins and leather, which they will then chew till it is soft. They boil or broil meat, and roast roots in the embers; but everything is devoured half-raw. The national dish is meat boiled in blood. For drink they had, until Europeans came, only water and milk. But they soon learnt to be immoderately fond of spirits, and the East India Company took steps to prevent the export of arrack to the Cape. At the same time the introduction of the vine made wine and brandy easily accessible. Now, to their great misfortune, the Hottentots have long been used to stimulants of all kinds. Among Hottentot luxuries were the *dakka* herb—by which term hemp is now understood, while it formerly denoted another, and native, narcotic—and from the first coming of Europeans, tobacco, for which they will sell anything. Snuffing and chewing too, they soon learned. Their smoking apparatus and methods agree with those of the Bushmen.

Among handicrafts and arts the Hottentots understand best of all the preparation of furs and leather. They render the skins soft and retentive of the hair by repeatedly rubbing them when fresh with grease and cow-dung, and beating them hard with knobkerries. They sew them together with sinews, generally the back sinews of an ox, after first pricking the holes with an awl of

bird-bone. To get rid of the hair they sprinkle ashes on the fresh hide, and let it "sweat" in the sun, as tanners do. Then they rub it on both sides alternately with grease or sand, till it can be cut into thongs. The use of bark for tanning must have been learnt by the Namaquas from Europeans. They plait cords and weave mats of rushes and reeds. The women make their pots with the free hand. They take the clay from ant-hills, and knead the ants' eggs up with it. After the pot has been dried in the sun they put it in a hole, lighting fire round it and inside it, till it is baked through and turned black by the carbonising of the grease in the ants' eggs. Their pots and spoons, cut from wood in the Kaffir fashion, are much more finely wrought.


A Namaqua grease-box. (Berlin Museum.)

They had not the least hankering after gold and silver, and to all appearance they did not possess those metals before Europeans arrived. They only knew the use of copper for ornament and finery; and they must have learnt of themselves to smelt it in small quantities. Their mode of smelting iron is that used throughout Africa. Their bellows consists of a goatskin with wind-hole and earthenware nozzle. Their smith's work too was done in the simplest way, with stone hammer on a stone anvil. Indeed their production of iron even in the seventeenth century was so limited that the Dutch from the first imported iron for arm and foot-rings.

The first Europeans found but few traces of trade or commerce. Besides sheep and cattle nothing but ivory came into consideration; and it is on this that the only supposition as to an old Hottentot external trade is based. A direct trade with Natal seems to be supported by a note in the log of the Dutch skipper Van der Schelling to the effect that ivory in great quantity was to be found in Terra de Natal, and that he had brought it from the neighbouring Monomotapans and Hottentots. Among themselves or with the Dutch they bartered beasts from their herds for tobacco, but seldom sold their weapons.

A few words in conclusion as to the artistic performances of the Hottentots. Their musical talent is specially recognised by the missionaries, who speak highly of their great docility in learning church hymns. Among themselves they, like the Bushmen, use the *gom-gom* or *gora*. Kolb declares that three or four of these, played in harmony, give a tranquil and pleasant music. They use also reed flutes, and drums made of an earthenware pot with sheep-skin stretched over it.

In their medical practice they attach great value to bleeding, either by sucking through a horn from an incision in the skin or by venesection with bandaging. The amputation of a finger-joint, which is a duty upon women in certain circumstances, they can also cleverly perform with the aid of a ligature. Smearing with fat, of which they are also fond on cosmetic grounds, is employed together with extension and kneading of the limbs in cases of dislocation and the like. For internal use they have a whole list of native vegetable materials, including the purgative juice of the aloe. Kolb says too that they take snake-

poison as an antidote to arrow-poison. But the first thing of all to be done in any severe illness is to call in the witch-doctor, who best knows all medicaments and their preparation. Above all things he performs the "alterative" process, by killing a sheep and laying its omentum, powdered with *buchu* and twisted into a cord, upon the sick man's head and shoulders; there it must stay till it falls off. The meat of the sheep is eaten by the men or the women, according to the sex of the patient. If the illness is persistent, or danger appears to be present, the witch-doctor tries to ascertain the prospects of recovery by skinning a sheep alive; if the animal runs after the process, recovery may be expected, but otherwise, death. The position and functions of the witch-doctor are else the same as with the Kaffirs.

As a rule among the Hottentots when a woman is confined an older woman bears her company. From the time that the pains begin the husband must leave the hut, and if he comes back before the time he has to undergo "alteration" by standing a sheep to the company; and the same is enjoined upon him at the birth of a dead child. A healthy, new-born child is smeared with cow-dung, then anointed with grease and sprinkled with *buchu* to make it supple and strong. If it is a boy, well-to-do Hottentots slaughter some cattle, if a girl, only sheep, or it may be, nothing at all. Early reports speak of the exposure of weakly children and female twins. Burial of the placenta, purification of the mother, and so on, all take place as among the Kaffirs. The first meeting of husband and wife takes place, according to Kolb, to the accompaniment of *dakka*-smoking to the point of intoxication. The mother carries the baby on her back in a lamb's skin, with the hind-legs round her waist and the fore-legs round her neck. The little one does not as a rule require to be disturbed for its meals, for the mother is soon able to pass her breast to it under her arm.

As soon as the children can run of themselves their skins are smeared with butter or *buchu*-ointment for protection against the sun; and if possible they are washed clean in the evening. The Namaquas happen to be less shy of water than other "natural" races. Young people get practice with the herds in running and jumping; the breaking-in of a young ox is an excellent test of strength. They are also early taught to follow a trail in hunting. Between the eighth or ninth year and maturity circumcision was performed; not until after which did the boy become a man. Among the old Hottentots this and other mutilations took place amid the utmost festivity. Boys are called after the mother; girls after the father.

Marriage takes place so early that the arrangement of it is the parents' affair. As with all South Africans it is based on undisguised purchase. It is preceded by an application on the part of a relative of the suitor to the father of the girl, and to herself. If the answer be favourable, his people come the next day to the bride's kraal with the oxen ordained for the wedding feast, and there slaughters them and arranges the meal. Older observers speak of indecent ceremonies, but not the more recent. The only limit to the number of wives is the ability to feed them. Among the Namaquas survivals of words like *Gris*, "chief wife," still point to the polygamy which has vanished. Marriages between near relatives are forbidden as far as first cousins. The first-born son is the only heir of his parents; other children have an ox or two, or a few sheep, given them when they marry.

At a funeral, when the lamentation was over, the son first killed a ram, and sprinkled its blood on the corpse, which was then bound with thongs in a squatting attitude, and sewn up in mats and skins. Now an outstretched position with feet towards the east seems to be usual. On one of the long sides of the grave a niche was formed, as in the cut on p. 48 of vol. i., and this was the actual resting-place of the dead, into which he was shut with slabs of stone, poles, and branches. Then the earth was shovelled back into the grave, and a heap of stones raised over it to keep off the hyenas. Sometimes the body is laid in a cleft of the rocks or in a cave. A special aperture is made for taking the dead man out of his hut. Besides

The Hottentot chief, Jan Afrikaaner, and his wife. (From a photograph belonging to the Barmen Mission.)

lamentations, according to Kolb, purification took place, in which human urine, ashes from the hearth of the deceased, and cow-dung, were employed. Moreover, after all these ceremonies, animals were solemnly slaughtered by the relatives, and their omenta hung round the neck in token of mourning. The whole kraal then broke up its huts; only that of the deceased person being left untouched, for fear that he might come back.

If we did not see in the careful fashion of burial, and in the belief in the spirit's return, a reaching out of the thought into the spiritual domain, we should be astonished by the positive way in which even older observers almost unanimously ascribe to these people a kind of religion, especially a "veneration for the moon," whose appearance was celebrated with dances. Occasionally, it is said, they may be heard in dark caves muttering something to the sound of clapping of hands. Kolb goes still further when he says that even then the Hottentots could not be classed together with the Kaffirs, since they recognise God and know that

He exists. They called the moon their "Great Captain," and cried, "Be thou welcome; grant that we may get much honey, grant that our cattle may have plenty to eat and give milk in plenty." To questions as to the nature and being of this Lord they were wont to reply that he had done them nothing but good, and was therefore not feared; but that, on the other hand, there was another Captain of somewhat inferior power, who was always doing harm to them. This opposition of a good and a bad principle at once arouses the suspicion that we have to do here with a fragment of Christianity suggested by questions, especially when we

Two Nama-Bastaards. (From a photograph belonging to the same.)

are told that the bad Touquo is ugly all over, rough and hairy, with a horse's feet and head. But why they honoured and thanked the "Bad Captain" more than the good, they did not know; only their forefathers had told them that they had themselves sinned terribly against the Great Captain, and he had therefore so hardened their hearts. This recalls the story of the Fall. From the same period again we hear the first report of the worship of a thin green beetle, two inches long, in whose honour sheep were slaughtered; also of "holy places" where dancing or singing took place in commemoration of some fortunate event.

Some of these statements have been confirmed by more recent observers, but in quite another sense. What used to be imagined at one time as God, at another as an evil principle opposed to Him, is in reality a Hottentot national hero, about whom the most various legends and conceptions have grouped themselves. It is no doubt the only Hottentot word which approaches our "God"; and so the missionaries used this to render the *Thuikwe* and *Tikoa* of the Cape, the Namaqua

*Tsuikwap*, the Korana *Tshukoap*. A Kaffir word for God, *Tio* or *Tillo* and the corresponding Bushman *Tuiko* seem to be connected. May the interpretation "Wounded Knee" be not merely a bit of popular etymology, but an accordance with the lame Hephaestus, the lame Maui? [1] Another centre of spiritual ideas is Heitsi-Eibib or Kabib, a great and renowned sorcerer. He appeared in various forms, often very beautiful, died more than once, and always rose from the dead again. Consequently his graves are numerous, and the Hottentots cast stones on them to avert misfortune. They say that at first there were two such beings. One of them dug a great pit in the ground, sat beside it, and bade all passers-by to throw a stone at his forehead. The stone rebounded and killed the thrower, so that he fell into the pit. When it was reported to the other that many men were coming by their death in this wise, he went to his "double," and did not throw a stone, but diverted the warlock's attention to something on one side. Then he smote him that he died, and fell into his own pit. So there was peace, and men were fortunate. Who can fail to recognise in this a fundamental agreement with Oedipus and Siegfried the dragon-slayer, no less than with similar figures in Fiji and in India?

Hottentot literature is rich in beast-fables, according in some points with those of Reynard the Fox, but still more with the Negro fables; setting forth and caricaturing, with more or less humour, the outwitting of the Lion and other beasts by the Jackal, the stupidity of the Elephant, the cunning of the Baboon, and the like. Their prose form often passes into verse; often, as in Æsop, the moral is put at the end in a distinct apophthegmatic shape. Keen observation and practical wisdom may be recognised in them; indeed a feeling for nature, such as must exercise a reflex action on the intellect, is expressed in all their myths.

The older reports about the political institutions of the Hottentots lead to the conclusion that they were like those of the other African pastoral peoples. Their history gives sufficient evidence how weak their cohesion was. A hundred years ago they were not extensive nations filling whole provinces with men. Here was a kraal, containing 100, 150, at most 200 souls; two or three days' journey away was another. We find no mention of a prince ruling over several kraals. The political organisation of the Namaquas to-day is eminently loose and shifting. The Orlams, immigrant Hottentots from the Cape, form the larger part of the tribes; while the smaller, but internally more adherent, part consists of the pure-blooded Namaquas, who used formerly to consider themselves the "royal" race. The lack of any higher political organisation among the Hottentots is of itself enough to explain how the process of race-disintegration could have been so quickly accomplished. The sporadic attempts at resistance can hardly be called opposition to this; they were merely isolated outbreaks of rage in people driven into a corner. We must not be misled by the tales of the old chroniclers of Cape history, who apply in innumerable cases the name of nation not only to small communities but even to single kraals.

The present political condition of Great Namaqua Land looks like a transition from the tribal organisation of the original Nama settlers to the domination of an influential dynasty of immigrant Bastaards. There are still some independent

[1] [A good account of the Tsui-Goab myth will be found in Mr. Lang's *Custom and Myth*, p. 202, *sqq*. He returns to it in *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, vol. ii. p. 16, *sqq*.]

Namaqua tribes, who here and there indulge themselves with a little robbery. For example, the German Empire entered into separate treaties with the Bastaards of Rehoboth, and with Captain Joseph Fredericks of Bethany, who however consented only unwillingly to dispense with the support of the chief of Beersheba.

The reaction of these scions of white and Hottentot blood upon the more recent history of the Hottentots is not merely interesting from an ethnographical point of view, but is also of all historical features since the first contact of Hottentots with Europeans that which seems to have in it most promise for the future. By the arrival of semi-civilized elements at their head, a certain degree of spontaneity has come into the hitherto passive history of the Hottentots. Through this intermixture unquestionable benefit has resulted to the only large fragments of them that remain, the Griquas and the Namaquas, even though most of the half-breeds have provoked the unfavourable judgment of discontented and jealous whites. The country was at an early date peopled by numerous offspring of mixed blood, who had already begun to play a part a hundred years after the founding of the colony. At first they appeared as an influential element among the Griquas, then living in the south-west. Driven back into the interior by the advance of the settlers, they admitted Bushmen among them, and, as time went on, not a few of the Bastaards, half-breeds between Europeans and Hottentots or Bushmen, who, being repudiated by their fathers' people and not adopted by their mothers', were to be found in especially large numbers on the frontier of the colony. Being physically and intellectually superior, this third element soon exercised so strong an influence upon the whole that the original name "Griqua" was for a time indifferently used, even in official documents, with that of "Bastaards." We must consider the pride with which even the South African half-breeds insist upon the very smallest drop of white blood in their veins. The missionaries were the first to restore the name "Griqua" to its right use. The remarkable qualities of intellect and character possessed by an emancipated Negro slave from the Mozambique coast, Adam Kok, contributed in no small degree to the elevation of the Griquas.

Thus under the name of a vanished Hottentot stock we have to do with a hybrid race formed of three main elements: Hottentot, Bushman, European. There can be no doubt that among the Bastaards there were also genuine negro-mulattos, and half-breeds of Malay blood. But two components are principally recognised among the Griquas: (1) genuine Griquas, the majority a cross between Hottentot and Bushman, small, yellowish-brown people, with short woolly hair and broad, projecting cheek-bones; and (2) the true Bastaards, mostly tall and powerful, with a more or less European cut of countenance, curly hair, and skin often of a strikingly dark, but sometimes of an ashy-pale, colour. In the west, genuine mulattos are understood by the name "Griqua." The term "Griqualanders" conveys another idea, rather political than ethnographic, and has become usual since the Griquas have, in company with Bastaards, Koranas, and Bechuanas, had a country of their own allotted them, north of the middle Orange River. It would be useless labour to try to sketch any character common to these Griquas, the elements mingled in them are as yet too little fused. Each individual is a type of his own. Yet there are two chief components; the true Griquas as well as the Bastaards have undoubtedly an intellectual preponderance over the rest.

Standing between culture and barbarism, and not fully sharing in the advantages

of either, fitting into none of the existing race groups, none of the established social frames, the Griquas are both suited for and disposed toward the nomadism which is never far off in South Africa. They have even been contrasted, as "the Arabs of South Africa," with the agricultural Bechuanas. These Bastaards are the most active and enduring wanderers of the desert, the best shots, the cleverest hunters, but at the same time the greatest scamps, the most arrant drunkards, the most dangerous criminals. Even where they have betaken themselves to a settled life and steady labour, they retain some of their intractable nature. Thus their whole history is one of migrations. In 1820 they were dwelling in three tribes between Daniel's Kuil and the Riet River. When Niklaas Waterboer was elected leader at Griqua Town in 1822, many Griquas went away and joined other tribes. Another exodus under Buys took the direction of the mountains on the frontier of Cape Colony, and gave rise to the Bergenaers. In 1826 Adam Kok with his Griquas went to the Bushman colony of Philippolis, which had been devastated by the Kaffirs, and thither came a numerous contingent from Namaqualand and other districts. After the setting-up of the Orange Free State in 1854 the Griquas were more and more confined, till in 1859 they sent out an expedition to look for land, and in 1862 migrated to Nomansland in the Drakensberg Mountains, now Griqualand East. Nothing could be better adapted than such a life to raise doubtful claims as to land; in addition to which the Griqua people itself fell into poverty and dwindled owing to spirit-drinking, the receding of the game, and the advance of the whites. In 1867 Waterboer was ruling over only a few hundred souls. On his requisition, England, which for forty years had been subsidising the Griquas, annexed in 1872 the diamond district of South Africa, or Griqualand West, in spite of the objections made by the Orange Free State. For the Griquas this was more loss than gain, for they were pretty much swamped in the influx of gold-seekers. Their prospect of political independence was thereby destroyed.

A drama essentially the same, though more recently, and with other scenery, has been played in the west of South Africa. The stock and name of the old Namaquas wandered northward, acquiring new elements, and in course of time filling the old mould with new contents. In spite of its now desolate character, the tract, eight days' journey in breadth, between Little and Great Namaqualand, seems to have been traversed by many migrations; even in 1860 a group of 500 persons re-transferred their abode from the latter to the former. The leaders of these movements have nearly always been Bastaards, persons naturally capable of command, of great energy, and equal unscrupulousness, formed for a land suited to nomadism, restlessness, pillage, and conquest. But, in the thinly-peopled deserts and plains, crossing went less deep, and genuine Hottentot people are still to be found here, though the head men are Bastaards. The "captainships" consist of the Bastaards of Rehoboth, Rietfontein, Grootfontein (which a few years ago returned to Warmbad, south of the Orange River), and Kalkfontein. Their position to the north of Namaqualand has destined them to be the outposts between Hottentots and Hereros, and caused them to suffer by wars; no doubt they may yet retain great influence, especially as they increase rapidly.

A dynasty of robber chiefs, the Jagers, afterwards Afrikaaners, has played here a part similar to that of Kok and Waterboer among the Griquas; but of more sanguinary character, as befits the ways of the country. The founder of the family, Christian, is said to have fled with his adherents to the south of Great

Namaqualand after killing a Boer who oppressed him; and there to have soon made his name feared. Nothing shows more clearly the distraction, and tendency to be always thrown back to the starting-point, which marks the spiritual life and therewith the history of these races, than the fact that he was succeeded by a son who, though brought up in Christianity, became, by war and pillage, as much dreaded as his father, only with the difference that he persevered in this career till his end. This son was Jonker Afrikaaner. After peace had for some time been established by the efforts of the missionaries, the old feud between Damaras and Namaquas broke out afresh, this time, it is alleged, at the instigation of Jan Afrikaaner, whose portrait is given on p. 292, the third warlike chief of that family. In 1870 a peace was again negotiated by the missionaries; but ten years later a fearful outburst of the old hatred led to the massacre of all the Hottentots whom the Hereros could get at. To this day the hostility has not been smoothed away. In these fights, so long as they were conducted in the open field, the Namaquas usually lost; and consequently they took to ambushes and marauding. Of late years their self-destruction has made further progress under a ferocious fanatic, Hendrik Witboi; and Hottentots as well as Bastaards seem capable of elevating themselves only when peace has been forced upon them.

A Korana chief. (From a photograph belonging to Herr Wangemann, Berlin.)

In former days other peoples, mixed of Hottentots and Kaffirs, were more independently conspicuous, such as the Koranas, whom Barrow places east of the Roggeveld. Behind them he puts the "Briqua Kaffirs," in whose name the *qua* is equally Hottentot. The Koranas had shields 4 and 6 feet high, were cattle-breeders, aggressive and predatory; all traces of Kaffir influence, which further shows itself in the stature, colour, and features of the dwellers east of the Vaal River. In those to the west, on the other hand, the traces of Bushman blood may be clearly recognised. In the languages of both, Dutch, Bushman, and Sechuana elements are mingled. The political organisation of the Koranas has altered at the same time. Their old "captainships," indeed, were still in existence quite recently, but their numbers have melted down to about 20,000, and the westward migration of the Namaquas has cut away their former contact with the western Hottentots. Sparrmann gives a similar description of the Gonaquas. Their kraals at first stood beyond the Tonstad River, that is quite near the Kaffir frontier. Their stature, their language, and the fact that they had some Kaffirs among them, pointed to admixture of Kaffir blood. Circumcision too, which is otherwise [illegible] to Hottentots, existed here; and Sparrmann describes their *assegais*, [illegible] those of the Kaffirs, with no mention of bows and arrows. Further [illegible] the "Chinese Hottentots," lighter in colour, living as

nomads between the two Fish Rivers, and north to a River Zano, "divided into tribes and sub-divisions, constituting a kind of civic society." On the further side the dwellings of the Kaffirs began, with the Zambuki tribe.

If the Hottentots once possessed a large portion of South Africa from ocean to ocean, they were obviously driven back or assimilated by the Kaffirs at an early date; and when the white men on the south coast pushed their colonies forward east and west, it was only in the west that any free space was left to them. Thus the melancholy central point of Hottentot history is once more the driving out of the weaker party into the wilderness.

## § 5. THE DWARF RACES OF AFRICA

Connection between the light-coloured South Africans and the dwarf races of Central Africa—Mucassequeres of Serpa Pinto—Dwarfs of Pogge and Wissmann—Watwas of Stanley—Akkas of Schweinfurth—Statements of Long, Felkin, Emin Pasha, Stuhlmann, and others about them—Obongos of Du Chaillu—Lenz's reports—General idea—Description.

THE geographical distribution in South Africa of the light-coloured, felt-haired, under-sized stock of mankind made us raise the question, Whence did they come to reach their present place of abode so far to the south? In the same way the geography of the human race in Africa presents facts speaking in favour of the existence of a population of small stature and light colour, in a word, Bushman-like, and probably older. The yellow South Africans, indeed, extend further to the north than was once supposed; and this was still more the case in earlier ages. Now, indeed, the Kaffirs have spread almost wherever they find a sufficient rainfall for their crops.

If we proceed northward into the interior of the continent from the neighbourhood of Lake Ngami and Ovamboland, about 18° S.,[1] where the last Bushmen, the Masarwas, who, according to Holub, stand in a sort of servile relation as hunters to the northern Bechuanas, are now settled, dwelling in small scattered grass huts, we shall come in about 15° S., that is quite within Central Africa proper, to the first isolated Bushman-like people. Among the Ambuellas on the Upper Kwando, Serpa Pinto found a small yellow race speaking a language unknown to all the dwellers around, with an intonation distinguishing it from all the African dialects he had till then heard. The Ambuellas called these people Mucassequere. Both lived between the Kwando and the Kubango, the Ambuellas on the river banks, the Mucassequere in the forests. The two had little to do with each other, but were seldom at feud. The Mucassequere were the most decided hunters and nomads, never so much as building huts. They were very expert in handling the bow; the arrow was their only weapon, but they killed the largest animals with it. Besides these they ate roots and fruits, but knew nothing of cooking utensils. Their clothing consisted of some bits of skin, and they wore strips of skin as arm and leg rings. Their colour was light—a dirty yellow. Their eyes were small, and not placed in a straight line; their cheek bones were far apart and broad, noses flat, nostrils disproportionately large, hair

[1] [According to recent maps, Lake Ngami is about 20° 30′ S. Ovamboland 17°-18° S., and the Masarwa country 22°-23° S.]

curly and growing in tufts. In Pinto's opinion they should be reckoned as Hottentots.

Further north, on their way from the Lubi River to Lake Tanganyika, Pogge and Wissmann discovered a dwarf race, whose name, "Batua," recalls the "Watwa" found by Stanley on the Congo. They describe these as dirty savages, small, ugly, and meagre, living from the Lubi to Lake Tanganyika, and from the Lualaba to the Kalunda in isolated homesteads or small villages of slovenly little straw huts. Feared rather than despised by the Baluba among whom they dwell, they cultivate nothing, and have, like all African forest-folk, neither pigs nor goats, only a few fowls. On the other hand, they have a good breed of hunting-dogs like greyhounds. They live mainly on the spoils of the chase and on wild fruits. Their weapons are bow and arrow—like their implements, of bad workmanship. They have little iron; only here and there are iron arrow-heads found. Wissmann's later reports, and those of Ludwig Wolf, show more clearly in certain details the original restriction of this little race to a large part of the forest country which covers the Congo basin; of which hereafter Stanley heard of wild dwarf peoples at various places in the middle Congo district, but on his first journey saw only one individual belonging to them, who was caught in the bush near the great trading station of Ukonge. He had a little bow and a quiver of tiny arrows in his hand; he was 4 feet 6 inches in height, measured $29\frac{1}{2}$ inches round the chest, $23\frac{1}{2}$ round the waist. His head was large, the lower part of his face was covered with a thin ragged beard, his skin was a light chocolate brown.

A young Babongo. (From a photograph by Dr. Falkenstein.)

It is a pity that Stanley, in describing those whom he met subsequently, has shown his usual tendency to exaggeration. With the dwarfs he has jumbled up children or misshapen beings, such as Negro chiefs keep at their courts for entertainment. Stanley did not come across any genuine race of small stature until he was east of longitude 29° E.; beyond which they were scattered throughout the forest. Their region was bounded to the west by the Ugarrowa's station on the Ituri, to the east by the vein of highlands above Lake Albert, and to the south by the northern slopes of Ruwenzori. From information received, it would appear that dwarf peoples dwell on either bank of the Semliki.

The existence, placed almost beyond question, of races in Central Africa who may very rightly be called dwarf in comparison with the tall Negroes, received its first confirmation, and was placed on a deeper basis, by Schweinfurth's inquiries into the Akkas of the Monbuttu country. The tales of dwarf races accompanied him from Nubia to that district; but when he stayed, and that for several days, at Munsa's capital, so far he had not seen the face of any dwarf. His people had seen them, but could not bring them in, as the dwarfs were too shy. At last one was surprised in his lair. Schweinfurth presently learnt from him that his people

were called Akkas; and that their place of abode must lie between 1° and 2° N. Part of them were subject to the king of the Monbuttus, who sought to heighten the splendour of his court by settling some families of the pygmies in its neighbourhood. Later on, Schweinfurth fell in with a whole company of Akkas, who belonged to the troops of a Monbuttu governor; at first sight he took them for a lot of ill-mannered boys. He gives the height of the first that he saw, a full-grown man, as 4 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches; and of six other adults none measured much more. Unluckily his more accurate measurements of the Akkas perished in that conflagration of his *zeriba* which destroyed so much valuable scientific material.

Gessi's Akka girl. (From a photograph belonging to the late Councillor Dr. von Hochstetter of Vienna.)

Since Schweinfurth's time dwarfs of these regions have been described by Long, Felkin, Junker, Emin Pasha, and Stuhlmann. Long found an Akka woman at a *zeriba* in the Makuraka country. She was twenty-five years old, and hardly 4 feet high. Her eyes were large, her nose flat, her skin a light copper colour. She spoke a little Arabic, and belonged to the Tikki-Tikki people, who paid tribute to King Munsa in ivory and slaves. She said that some of her people were much smaller than she was; and that the women always went with the men on their raids and elephant-hunts. Felkin doubts whether the dwarf seen by him at the station on the Rohl was an Akka. He was about thirty years old, had shiny curly black hair, brown eyes, thin lips, and a good facial angle. His height was 4 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. His body was well proportioned and the muscles well developed; the skin was chocolate-brown, a shade lighter on the hands and feet. He had good sight, and seemed clever and intelligent. The whole tribe, a numerous one, was of the same size, and lived in a mountain country whose summits always looked white. In fighting, the men could hit an object at some distance with light spears. Emin Pasha, who first came in contact with Akkas in 1882, gives more definite information. Their colour was light yellow to transparent red, their skin much wrinkled, especially about the corners of the eyes, which gave them a prematurely old look, and an expression as of weeping. The whole body was covered with hair of remarkable thickness, and stiff or even felted. Measurements gave for lads of twenty-four or twenty-five a height of 4 feet

1 inch to 4 feet 2½ inches. The smell of the skin was uncommonly powerful. With this Junker's information as to the little people in the Mabode and Momfu districts, and Stuhlmann's minute description of the dwarf races on the Issongo and Ituri, quite agree.

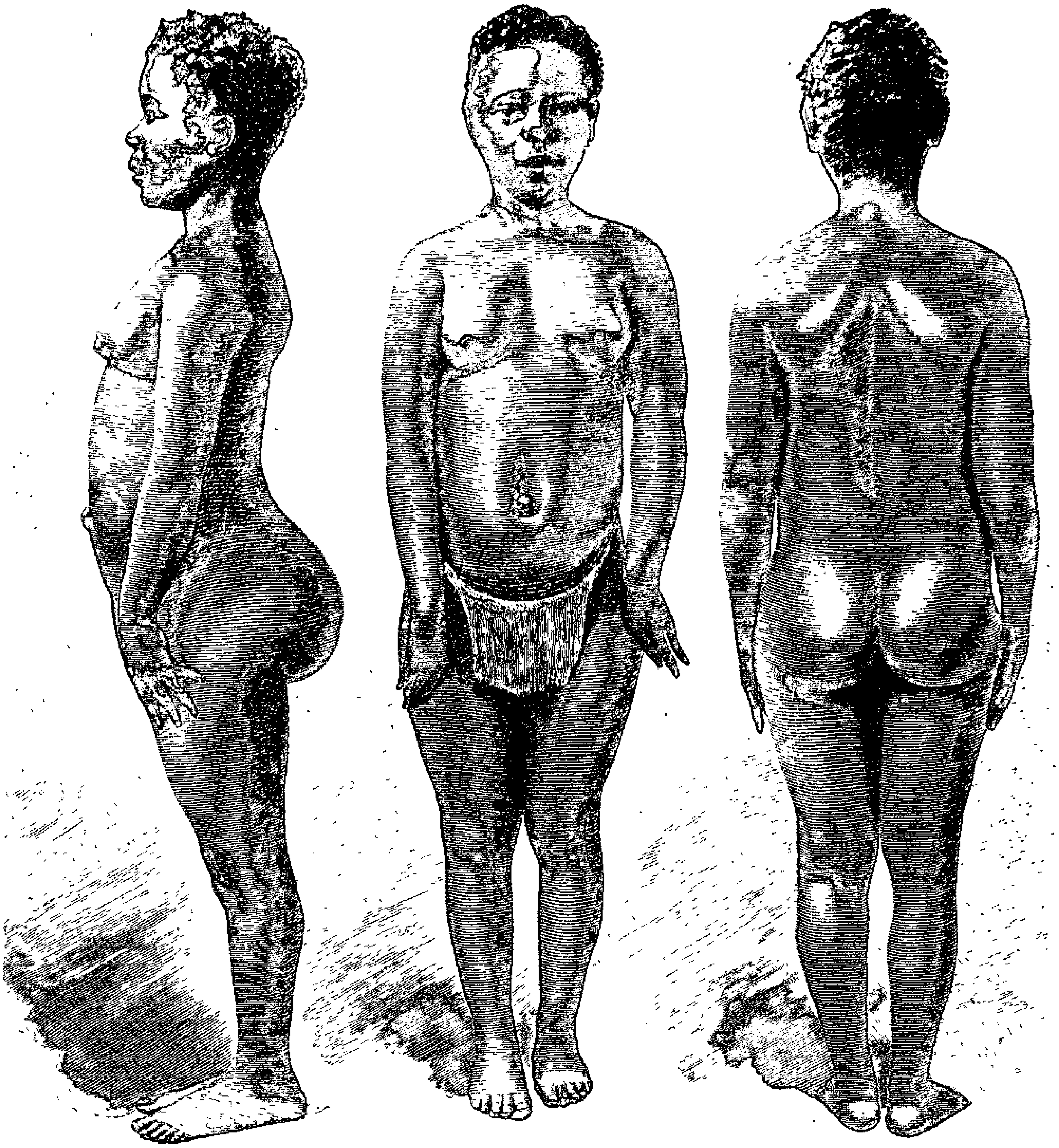
The first detailed report of African dwarfs was given by Du Chaillu, who first came across their houses (which used to be taken for fetish huts) on his way to Yengue. They had been spoken of to him as Ashungas, but here they were called Obongos, and among their neighbours bore also the name "Akkoa." Their huts were some 3 feet 6 inches in height, built in a semicircular form of branches, and roofed with leaves. He himself first fell in with some of the timid people near Niembuai, almost 2° S. Six women measured between 4 feet 4 inches and 4 feet 11 inches, a young man 4 feet 5 inches. Their colour was a dirty yellow, their lips thick, their noses flat, forehead low, cheekbones projecting, hair short and felted like that of Bushmen, and very strong on legs and breast; and therewith they had the wild look so often noticed in Bushmen. Later observers have been only able to confirm these descriptions in essentials.

Gessi's Akka girl.
(From the same source.)

Oscar Lenz, immediately on his arrival on the west coast, found representatives of the dwarf races. Here they were regarded as curiosities by Europeans who knew nothing of their origin. Yet it soon appeared that they all belonged to a race in the interior which was well known to the native traders. Measurements of adult men gave an average between 4 feet 3 inches and 4 feet 7 inches. They were usually called "Babongo" (compare Du Chaillu's "Obongo") or Bambuta; but their real name seemed to be "Bari" or "Bali." The name "Teke" (cp. "Tikke") also occurs. Crampel's Bayagas are also forest rovers of small stature, and are said to be under an engagement to the Fans in regard to supplying them with iron. In the forest at the back of the Batanga coast Kund saw people with "yellow skins," short of stature and strange expression of countenance," who roamed through the forest, living by the chase, and lay under imperfect shelter-roofs. They are said to have made the paths in the primeval forest. He calls them "Banek." Another small race of husbandmen, of whom according to Mense no individual stands over 5 feet 5 inches, the Bakoas of Stanley Pool, may be mentioned here.

As in the west, so in the east, are the dwarf races, on which so much doubt has been thrown, more plainly conspicuous. Wissmann places the most easterly outliers of his Batuas between Lakes Victoria Nyanza and Tanganyika. G. S. Fischer had even before that depicted the Watwas, a hunting race living in serfage to the Gallas, as small, lean, of insignificant and pitiful appearance. Still earlier had Krapf and d'Abbadie described the little Dokos in the Galla country; 5 feet high, black as Negroes, and in respect of face and figure "a perfect middle term between Negro and Ethiopian." More recently Antinori has placed these Dokos south-west of Kaffa. Some members of this numerous dwarf race stayed in his time at the court of the King of Shoa. From the Somali peninsula too come indistinct reports of dwarfs. In East Africa again rumours are current of

a dwarf race, the Wambilikomo, said to live in caves among the Sukus, west of Lake Baringa; one of the most peculiar forms in this group of races is afforded by the Watwas of Urundi, visited by Baumann in 1892. Physically they are not altogether different from their Warundi neighbours, seeing that small, light-

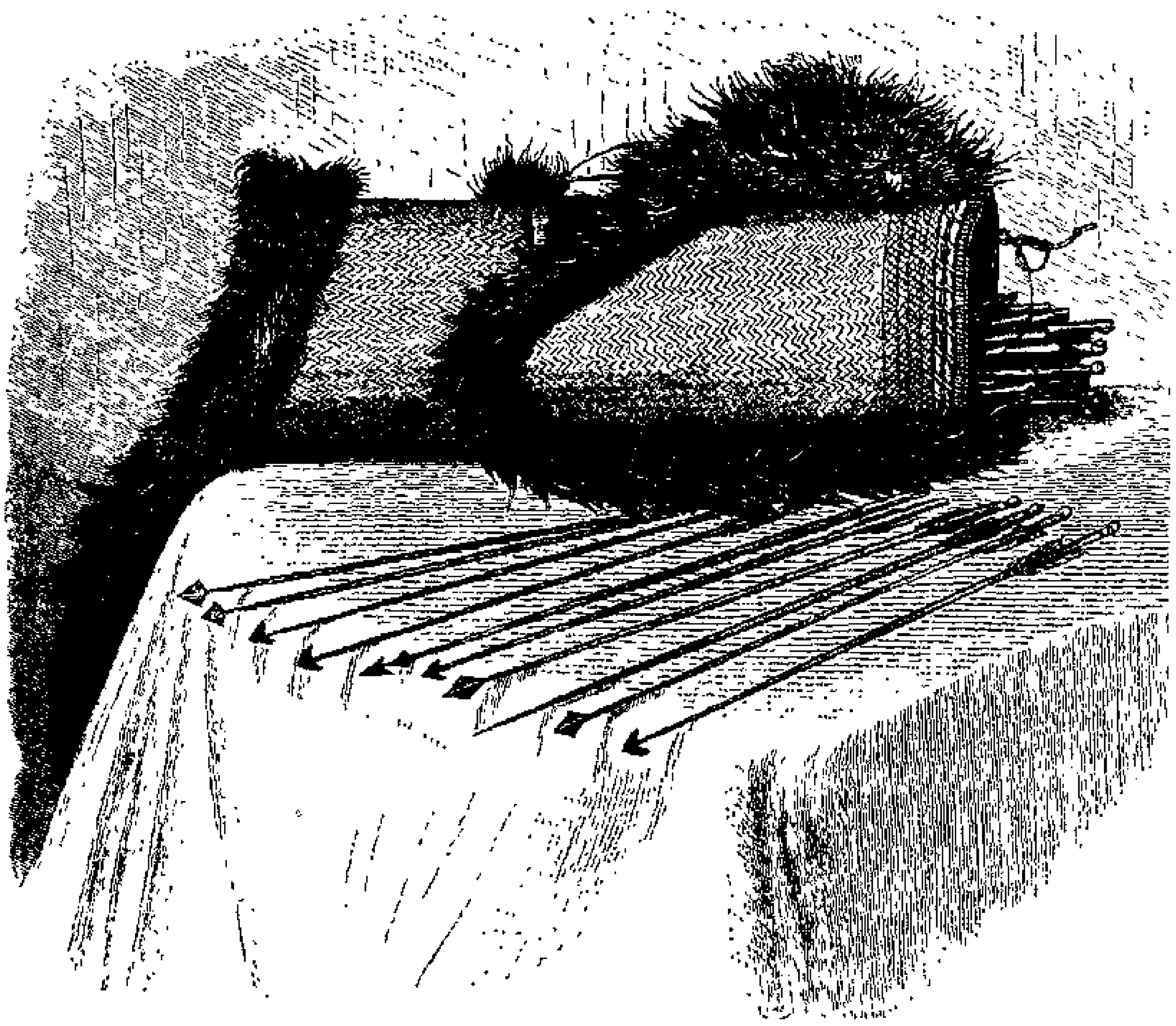


Dwarf girl from the neighbourhood of Mount Pisgah in Undussuma. (From a photograph by Dr. Stuhlmann.)

coloured, red-lipped people are not rare in that country. A genuine hunting-race, living in small badly-made huts, using only bow and arrow, despised and yet necessary, they form an interesting transition from the little hunters who roam in the mountains on the western shore of Tanganyika to the hunter-castes of the Gallas and Masai. Since, owing to the increase of population, the hunting has become less productive, these Watwas are on the way to become a true potter-caste, supplying their neighbours with pots and jugs.

Taking all the observations of their physical structure together, the term

"dwarfs" seems to be too strong. Herodotus spoke far more correctly of "people below the middle height." Wissmann's measurements of forty Batuas in the forests east of the Sankuru, give the right standard, with an average of 4 feet $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The colour of the body, light chocolate to brick red, or light yellow with brownish shades, the short, thick, felted hair, the thin limbs which make the head appear disproportionately large, the pendent paunch, the steatopygy of the women, especially among older persons, the modified Negro build and expression, the length and narrowness of the skull, are their characteristics. These observations give no support to Stanley's attempt to distinguish two dwarf stocks. To the one, obviously the Akkas, are attributed small cunning monkeys' eyes,

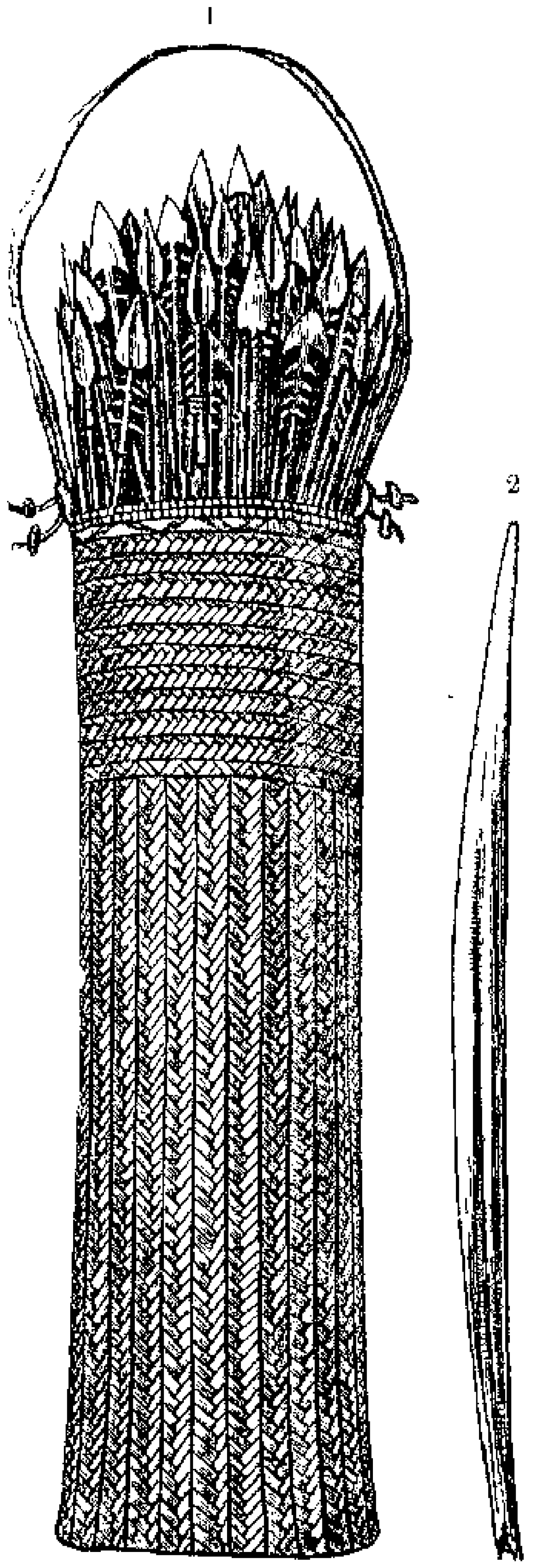


Akka quiver and arrows. (Dr. Felkin's Collection, Edinburgh.)

deep set and close together, lips hanging over the chin, prominent belly, feet strongly turned inwards, and very short shanks; to the other, large round full prominent eyes, broad round forehead and round face, small hands and feet, jaws somewhat projecting, well-shaped if very small figure, and reddish colour. But if we may conclude from the difference between Emin Pasha's description of the Akkas and Wissmann's of the Batuas of Ubujwa, even though there be—which is very unlikely—a geographical separation between the uglier northern type and the other, it is far from being a case of racial difference.

We used to lay stress on the gradations called forth by crossing, which connect them with their taller neighbours. According to Wissmann the Batuas of the Basonge country had been much mixed with other tribes, and the Wabuye further east simply Batua half-breeds. Similarly, according to Wolf, the Batuas of the Lukenje were familiar with Bakuba customs, and actually crossed with Bakuba blood. At Buserra, 20° E., François at first found only half the population of short stature, the rest being of medium height, and ethnographically Batuas

and Inkundos seem to have been of one type there. When he again came across them on the Upper Chuaba, he found men of 4 ft. 7 in., whose wooden-pointed arrows, thickly coated with poison, as well as their peculiar small and crooked bows, quite recalled those of the northern dwarf-tribes; but their spears and wooden shields again approached the ordinary Negro form. Near the highest point which he reached upon the Chuaba, great numbers of these people were dwelling together with Negroes easily distinguishable from them; the women he estimated at 3 ft. 11 in., the men at 4 ft. 7 in. Among the forest Negroes Stuhlmann's Wambuba, Walesse, and Momfus remind us in their small stature and style of hut-building of the dwarfs with whom immigrants from north and south have mixed, perhaps bringing with them the cultivation of the banana; while Baumann's Urundi Watwas are often only ethnographically to be distinguished from their neighbours the Warundi, leading as they do a different life as hunters and despised pariahs.

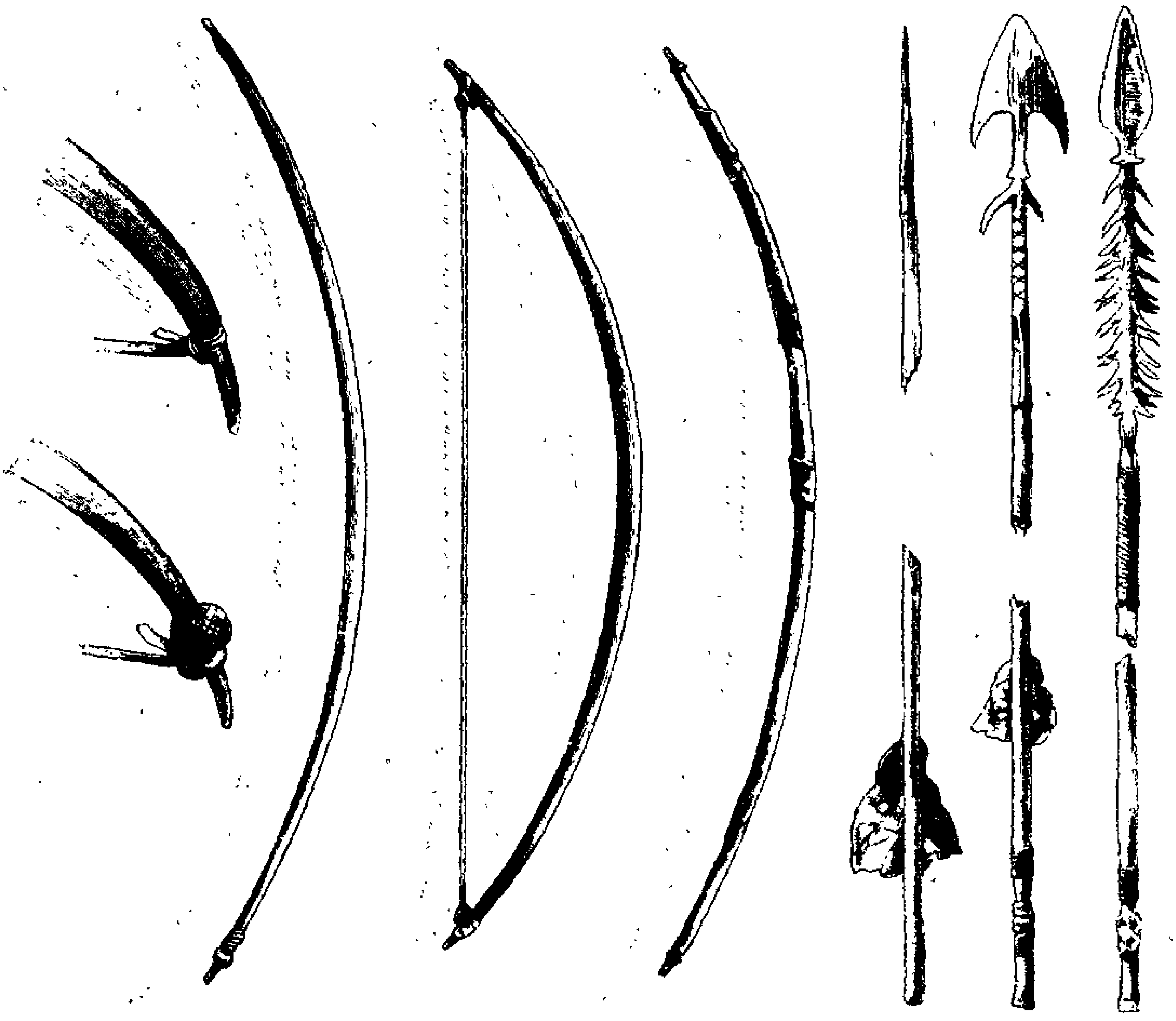


(1) Akka quivers and arrows (Vienna Museum); (2) Calthrop used by the forest-dwellers in the Ituri region of the Upper Congo to stick in their plantations as protection against the predatory dwarfs—one-third real size. (After Stuhlmann.)

From all this it is clear that we have before us a small variety of the Negro stock, which stands by no means very far below it, and is far from showing ape-like characteristics. The common tendency to the formation of variant types in the same direction, such as the Negroes of Africa show in the Bushmen, those of Asia in the Andamanese and Negritos, is one of the marks of the deeper relationship of the Negroids. Other hunting and forest-dwelling tribes have been stunted too; in the forests of the Lulua live the Bashilange, who, in their small size and leanness, reminded Wissmann as soon as he saw them of the dwarfish Batuas. The African forest, with its scanty nourishment, can stunt the growth just as well as hard work and bad diet can do it in our industrial districts. Where communities of fifteen or twenty men live together, as is the case with the Obongos, in one small settlement, breeding in-and-in is enjoined, and healthy crossing made difficult. Their near kindred the Bushmen are looked upon by eminent anthropologists as a stock with all the characteristics of retrogression and degradation.

In the life and occupations of these dwarfs we have before us the most conspicuous example of a race marked out by social customs and stage of culture. Their social characteristics vary much less than their bodily peculiarities; and yet it is just those which no one has hitherto treated from a common point of view. These people are nomads of the primeval forest, living mainly on game. They fix their village-encampments in the neighbourhood of the cultivators' villages, within a circuit of two or three miles, and live towards their agricultural neighbours in a condition which Stanley calls "human parasitism." The forest men hunt

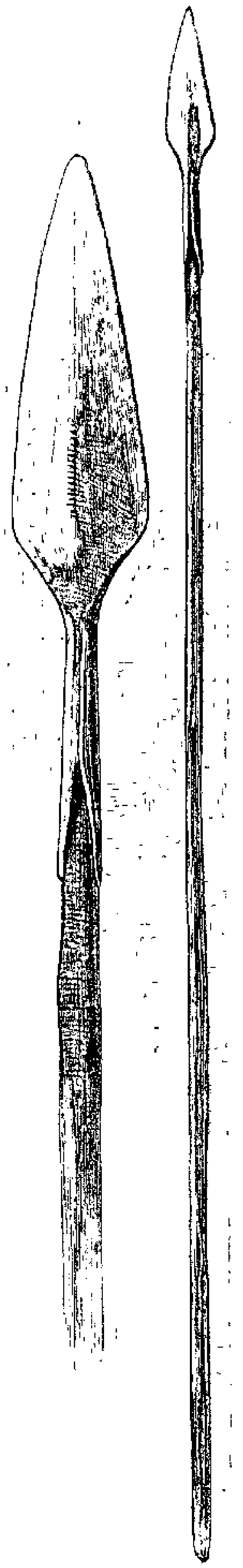
with poisoned arrows, with pitfalls and springes set everywhere, and also with traps built like huts, the roof of which, hung by tendrils only, falls down on the victim. They collect ivory and honey, manufacture poison, and bring these and other produce of the forest to market, receiving from the agriculturists in return the fruit of their fields, tobacco, and iron weapons. They smoke tobacco out of pipes with a conical bowl made of a rolled leaf and a leaf of banana. They are said to have a



Bows and arrows of dwarfs and other forest tribes in the Ituri region. (After Stuhlmann.)

special right of entrance to the banana plantations in return for the payment of a tribute. Junker relates how they tacitly appropriate a bunch of bananas by sticking an arrow into it. Their knowledge of the forests and paths makes them withal good scouts and spies. Every forest path leads to one of their camps, or to little isolated huts, called by Stanley "guard-houses"; they inform their agricultural neighbours of an enemy's approach, and combine with them for defence. Indeed, according to Wissmann and Wolf, these little people in their wildernesses on the South Congo form the frontier guard between the negro states; and Stanley truly remarks that it is they who limit the geographical horizon of certain tribes to a distance of some forty miles across. As formerly among the Monbuttus, so among the Bakuba, Wolf found the dwarf tribes allotted to the chief, to whom, in return for his protection, they performed service as hunters and purveyors of palm-wine,

occasionally also as jesters and grotesque dancers. He also allots them as required in groups to his under-chiefs. This reminds us of the position of the Bushmen towards the Bechuana and Ovampo chiefs, which unluckily was never observed or described with real thoroughness. We need only recall the fact that a Bushman was the most trusted and loyal servant of Secocoeni, the Bapede chief. That seems to be their position within the established frame of a regular state-organisation. When this breaks up, the connection is naturally dissolved, and then begins the "gipsy life of the forest-goblins." Similar relations also prevail in the west. What Ballay says about the position of the Okoas towards their taller neighbours does but make clear the older description. "Always broken up into small groups, they are completely in the hands of the powerful owners of the soil; and these prey upon them, though not without a certain moderation. The Okoas are no slaves. They are exclusively hunters, and obtain from their agricultural neighbours vegetable food in exchange for abundant supplies of game. They are fond of disappearing suddenly, to seek new game and new masters elsewhere."



Spear from Manyema, said to come from a dwarf-tribe. (After Stuhlmann.)

We know almost nothing of the movements of these people's minds, but enough to be aware that they do not stand on so low a level as was formerly supposed. But from the tales told by the Ashangos, Du Chaillu made out that they bury a corpse in a hollow tree-stem, filling it up with twigs, leaves, and earth. They also, like the Goths who buried Alaric, divert running water, make the grave in its bed, and then turn the stream back again over it. They have idols, doubtless ancestral images, and play flutes before them.

In what is known of their languages we can recognise only the speech of their settled neighbours, especially, as is natural, the Bantu dialects; any peculiar elements have yet to be differentiated.

In judging the character of these races their mode of life must be considered even more than with others. Always and everywhere they are genuine hunters, and nothing else. In acuteness of senses, in running, and well-calculated dexterity, in inventive faculty, as shown in placing pitfalls and setting traps, the Akkas are far ahead of the Monbuttus. Emin Pasha could not sufficiently praise the cleverness of a dwarf whom he employed to collect birds. With their understanding of animals, a certain affection for them seems to go along. According to Emin, their vengeful passions are especially aroused when they do not get their lawful dues from their Monbuttu masters. He also attributes cannibalism to them; not surprising, with man-eaters all round them. Stanley draws an obviously exaggerated picture of their savagery and malignity; while Wissmann

and Stuhlmann, on whose judgment more weight may be laid, praise the timidly modest, almost girlishly shy demeanour of the Batuas in the Basonge country and on the Ituri.

The possessions of the little people in the way of dress, weapons, and utensils seem to offer no peculiar features. They have no industry of their own; even the arrow-poison is not confined to them. They manufacture bark-cloth after the pattern of their neighbours, and occasionally also get fibre-mats from them. Their clothing is mostly as simple as possible—a string of bast with a flap of bark-cloth. François observed one case of tattooing of the belly among the Bapoto dwarfs on the Chuaba. Boring the ears and lips for the insertion of grass stalks is found where the settled neighbours practise it. They have remarkably few ornaments, but wear objects, apparently quite indifferent, as amulets. Iron is not wrought by them, and in general they use less iron than their neighbours. Almost everywhere they are good archers. Bows and arrows are their weapons; spears are rarely added. The arrows are small, with wooden shafts notched at the lower end—frequently bound with iron. The heads are broad, always provided with a groove

Batua knife, the hilt a human shin-bone, the blade a spear-head. (Wissmann Collection, Berlin Museum.)

for the blood, and usually barbed. Their quivers are like bags, simply woven of reed, and carried by a short leather sling. They are better than those of many negroes in this district, and seem to show the influence upon the Akkas of those skilful weavers, the Monbuttus. Does it not seem likely that their masters let them have the best arrows, or get such made for them, in order that they may more easily secure a full bag? The shape of the bow generally follows that in use among their neighbours; and hence the short strongly bent bow of the forest negroes, strung with palm fibre or rattan, is also among the ethnographical marks of most of these tribes. The Wochua wear a little pad to protect the wrist from the string as it springs back.

The custom of poisoning arrows seems to occur much more generally among these little people than among other negroes. Wissmann and also Stanley speak of a dark resinous mass with a smell of cantharides; and the latter thinks that a kind of *arum* is the plant from which the poison is secretly prepared in the shades of the forest. The arrow-heads are thickly smeared with it and wrapped in leaves. François heard on the Chuaba of arrows poisoned with putrid matter, while Stanley speaks of another poison, light yellow, said to be prepared from ants; and certainly stores of ants were found between the rafters of the huts of the Avisippas, who use such a light-coloured poison. Death followed within a minute on a wound like the prick of a needle in the right breast; some of the wounded died in a few minutes, others not for some days. The symptoms of poisoning were weakness, palpitation, cramps with lockjaw, and sweat all over the body. The Batuas to the south keep the poison in a phial hanging to their belts. Another article of the hunting outfit is a leather belt, perhaps of buffalo-hide, with a skinning-knife. The women, too, carry their baskets with straps of buffalo-hide.

The dwarfs only occasionally carry other weapons. The large "arrow-heads"

with which they kill elephants belong, no doubt, to the massive elephant-spears common throughout Central Africa. Their hunting-knives follow those of their neighbours in shape, but are never so highly ornamented. Somewhat unique is the knife depicted above, with a handle of human bone. Here and there they get spears from their neighbours, like that shown on p. 306; especially when these are regular carriers of spears, like the Fans. It is the same with shields, such as have been found among them on the Chuaba and in the Basonge country; which does not prevent them making shields, as Stanley tells us, for their neighbours.

Their huts are hemispherical, built of branches and leaves, shaped in the same way, and just as small on the Ogowe as on the Bomokandi and Labi. They stand in circles, in clearings of the forest. The roof is covered with leaves of the *phrynium*. It is not satisfactorily known whether these huts are permanent or stand only for a few months. Possibly they are more stationary on the Aruwimi and Welle than further to the south and west. In this matter their relations to the tribes and chiefs in whose territories they live must be of influence. Their nomadism is moderated and has its limits; according to Junker, the Wochuas anxiously avoid the territory of the Monbuttus but not that of the Momfus. Crampel's information that the Bayaga among the Fans change their place of abode every four or five days, sounds rather conventional. The groups of huts are usually small, but Stuhlmann saw them of as many as two hundred.

Correspondence is also apparent in the mode of their distribution. As the tribes of small stature appear closely akin in race and mode of life to the Bushmen, whether they are designated as "Akkas" among the Monbuttus, "Wochua" among the Mabodes, "Watua" on the Chuaba, "Wambutti" in the Itura valley, "Batua" north from Ruwenzori to the Lulua, "Babongo" or "Okoa" in the far west, so also does their geographical distribution show a certain coherency, as these little forest-dwellers keep always turning up, at larger or smaller intervals, over a wide region. Ignoring less certain reports, their most easterly outliers will be those observed by Stanley on the Semliki, by Wissmann in Ubujwa, and by Baumann in Urundi; while further to the west we have the Babongos on the Lower Ogowe, whom Oscar Lenz has thoroughly described. In the south-east, ploughed as it has been by the movements of peoples, and by wars, no connection with South Africa seems any longer to exist, striking as is the ethnographical proximity, to the socially similar and similarly situated hunting-tribes among the pastoral races of East Africa—though we may, no doubt, trace it in the west through Serpa Pinto's Mucassequeres. Thus, so far as we can at present judge, we have distinct areas of distribution for these races in South, East, and Central Africa. Since no tribe of them has been observed further north than 5° N. or further east than 32° E.,[1] they appear to us as a group of races essentially belonging to these three sections of the continent. But within these bounds they are no instance of casual dispersion, but groups which always recur under definite natural conditions, and live everywhere under the same political and social conditions: in brief, these dwarfs are no "missing link," no unparalleled primitive race, rising up from a period of ape-men, but surely a necessary and ancient element in the races of Africa, whose existence is thoroughly justified on natural, and above all, on social grounds.

[1] [More recently a dwarf tribe, the Dumes, have been discovered by Dr. Donaldson Smith to the north of Lake Stefanie, about 7° N. and 37° E.]

# BOOK III

## THE NEGRO RACES

# A. THE SOUTH AND EAST AFRICANS

## § 1. THE NEGRO IN GENERAL

What we mean by "Negro"—Physical peculiarities; physiognomy; diseases; power of work; intellect and character—The Family: love of children; of parents; husband and wife; *patria potestas*—The tribe; patriarchal organisation; position of the chief; mutual relations of tribes; effect of important or dominant natures; outward demeanour of the chief; the Negro as fighting-man—Religion: Negro idea of God; soul and ghost religion; funeral customs; fetishism; sorcerers and witch-doctors—Material culture; its position and retrogression; ship-building and navigation: intercourse; travelling ways; agriculture; cattle-breeding; manufactures; artistic dexterities; huts and houses; density of the population.

THE name "Negro" originally embraces one of the most unmistakable conceptions of ethnology—the African with dark skin, so-called "woolly" hair, thick lips and nose; and it is one of the prodigious, nay amazing achievements of critical erudition to have latterly confined this (and that even in Africa, the genuine old negro country) to a small district. For if with Waitz we assume that Gallas, Nubians, Hottentots, Kaffirs, the Congo races, and the Malagasies are none of them genuine negroes, and if with Schweinfurth we further exclude Shillooks and Bongos, we find that the continent of Africa is peopled throughout almost its whole circuit by races other than the genuine negro, while in its interior, from the southern extremity to far beyond the Equator it contains only light-coloured South Africans, and the Bantu or Kaffir peoples.

Nothing then remains for the negroes in the pure sense of the word save, as Waitz says, "a tract of country extending over not more than 10 or 12 degrees of latitude, which may be traced from the mouth of the Senegal River to Timbuctoo, and thence extended to the regions about Sennaar." Even in this the race reduced to these dimensions is permeated by a number of people belonging to other stocks. According to Latham, indeed, the real negro country extends only from the Senegal to the Niger. If we ask what justifies so narrow a limitation, we find that the hideous negro-type, which the fancy of observers once saw all over Africa, but which, as Livingstone says, is really to be seen only as a sign in front of tobacco-shops, has on closer inspection evaporated from almost all parts of Africa, to settle no one knows how in just this region. If we understand that an extreme case may have been taken for the genuine and pure form, even so we do not comprehend the ground of its geographical limitation and location; for wherever dark woolly-haired men dwell, this ugly type also crops up. We are here in presence of a refinement of science which to an unprejudiced eye will hardly hold water.

Now as concerns this conception, which in many minds has dwindled to such small dimensions, we may once for all admit to our readers that in regard

to names we are swayed by a deep-seated dislike to new coinages. Consequently we here adhere to the old name "Negroes" in the sense in which it is generally understood, embracing the dark woolly-haired Africans, and excluding the light South Africans as well as the lighter wavy or straight-haired North and East Africans, the latter even more decidedly than the former. The intermixture of more and less negro-like races has gone so far among the peoples we are considering that there can be no longer any question of selecting "genuine" negroes, and it would be useless labour to try to do so. Amid the "unexampled medley of races," as Schweinfurth calls it, in the interior of Africa,

Man and two women from the Loango Coast. (From photograph by Dr. Falkenstein.)

the way to sketch out a picture of the race that shall be true to nature is to be found rather in a review not directed in the first instance to the drawing of boundaries, than in an analysis which is always stumbling afresh at the hopelessness of finding the ingredients of a body whose component parts possess mobility impossible to forecast.

The most distinctive physical peculiarity of the negro is the colour of the skin. This is predominantly a dark brown, which can only be taken for black by a superficial observer. There are in fact no quite black people. The "bluish gleam" on which emphasis is often laid may be noticed on our own skins where venous blood shows through. A reddish under-tint may be plainly recognised, especially in those who have become lighter either by crossing or from an individual disposition that way. Among some races the darker tints of the skin predominate, among others the lighter. Fritsch says with reference to the distribution of the various tintings among the Kaffirs of the south-east: "The quite dark varieties of skin-tints are not so frequent as the lighter, especially in

the case of those of higher rank. Nearly black individuals are found in varying numbers among the tribes, without its being possible to refer the appearance of them to any specific peculiarities of their place of abode." Negro women are often somewhat lighter than the men, which is no doubt connected with the fact that even the negro skin grows markedly darker by exposure to sun and air. As in the case of all dark men, the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet show a lighter pigmentation; nor indeed is the colouring uniform over the rest of the body, but rather distributed as it were in large patches which shade off with each other. After death the colour changes to an ashy grey. It becomes darker after eating, or under great heat, or during movement, or generally in states of mental emotion tending to drive the blood into the surface capillaries. In disease, if the skin loses its smooth glossy texture and becomes flaccid, it grows darker, with a dirty look, the *conjunctiva* or mucous membrane of the eyes shows a brownish colouring, since the tint of the pigment is not here modified to a reddish-grey, as in the lips, by the blood showing through. The same may be observed in the nails. In newly-born children the colour is almost as light as in Europeans; so much so that Falkenstein took the first negro children whom he saw for mulattoes, until after a little while they became increasingly darker, and by the end of six weeks were complete negroes. Not only their colour, but also the coarser texture of the skin distinguishes these from the lighter races. Gardiner found his Zulus perfect salamanders, whether they were as it seemed roasting their bodies at the camp-fire, or knocking back the burning logs with their naked feet, or ladling the boiling maize porridge into their mouths with their fingers. The copious perspiration causes the skin to feel cool. The specific, but hardly definable negro smell, is certainly possessed by all, in varying degrees. Falkenstein refers it to the somewhat more oily composition of the sweat, which with uncleanly habits easily develops rancid acids. This also causes strong reflection of light from the negro's skin.

A Herero. (From a photograph belonging to the Mission at Barmen.)

The hair on the body is in general slight. Where it is most strongly developed its growth is in all cases woolly, or rather felted. This formation of the hair is a more persistent characteristic of the negro than either the colour or the skeleton. We have already, in describing the Bushmen and Hottentots, endeavoured to narrow down the notion of "woolly" in its application to these really "woolly-haired" men. The hair grows over the skull in the form of a

thick cushion, which in many cases, *e.g.* among the Southern Kaffirs, is further thickened by frequent and regular clipping of the whole. Scattered hairs lying isolated or in groups are found among negroes of every kind, even among Nubians. With such a conformation of hair, a mane-like growth is not possible; but the short woolly kind is not the natural condition. In Central Africa, shaggy-haired people are found in plenty, and the luxuriant fleece offers an inducement to the most varied method of dressing. The growth of the beard is mostly weak, whiskers being represented only by isolated tufts, while the moustache appears as a rule only at the corners of the mouth. According to Falkenstein only a third of the men of Loango show any beard. In more advanced years hair and beard become grey, but not so completely as in Europeans. White-headed negroes are not often seen. Baldness seldom occurs, but clipping to the skin is a favourite preventive of vermin.

Bella, a Bechuana girl, servant to Holub. (From a photograph.)

The mean stature of the negroes has been exaggerated, especially in regard to the Southern Kaffirs, among whom it is indeed frequently above middle height. The first large series of scientific measurements, made by Fritsch, gave a mean of 5 feet 9 inches. Falkenstein measured 5 feet 6 inches to 5 feet 7 inches among the Loango negroes, 5 feet to 5 feet 4 inches among the women. An American Sanitary Commission arrived at a mean of 5 feet 7 inches from the measurement of 2020 pure negroes of normal stature. The negro is thus one of the taller races, and in Africa is exceeded only by the Kabyle. Individual families, perhaps also individual favoured tribes, exceed this height considerably; thus six grown men of the Gaika chief's family attained, according to Fritsch, to an average of 6 feet 1 inch. Negroes look tall all the more readily from the fact of their being conspicuously slender, owing to the steeper slope of the walls of the chest, and the slighter prominence of the hips. The skull is in general higher, the neck thicker, the breadth of thorax and pelvis less than in Europeans, and that in both sexes, so that seen from behind it is often difficult to distinguish men from women. The muscular development is less than in the normal European, and this is especially the case with the lower leg. The average weight of the negro is considerably less. The marked projection of the belly is a result not only of the frequently extreme overloading, but also of the forward inclination of the pelvis, and the consequent inward curvature of the lumbar vertebræ. Bérenger-Féraud notices the extraordinary ease with which the Golosses of Senegambia work in a stooping attitude, pick up objects from the ground, and so forth; and is of opinion that the slanting conformation of the pelvis, especially in the women, is favourable to this faculty. The monstrous deposit of fat, so often spoken of as a distinctive characteristic of the Hottentots, is found to some extent among the negroes. We may cite Schweinfurth's graphic description: "In the Bongo women that imposing portion of the frame, for the hypertrophic development of

which the term *steatopygy* has been invented, contrasts so forcibly with the rest of the figure, that, in combination with the long train of bast, it makes the profile of a Bongo woman, as she steps solemnly along, resemble in a high degree the figure of a dancing baboon." The hands are slim, the fingers tapering, the nails narrow, the whole form not unfrequently noble. The feet also are narrow, but are disfigured by the projecting heels. Flat-foot is not more frequent than with us.

The skull, which here as elsewhere shows its characteristic peculiarities, most conspicuous to the eye, and most important owing to its function as case of the brain, is, in contrast to the other bones, massively built, and of conspicuous length, as well as of notable height. The greatest breadth is to the back, so that when seen from above it is egg-shaped, with the small end to the front. The forehead is often well arched, but retreating, so that the beautiful broad brow of the thinker is impossible. On the other hand, the facial bones are prominent, especially the dental apophysis of the jaws. Thus the facial angle is on the average not more than three-quarters of a right angle, in female skulls even less. The strong development of the maxillary apparatus is completed by powerful ivory-like teeth. A further characteristic of the face is the width of the nasal opening, the flatness of the nasal bones and the nose itself, and the strong development of lips and ears. The part which these features play in the ornamentation of the negro has thus its anatomical grounds. Similarly one may say that the wonderfully varied modes of dressing the hair could only have been developed in the beautiful material of the fleecy wool, and the custom common to all negroes of anointing and painting the body, only on the advantageous background afforded by the dark skin.

Negro type. (From a drawing by Rugendas, in the Royal Collection of engravings at Munich.)

The impression universally produced by male negroes is on the whole neither that of an exuberant force superior to civilization, nor yet that of a symmetry unspoiled by art and discipline. The total impression, in the case of the man, is much like that produced by the European; indeed Buchner regards the negroes as decidedly surpassing us in the fine figures of their men. With the women the

case is somewhat different. Their position as the weaker and therefore oppressed sex has to be taken into consideration, as well as the early decay inseparable from early development, which often gives the features of old age to women of twenty.

It is true that the prevailing elements in the negro physiognomy are not favourable to the expression of high intelligence. But even if the soul of the negro is seldom competent for a high flight, it is strong enough even here to dominate the expression of the features, and what is called a refined face is to be met with no less than an expression of sensibility—the latter especially being by no means rare among women. Schweinfurth is quite right in applying to many negro tribes Herder's expression, "nobly-formed" people. Among the nobler races of Central Africa he reckons the Shillooks, a people whom superficial observers have compared to monkeys. The judgments of German explorers have for some years past steadily grown more moderate. Falkenstein says: "An European will constantly, no doubt even in Europe, be offended by the flat nose, the projecting cheek-bones, the full, everted, though seldom swollen, lips. But if he stays some time among them, the dull tint of their skin, well-suited to the surroundings, the cheery buoyancy of their movements, unhampered by any superabundance of clothing, the fresh elasticity of the young people, the natural naïveté of those of maturer years, move him to do justice to the race as such. In their nature, their character, their manner of intercourse and expression, there is something original and natural which inevitably puts us on friendly terms with them."

What further contributes to make the negro physiognomy less strange, and bring it nearer to our wonted conceptions, is that in many of its manifestations an approach to the Semitic type unmistakably emerges, such as one may often call Jewish in character. There is some foundation for the view that in the Semitic type of the Jew, the Arab, the Syrian, and so on, there is also an underlying mulatto type. The resemblance to Jews may frequently have been exaggerated, especially among the Kaffirs, but none the less there is a germ of truth in it.

The sick man shows, no doubt, only a distorted relation to the qualities that distinguish the sound man, but the diseases of the Negroes are rather an evidence of the intrinsic agreement of their nature with that of mankind in general. They suffer from disease just as much as Europeans; and if their constitutions are less weakened by the labours incidental to civilization, brain labour especially, on the other hand they possess fewer preservatives. Three medical men who have recently published careful reports on Africa—Buchner, Falkenstein, and Felkin—agree on this point. Their immunity from fever is especially noted as fabulous. Buchner expressly names fever as among the troubles to which they are liable, and mulattoes are said to be in a high degree subject to malaria. The diseases of the Waganda, according to Felkin, compose a formidable list, in which occur most of the disorders known to European doctors. Smallpox is one of the worst, and claims thousands of victims. It is very virulent, and carries off by far the greater number of those attacked, for which reason few people are seen marked by it. Syphilis is easily cured, as in all hot countries. It is often confounded with scurvy. Felkin further mentions dropsy, rheumatism, fever, bronchitis, ophthalmia, cholera, and leprosy. According to Buchner, all three forms of leprosy occur in West Africa. The negro

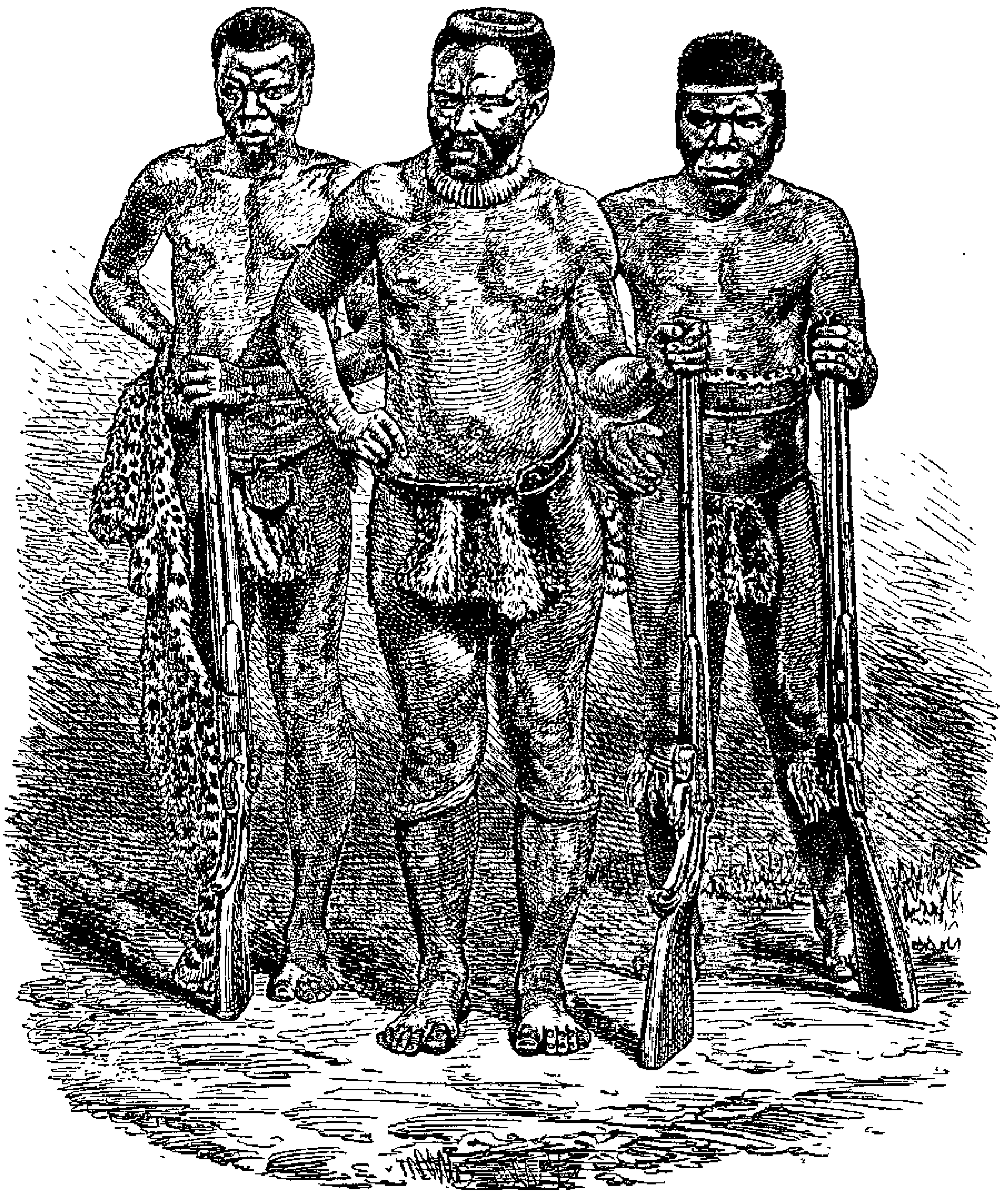
is also subject to elephantiasis. A peculiar disease is the *Kifussa* of West Africa, which consists of a number of bluish-gray pustules under the skin; the patient is attacked by a strange lethargy, which terminates in death, after a drowsiness lasting for some months. A good many suffer from temporary dementia, continuing usually three or four days; yet those attacked by it do not become insane. Suicide is almost unknown. Many suffer from epilepsy, especially women and girls.

A piebald negro of the Loango Coast. (From a photograph belonging to Prof. Pechuel-Loesche.)

Persons are often seen with white patches on face, hands, and legs, as in the annexed cut; and albinos have been observed in almost every tribe. Felkin thought them more frequent in Uganda than in any other district that he visited. Their hair is straw-coloured, their rough harsh skin a reddish-white, and their eyes very sensitive to light. Other deformities are found, chiefly in the chiefs' courts, particularly dwarfs, who are allowed to play all kinds of pranks as court fools. They are tolerated and spoilt, and often become the possessors of large herds and other forms of wealth. How often has the curiosity of our explorers in search of dwarf races been excited and disappointed by these misshapen beings! Otherwise deformities are rare, owing to the reasons in force among all "natural" races, which lead to their early death or destruction directly after birth. It is only to the Soudan regions, saturated as they are with the comparatively human ideas of Islam, that such a description as Massari gives of Kano in Houssaland can be applicable: "The number of blind and lame persons here is enormous; every morning one sees whole files of these poor creatures going to beg in the market-place, and an inhabitant of Kano seldom meets one of them without dropping a cowry into his hand."

A certain *unspoiled* character is noticeable, especially in the organs of sensation and intellect, unworn as they are by over-use. To this we may refer the sharper sight which Schweinfurth ascribes to the Negro as compared with the Arab or the Nubian. Emin Pasha, too, expresses surprise at the power of sight possessed by his black followers. The wonderfully-developed sense of locality and cleverness at finding water may also be mentioned here. On the

other hand, even where the passion for hunting is dominant, negroes are bad shots. They have, too, a certain freshness on the spiritual side, manifested, for instance, in the naïve enthusiasm, crude as it appears to us, with which the negroes in the United States have adopted Christianity in its extreme sectarian forms. We must wait to see what will develop itself from these faculties, which have



Zulu warriors. (From a photograph.)

hitherto lain fallow. At present the negro no doubt appears to us uncivilized, but that means undeveloped, not incapable of development.

Indolent in a state of nature, the negro has under the pressure of circumstances developed considerable powers of work, showing thereby what training can do. It is only among the aristocratic slave-owning negro races that labour in the abstract is scouted by those who possess any property. Most work as much as is necessary for themselves and their families. That they do not always like working for strangers is usually due to other causes than mere laziness; it proceeds from the form which the labour takes. They like to remain free even when in a state of servitude. A few Kaffirs only, even under stress of poverty, engage

themselves to white men as labourers; and even in this position they try to keep as free as possible. In the Orange Free State their custom is to live in their own kraals in the neighbourhood of the white settlements, coming in during the day to do their jobs at a moderate rate of wages, and returning to their huts in the evening. The wages are saved until there is enough to buy a few cattle, and if the property then augments, the Kaffir can at length soar to the purchase of a wife. Therewith he has, as a rule, reached the goal of his desires, and he goes back to the interior disdaining thenceforth to toil for the white man. On any frequented trade-route, like that from Bagamoyo to Ujiji, the porters give ample proof of their love of work and capacity for it. The passive pastoral Bechuana may denote the energetic indefatigable Europeans by the epithet "long-hearts," probably because their enduring activity impresses him; but the Wanyamwezi perform feats as porters which in turn make Europeans marvel. Training has developed in them both strength and endurance beyond the proportion normal in negroes. These Wanyamwezi porters get callosities on their shoulders from the sheer weight of the burdens they carry. Livingstone saw a man in Moero who had carried 140 lbs. of ivory from thence to the coast. The negro soldiers who performed the postal service in the equatorial province performed great feats of swiftness. "On one occasion, when I sent an express post," says Felkin, "they covered 180 miles in four and a half days, though the road was very bad in places."

It has been found to be a universal rule, especially in America, that the negroes have less capacity for steady uninterrupted labour, but are on the other hand superior to us in tasks that require speed and a tempestuous expenditure of strength. A Mississippi boat with a black crew will load its firewood three times as fast as one manned with whites; but white labourers of the same intelligence, and with similar inducement, will chop twice as much wood, split twice as many rails, hoe more maize in a day than black labourers. At the same time the amount even of continuous labour that was demanded of black slaves on the plantations of Cuba and Louisiana, far exceeded the amount that a white labourer was capable of performing. Twelve to fourteen hours a day, for weeks together, of hard field labour, under a hot sun, in a bowed position, was the rule at harvest-time, and was performed under fear of the whip. But even as free labourers, the negroes in America are equal to requirements which no other race would undertake to meet. The Panama railway is practically their work, and the Central American canal will some day be so. In the harbours of South and West Africa and of Arabia, again, negroes of the Fingo, Mozambique, Swaheli, Kroo and Vei stocks are the most efficient porters for heavy weights. In the old days of the prize-ring, more than one negro attained eminence in that line.

In connection with this may be noted their power of resistance to spirits, which elsewhere are so perilous to "natural" races. Speaking of the Kaffir chief Sandili, and his attendants, Fritsch says: "They drank the strongest brandy out of tumblers, like small beer, sometimes to the amount of three bottles in a day, with no appreciable disturbance; though the injurious effect of an immoderate use of alcohol is so plainly visible in the weaker Hottentot race." It may be that a native heaviness and indolence of the mind, requiring the spur of the narcotic, comes into play here, in the absence of those "refining influences of culture" which exercise dominion over our nerves. Tough nerves have also to be taken

into consideration in forming our judgment of the psychology of the negro. Felkin notes in his own medical practice that the Shulis are wonderfully hard in resisting pain. He thinks that their sensibility is not so acute as that of Europeans. They would often laugh and joke while undergoing painful operations. Thus it may also be due to the difference not merely of culture but even of race, when we find that universal stimulant beginning to operate in an earlier stage than with us. Brandy is taken not in order to revive wearied forces during or after labour, but actually to rouse them to action. Many negroes cannot do without spirits, and some Europeans hold them to be decidedly useful as a stimulant to work.

Slavery has been a hell for the negroes, yet at the same time a school of

Christian Hlambe-Kaffirs. (From a photograph belonging to Dr. Wangemann, Mission Director, Berlin.)

labour. However much harm has resulted, and is still, no doubt, in a yet greater measure in reserve for future ages, owing to the presence of 8,000,000 of negroes in the United States, all unprejudiced observers are led to the conclusion that the economic condition of the Southern States, in which those who were formerly slaves form 50 per cent of the inhabitants, has been less injured than was feared by the abolition of slavery. The negroes have not wholly unlearned the work which they had learnt. In the sugar plantations of British Guiana, Africans, East Indians, under the well-known coolie-convention, and Chinese work together. There the negro does twice as much work on the land as the Indian, whom he despises for his want of strength. The Chinaman is more intelligent, but he leaves field-labour as soon as he can, to seek other more paying work. If the negro is not driven to work he performs less than either of the others, and in a state of complete freedom he has the greatest disposition towards loafing and vagabondage. In Africa the negro is quite an excellent blacksmith, carver, and worker in leather; he shows, indeed, predilection and zeal for such work. Here he does not produce on all observers the impression of indolence. The view that black men allow the fruits

of kind nature to grow into their mouths is by no means correct. On the coast, especially, the natives' idea of what is most necessary has been already extended by trade, and therewith an incentive given to increased activity. They plant more manioc, maize, and sweet potato than they require for their own sustenance, in order to trade the surplus to the white man for luxuries not known in earlier

A harp-player of the Azandeh or Nyam-nyams. (From a photograph by Richard Buchta.)

days. In the manioc-fields of Mwata Jamvo, 22 to 25 acres in extent, Pogge, an experienced agriculturist, could not but wonder at the work of the negroes; and no less in the broad clearings of the Kiokos.

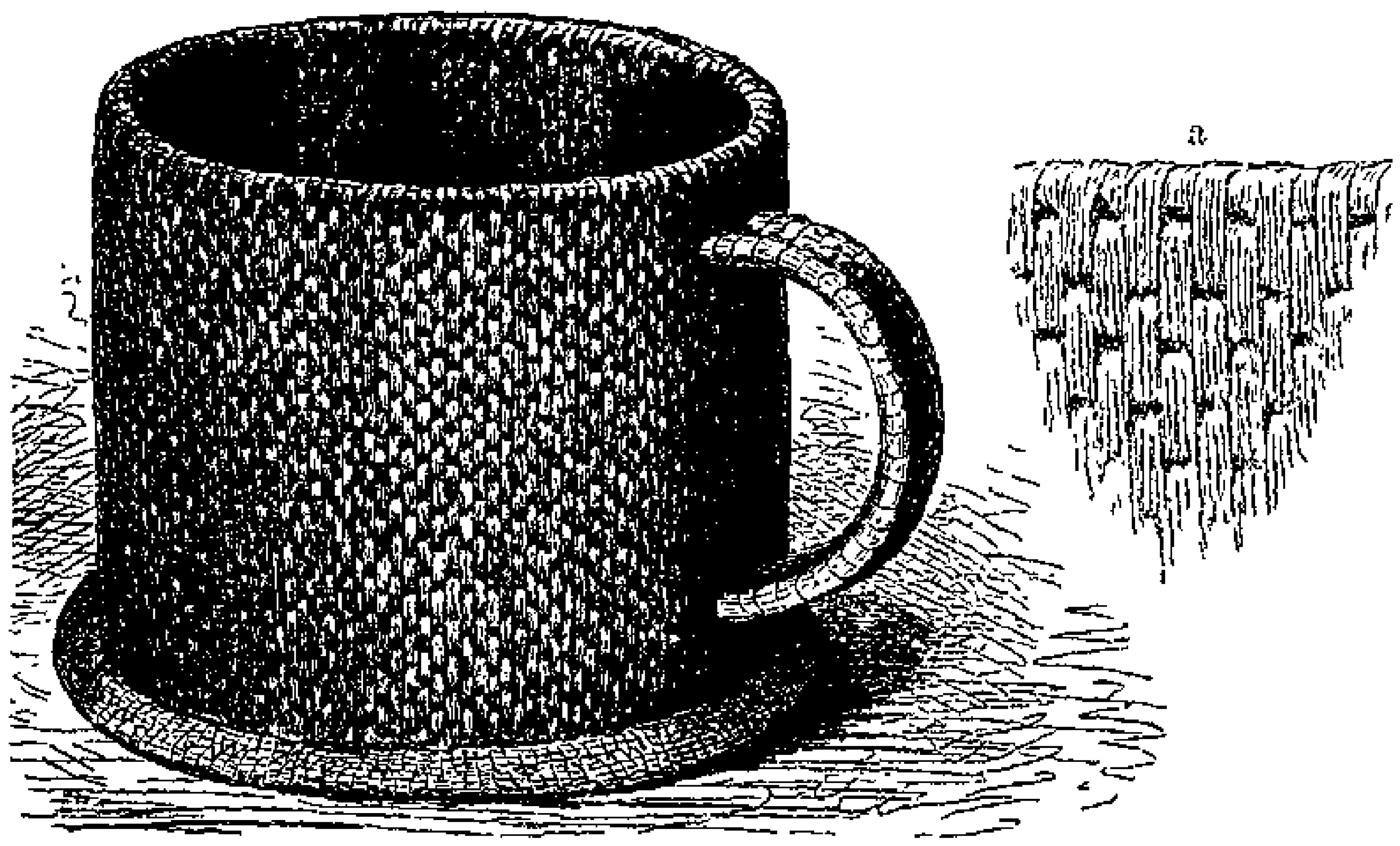
A similar lesson is taught by the development of mining in South Africa. One describer of the Namaqua copper-mines says of the Kaffirs, Fingoes, Mantatees, and Damaras: "Some work well, others badly; some are better with the shovel, others with the pick, and so on. They get drunk when they have time, and a good deal oftener, and are glad to earn a few pence over and above the

work for which they have hired themselves." Whether they set to work well or badly, one thing shows their wish to work—the long distances which they go to lead a wretched existence in hard labour. It is known what a powerful effect the diamond mines have had in raising the prosperity of the natives of South Africa. Yet the Basutos alone in the year 1874 exported in their own waggons maize and millet to the value of £225,000. The black Basuto, Batlapin, and other labourers of those parts can hardly be blamed for laying out their hard-earned pay in guns rather than otherwise, however suspicious it might look to the white men there. The great point is that here negroes work voluntarily, a fact which elsewhere has been denied.

An immoderate deal has been said about the character of the negroes, but seldom has any subject been so unprofitably discussed. The difficulty of forming a judgment about races increases where it has only been possible to observe them closely, either in the abnormal state of slavery or under conditions which cannot be compared with ours. Together with the feeling of individuality and responsibility, slavery stifled a whole number of germs of better development, while in their African home contact with higher spheres of imagination was lacking. He who would judge of them should avoid adding to their unfavourable circumstances his own unfavourable prejudices. The best judges of the negro have for this reason always made a point of being cautious. Thus Livingstone above all plainly declares, "They sometimes perform actions remarkably good, and sometimes as strangely the opposite. I have been unable to ascertain motive for the good, or account for the callousness of conscience with which they perpetrate the bad. After long observation I came to the conclusion that they are just such a strange mixture of good and evil as men are everywhere else. There is not among them an approach to that constant stream of benevolence flowing from the rich to the poor which we have in England, nor yet the unostentatious attention which we have among our own poor to each other. Yet there are frequent instances of genuine kindness and liberality, as well as actions of an opposite character. The rich show kindness to the poor in expectation of services, and a poor person who has no relations will seldom be supplied even with water in illness, and, when dead, will be dragged out to be devoured by the hyænas, instead of being buried." Pogge's judgment seems more unfavourable, when he says, "The negro is cowardly, idle, untrustworthy, mendacious, immoral, frivolous, sly, and superstitious; he lies, steals, betrays wherever he can. He lives only in the present, and takes no thought for the future." But this applies not to the negro as a whole, only to the coast negroes of Angola. We know that in Africa itself the people make great distinctions between one and another. The Bateke in the western equatorial region, the Maviti in the Nyassa country, can have earned their evil reputation only among races who are better than themselves. Amid such a variety of characteristics it will be better to look closely to details, of which the special circumstances are equally accessible to criticism.

A vein of childishness runs through the negro character, showing itself above all by the absence of restraint in expression which we are accustomed to control strictly. Thus deeply-rooted faults in him come to light with perfect freedom. Among these must in the first place be reckoned the hereditary sin of lying. To them a lie hardly counts as a fault. Some races, no doubt, as the Madis of the Upper Nile, have indeed a reputation for truthfulness; but truth for its own sake

is not highly valued. In fact the man who can lie plausibly is regarded as a wide-awake fellow and admired accordingly. Their sense of the distinction between *meum* and *tuum* is often highly undecided. We do not, however, hear of a tendency to thieving such as the Polynesians displayed toward their first European visitors. Some negro tribes are very honourable. Of the Wasongara, Wilson says, "They came every day in troops, watched us at work, and expressed their admiration of our tools. In our tent were lying copper wire, nails, and other things which excite the covetousness of a negro; yet to the credit of our hosts be it said, nothing was ever stolen from us." Avarice is one of the negro's chief faults. Kaffirs who are rich in herds cannot bring themselves to slaughter an ox. Ballay had been for several days tending two Aduma children who had small-pox. After one visit he asked the mother for a little water to wash his hands. "What will you pay for it?" was the reply. Human life is held cheap, and murders are not uncommon. But in general one gets the impression that more cruelty and lawlessness are to be found among the African races which stand higher in the scale of culture — Abyssinians, Nubians, Gallas — than among the negroes. Human sacrifices from religious or political motives occur among the negroes, and in some parts cannibalism.

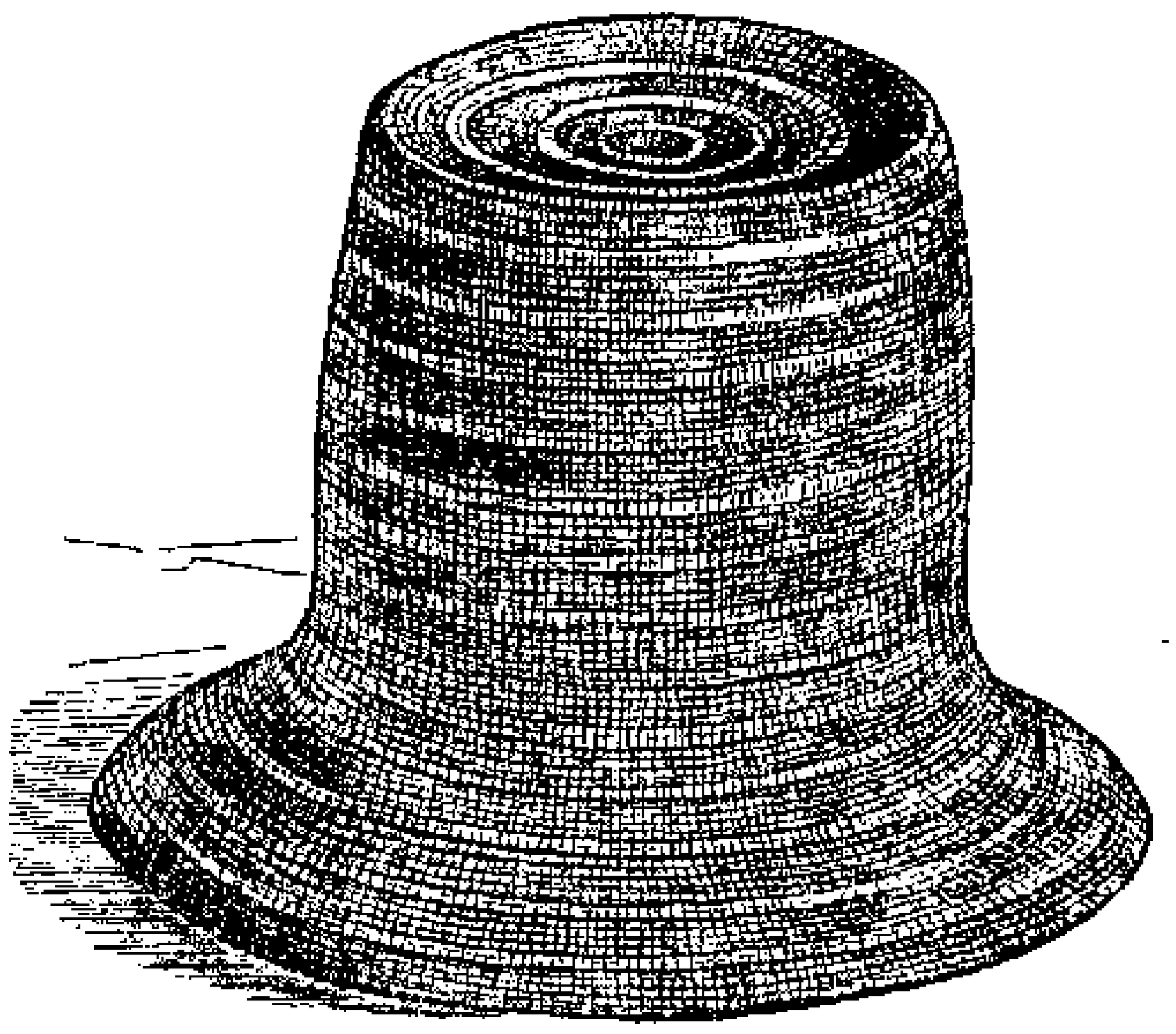


Drinking vessel of plaited work made tight with resin, from West Africa—one-third real size. (*a*) A piece of the same—actual size.

It has been correctly said that among negroes as elsewhere morality seems to stand in inverse ratio to the quantity of clothing; so that those tribes which go naked are, so long as they remain untouched by foreign influence, the most chaste; those who are best clothed, the least so. When polygamy prevails, depending as it does directly upon prosperity and increased culture, the woman naturally stands lower, and is literally regarded as property; the more wives a man has the richer he is, and the more land he can cultivate. In such countries women are as unevenly distributed as money among us. Apart from such social anomalies, it is certain that the negro has a strong innate tendency to sensuality; and the most various travellers have reported great sexual excesses among negro races. A very small number of tribes punish unchastity or adultery severely.

Superficiality and versatility are the causes of many of the negro's faults and virtues. Compared with white men, as may easily be recognised in America, they have more vanity, more desire to please, a more demonstrative and dramatic character, greater excitability, and connected with this a less acute or exact understanding and a sensual but less refined nature. They take real pleasure in violently contrasted colours, and similarly in a harsh music for the practice of which they have a natural endowment. An irrepressible gaiety arising from a

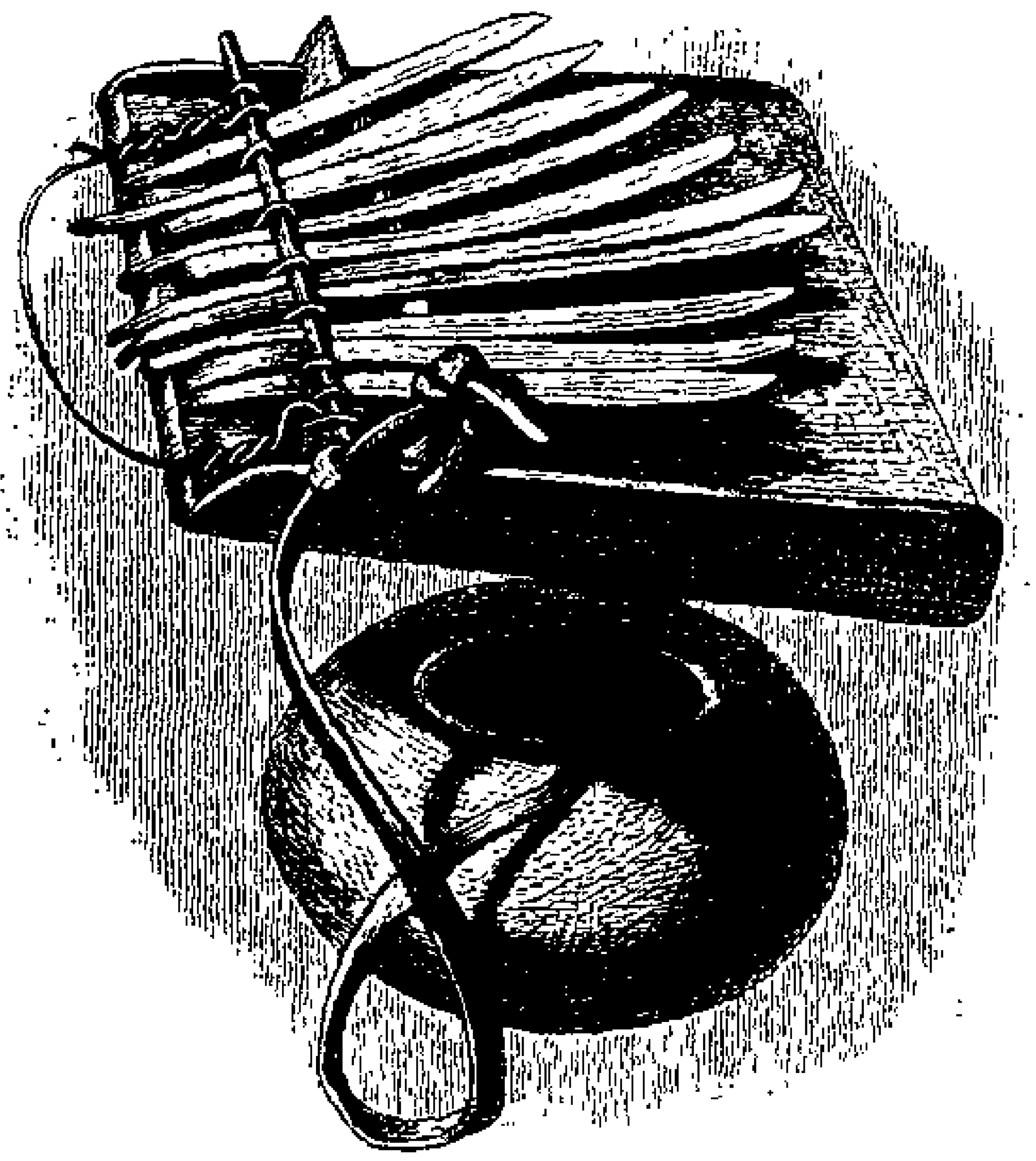
disposition of this kind explains a good deal of the toughness with which negroes endure the hardest destiny. Speaking of a slave-caravan, Livingstone says, "Negroes can never restrain laughter. If any little thing happens on the march, such as a porter's load being knocked off by a branch, or anything getting upset, all the beholders set up a laugh. If any one is tired and sits down, he is greeted with similar laughter from every mouth." Thus they have even borne the yoke of slavery and remained gay under it; and this disposition, so like that of children, was even pressed into the service as a reason to show that nature had intended them for slaves. Individual natures of more depth and seriousness are not lacking, as the history of the emancipated negroes shows. They are capable of great affection. When as slaves they were justly treated, they showed touching attachment to their masters.


A hat, woven of hair; Kaffir work—one-third real size. (Berlin Museum.)

We shall often have to speak of the negro's intellectual endowments when considering individual evidence of intellect: but it may here be noticed preliminarily that the destiny allotted to them as races and peoples renders it impossible for their intellect to come to full development. In this respect the future will have much to teach. Yet even now we can state as a fact that in general negroes are by no means poorly gifted, and will be able to be cultivated to a yet higher stage. All the more may be expected of them that there is no reason for fearing that they will ever, as has been the case with so many other tribes, be civilized off the face of the earth. As America with its millions of free negroes teaches, culture is not injurious to them. Even in Africa they have all the vices and most of the diseases of Europeans, and must possess an enormous vitality to be able to outlast the steady drain of men arising not only from these causes but from the slave-trade and continual warfare. That in spite of many difficulties their numbers in North America increase faster than those of the most prosperous white population of the country gives food for thought. Even now the variety in the stages of culture attained by them gives evidence on the one hand of advancement through certain influences which have reached them in the Soudan and on the Upper Nile from sources not always ascertained, and on the other hand of a check caused by isolation and the want of friction against more progressive races. A conspicuous feature in their intellectual endowment is the talent for imitation. This is important in forming a judgment alike of their present state of culture and of their further development. They are teachable in a high degree. Almost all observers are agreed that they copy European productions with remarkable cleverness. They readily pick up foreign languages, and also learn to read in a short time. Many leading persons in Uganda speak Kiganda, Kiswaheli, and Arabic. The Basutos learnt to read their own language in Roman letters with astounding rapidity. One of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society started a singing class in Rubaga, in which quite raw scholars were instructed, and in two or three months they had made such progress that

they could sing a simple melody from notes. There are, however, great variations in this capacity. What a contrast is to be seen between the versatile Baluba, who, as Wolf says, "set to work to become in headlong haste the bearers and promoters of European civilization in Africa," and the Bakuba, who hold obstinately to old ways and keep themselves aloof!

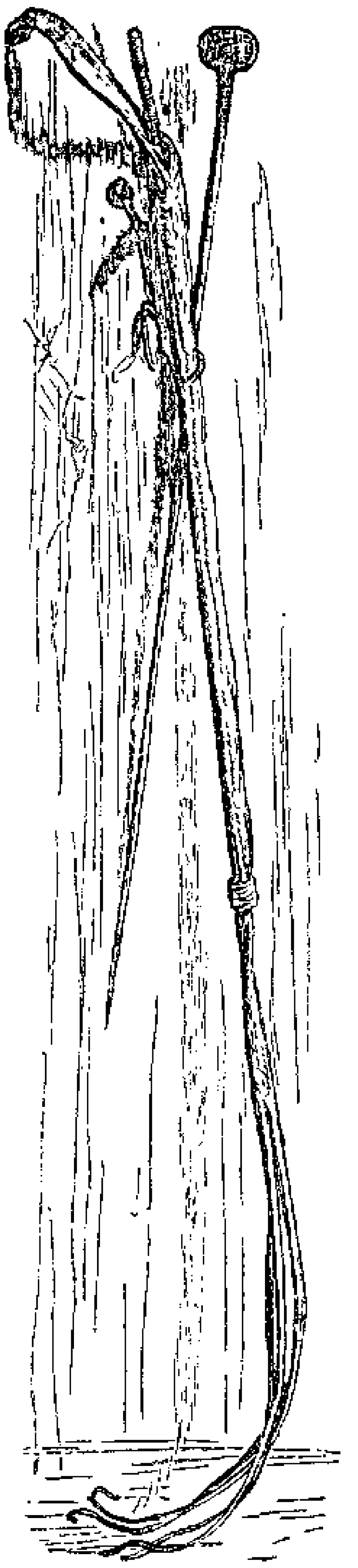
This wide-awake nature, which feels the impulse to impart itself by the most various ways and through all sorts of means, expresses itself also in a multitude of proverbs, fables, and riddles. The negro here shows himself deeper and more subtle than many a one of his critics knows or would even allow. He carries the proverbs in his memory as a store of valuable experiences of life, of sharply minted wisdom, relates and repeats them to his friends in the evening when they are squatting, a circle of intimates, round the fire. Here are some specimens of Ewe proverbs: A fine town is not strong. Fire and water do not go together. The crab never turns into a bird. A man's own hand does not cheat him. Empty hand goes not to market. The fruit drops at the foot of the tree. One bad palm-nut spoils the lot. A cock does not crow in the wilderness. Crocodiles' children do not die by water. Two kings do not sit in one city. One man cannot serve two men. The clothing is the man. The money is the man. The traveller is a stream. Here are some proverbs of the Chees on the Gold Coast: Trees that stand side by side, rub each other. If two hooks lie in one vessel, they knock together. Words and wisdom are two separate things. When you have seen a man only once, you do not tell him he is thin. No one gets out of bed to sleep on the floor. If a man says you are his slave, he has already got possession of you. We have two ears, but we cannot hear two words at once. When mouth and mouth play together, dissensions come; but not when foot and foot play together. You must say one before you say two. When a drunken man begins to deal buffets, he falls down. If you do not sleep you do not dream. Even in the sheath a knife is alarming. All men do not know that they ought to go indoors when it rains. Gold is sharper than a billhook. The doctor cannot take the medicine for his patient. A snake looks like a rope, but you do not take it to tie your things together. Where quarrels are, the day is slow to break.



A *simba* or musical instrument of the Kaffirs. (Berlin Museum.)

Negroes set much store by numbers. The Waganda are very fond of counting, and when they get hold of a book, the first thing they do is to count the leaves. Some negro games require a good deal of calculation. Many tribes have their own names for all numbers up to a thousand, in a decimal scale. In Kiganda *kumi* is "ten"; *mukumi abili* (two tens), "twenty"; *kikumi*, "a hundred"; and *lukumi*, "a thousand." There are in some cases, as in the language

of Angola, indication that formerly they only counted up to five. On the west coast the Portuguese word for a thousand is often employed. We must not infer from the negro practice of using little sticks to help them to remember numbers, that they could not count. Such means are necessary, in the lack of writing, to support the memory. Even Mtesa, at whose court were plenty of chiefs well-versed in Arabic writing, checked the movements of his army by means of a counting or calculating board, into which he inserted a little stick for each unit of force, taking it out when that was mobilized. Others were employed to denote more precisely the orders given. In the description of a court-day before Gessi's tribunal in Jur Ghattas we find : "Bundles of straws and twigs black with age showed how many women, children, and cows had been carried off by the slave traders ; and the cattle, as the most valuable property, were denoted by the longest straws."



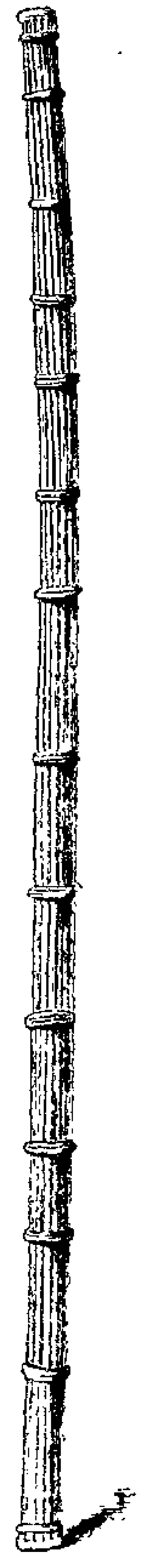
Needle used by Kaffirs for extracting thorns—one-fourth real size. (Museum of the Berlin Mission.)

Though the magic of the priestly class has long occupied the ground of everything that might be or become science, it does not absolutely exclude all reasonable study of natural phenomena. We may refer to what is to be said presently about sorcerers and doctors, and recall Dr. Felkin's narrative of the successful amputation performed by Rionga, chief and medicine-man of the Wanyoro, upon the arm of his son. Dexterity in small operations is often recognised. For example there are instruments for the extraction of deeply-seated thorns. Even if their life on a continent has not taught the negroes as clearly as it has done the sea-faring Polynesians the necessity of a certain amount of astronomy, still, like the Bushmen, they have names for a number of constellations, and use the position of these to fit the hour of the night. Similarly they fix the recurring seasons of the year by the position of the sun over certain spots at certain hours. Junker finds the information which the traveller obtains from Negroes and most Arabs "exceedingly meagre and frequently false." A comparatively short stay in any of their abodes reveals their limited knowledge of the country. The Bangalas of the Congo knew nothing of that river above Yambinga and below Chambiri ; but were more accurate about nearer districts, such as the course of the Lulongo.

In African art, as in that of ancient America, the imitation of the human form is forgotten in a thousand external details. While legs and arms are always clumsy, rather crude than conventionalized, hair, tattooing and ornament are constantly executed in great perfection. Thus the ground has been gained for the development of a purer art. The negro has taste, even a sense of beauty. His feeling for natural beauty, often denied, is testified by many attempts at horticulture and other adornment of his habitation. The Shulis even evince a feeling for picturesquely beautiful spots in the sites of their villages. Considering all the evidence for artistic capacity in the negro, the lack of any complete technical power is noticeable, all the more in propor-

tion to the refractoriness of the material. Quite good artistic ideas and intentions are there, but the power of execution falls short. The gap is narrowest in wood-carving, and in the general outlines of metal articles; in metal ornament it widens to the point of incongruity.

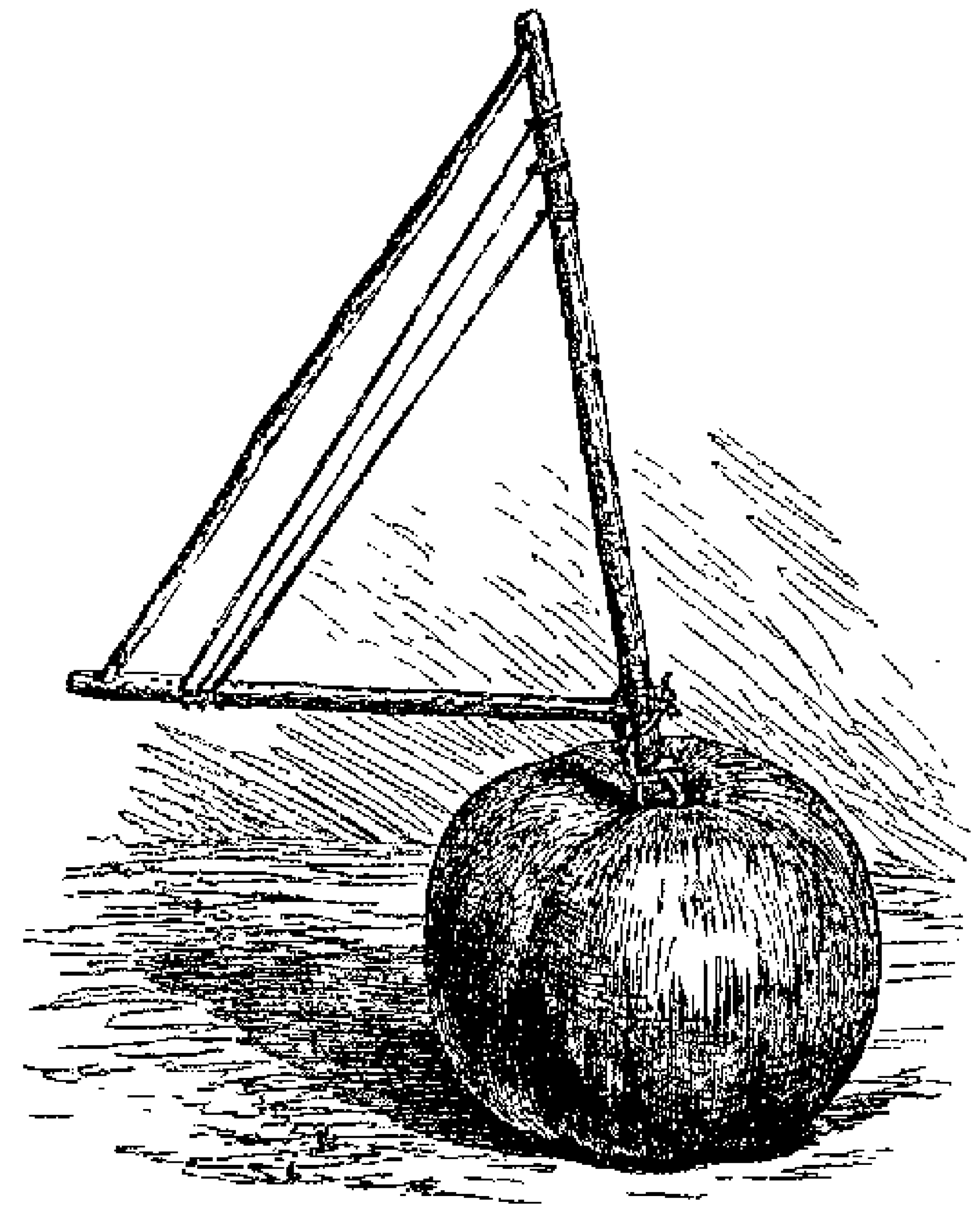
To European critics negro music appears rather vigorous than beautiful, and the majority of instruments have rather a clear than a tender tone. Schweinfurth compares the music of the Bongos to the raging of the elements let loose. Drums of all kinds form the chief component of every orchestra. The drum is of all others the negro's original and pet instrument, and we need not go very deep to follow it to its origin. Among the Bechuanas the drum is replaced at great festivals by an ox-hide held by the women in a circle, and beaten with long sticks. It is to this music that the young people dance at the celebration of their arrival at maturity. Owing to its great simplicity, this instrument can be made to serve the most various ends. Joy as well as grief can be expressed by means of it. Drum signalling is an art which extends from the Duallas to the Monbuttus; Cecchi even found it south of Shoa. The first origin of the stringed instruments, which are also represented in very great variety, was perhaps the conversion of the bow into a simple guitar by attaching a gourd to give resonance. When one sees a Kaffir carrying a gun over his shoulder in the place where the bow used to hang, while with his teeth he twangs this same bow, now become musical, one seems to see clearly the way in which stringed instruments come into existence. Among most negro tribes instruments like lutes occur (see the cut, vol. i. p. 85); while those of the harp and zither kind, like that on the next page, are less common. The most curious is the *marimba* or calabash-piano, a dulcimer or harmonica, with a number of gourds for sounding-board. These not being objects of necessity, remarkable anomalies are found in their geographical distribution. Very capricious is the absence of stringed instruments among the otherwise clever and wealthy Monbuttus, while among their neighbours the Azandeh they are nominally frequent. Simple flutes and pan-pipes are found everywhere among negroes. Conchs, which are so widespread among the Malays, seldom occur. If the nomads are less rich in musical instruments than the dwellers in villages, they always have their war-horn, made by preference from antelope horns, with the mouth-piece at the side. On the west coast and in the Soudan these horns are of carved ivory, and those used in the Nile countries are of a shawm-like shape with an orifice at the lower end for blowing. No "natural" race can show such a multiplication of musical instruments. Livingstone's remark will be remembered, "They scrape at an instrument the live-long day, and if they wake in the night they continue their musical exercise." The civilized negroes in North America are often distinguished for their musical talent, and Buchner, a famous connoisseur, speaks with rapture of the artistic way in which black horn-players in Angola blew difficult trumpet-pieces.


Rattle-Stick from the Gaboon. (Christy Collection.)

The need which every negro feels of screaming and roaring with convulsive

movements to follow, gives rise to numerous dances. But at certain times definite actions underlie these, as in the dance of young girls who have ripened into maidens, in the prophetic dance, accompanied with wounding of the tongue and other parts of the body, which the Masupia execute before any great undertaking on the part of their king, in order that they may foretell its issue, or the *Kishi*-dance of shrouded and masked figures, representing man and wife, which recalls the masked dances of other races. Dancing also forms among the negroes one of the representations which the chief is bound to give.

Every man shows himself with least constraint in family life; and for this reason it may afford the best conclusions as to the mental condition of negroes. The first thing that we find to presume is a community in the original ground of the various modes of life among different races. A stock of natural inclinations which we call good, and regard as virtues, is possessed by all branches of mankind, and so by these. There need here be no error caused by the outward appearance aroused by culture. The social conditions of negroes are not so unorganised as any people in Europe imagine the life of savages to be. Even where all the members of a race go almost naked, or clothed in a few skins and smeared with butter and ochre, passing their lives in wretched fashion, we find a state of things, situations, and conditions like those familiar to us from the Old Testament or from Homer. We, whose normal conceptions and sentiments have been refined above all by the influence of Christianity, find it hard at once to credit these races, separated as they are from us by a greater gap than the thousands of years which divide to-day from antiquity, with the highest development of the germs implanted in every human heart.

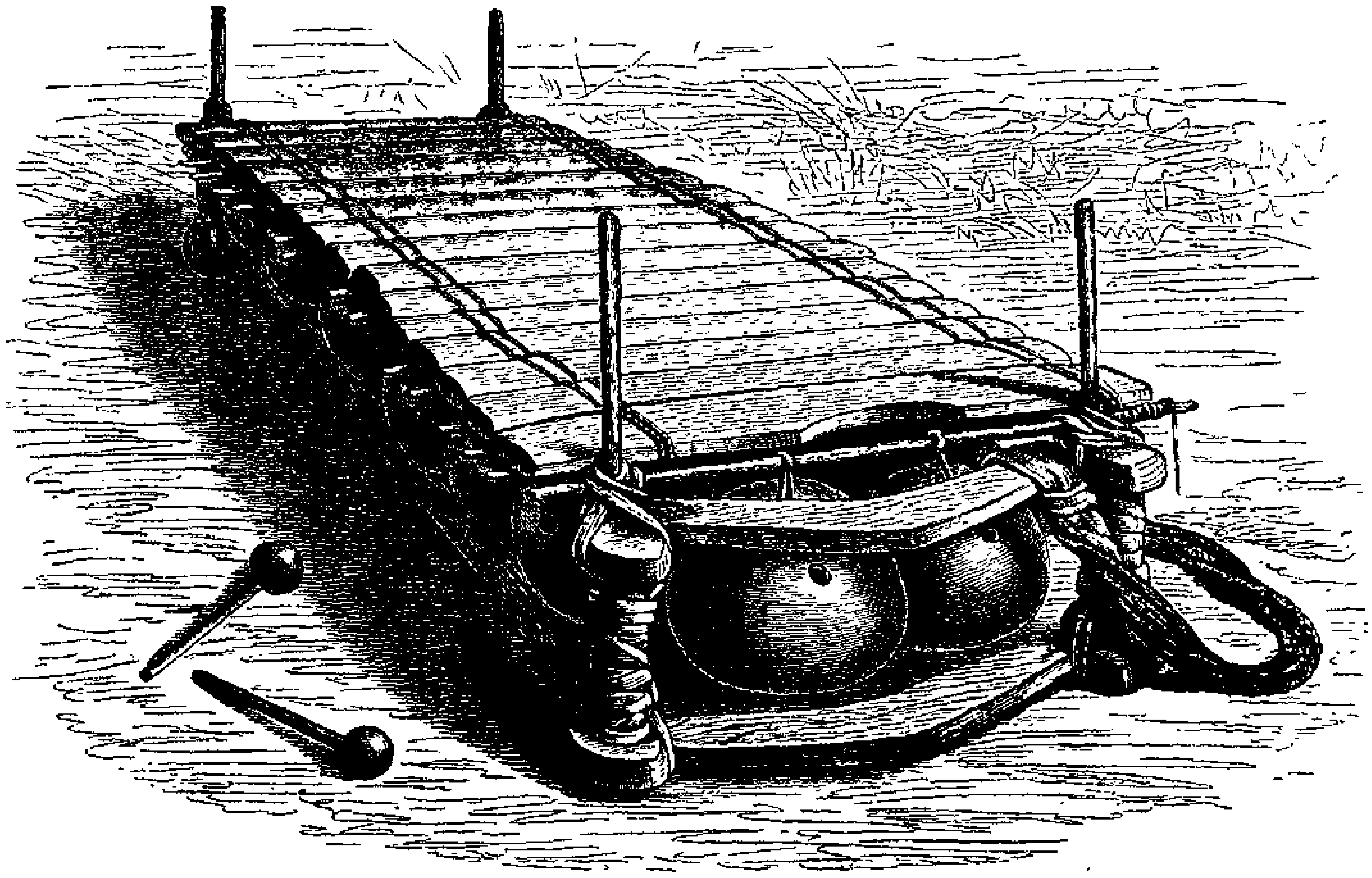


Harp of the Kroo negroes—one-tenth real size. (Christy Collection.)

The most natural of all sentiments is motherly love. But so much has been related of the strength of this in negro women, that we need not have dwelt upon it, if hasty critics, judging from abnormal cases, had not denied even this to the poor negro mothers. Speke relates how in Cazenge on Lake Tanganyika native mothers readily sell their children into slavery to strangers for a few pieces of cloth, and concludes therefrom that "the mothers of these savage people have infinitely less affection than any savage beast." Livingstone, who thrice stayed at the slave-market, constantly met Arabs who wanted to purchase slaves; but no one offered his own children, and the traders remembered that only *moiks* or unlucky children—those that had cut their upper front teeth before the lower—had been offered them. For the comparative student of races at any rate no doubt exists that among scarcely any "natural" race is offspring so highly prized as among the negroes. Infanticide is rare here in comparison with Polynesia and Melanesia. Abundance of children is hailed with joy among many negro tribes. In this

matter negroes are more like us than one is disposed to think. "Like all mankind more or less, they rejoice at the fortunate birth of a child," says Dannert the missionary of the Hereros; and this universal human feeling is no doubt the rule. It often happens that captured children are sold, but never children by their own mothers. Hunger no doubt often compels the parents to renounce their children, but those exceptional cases occur also among civilized peoples. Almost all slaves are prisoners of war or kidnapped, or else were sentenced to slavery for some legal reason or the arbitrary will of their chief.

After confinement a woman is always secluded, and as a rule the husband is forbidden to enter her hut. During the first weeks, or until the navel-string has



A *marimba* from W. Africa. (Christy Collection.)

fallen from the child, she and her hut are treated with respect. Among the Hereros the duty of consecrating the milk by tasting, which otherwise falls to the chief, is transferred during this time to the lying-in woman. The navel-string is buried in a special place near the hut, or preserved in a dried state with a certain feeling of awe. The *couvade*, or lying-in of the father, rarely occurs in Africa; but Zucchelli heard of a case among the Congo Jaggas.[1] Twins are reckoned as a rule a great sign of luck. Both sexes are about equally esteemed among the more peaceful races, but a boy is desired for the first-born. Among the pastoral races girls are valuable for the sake of the marriage-present. The period of suckling lasts on the average two years. Schweinfurth draws quite an interesting picture of the treatment of children by certain races of the Upper Nile. He relates how suckling children are there most carefully laid in long baskets, a form of cradle which he never saw anywhere among heathen negro races. Yet among them one may not only see the little ones fostered with the tenderness which animals show in no less degree than man; with the Jurs old age is also honoured, and in the

[1] [His report is only hearsay. See *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for 1893, p. 216.]

villages one everywhere falls in with old people. Cases, such as are known among the Bushmen, of the exposure of old and infirm persons when they come to be a burden to their families, may also occur among the negroes; but it is not a general practice. It is suspicious that this very cruelty is imputed to the much-traduced negro tribes of the Nile district, of whom their deadly foes the Nubians cannot report evil enough. Lepsius was told in Meroe that the practice of burying old and infirm people alive was also found among the negro tribes south of Kordofan. They are, it was said, charged with greetings for all departed persons, and buried with *merisa*, bread, a hoe, a pipe, and two pairs of sandals. According to another account, one or two ounces of gold were put with them, by way of obolus for the ferryman who takes the dead across the great stream. Such tales could only have been spread at a time when the facts were little known. The following narrative of Schweinfurth is convincing on the other side. One of his Dinka porters, near kinsman therefore of the negroes of whom Lepsius heard that gruesome history, was unable to continue his journey to his home near the Ghattas *zeriba*, having fallen ill with guinea-worm, and being in no condition with his swollen feet to take another step forwards. Thereupon his old father undertook to carry this hulking fellow, six feet high, a distance of 35 to 40 miles on his own shoulders; and the other natives looked upon this as the natural thing to do. Büttner the missionary relates that a Herero child received a name meaning "We will never forget thee," with the express intention that this name might keep the parents in mind of some relations who had died about the time of the child's birth. It is noted as a repeated experience of caravan-travellers that among negroes just as among Arabs old age is held in such high esteem as to render it apparently impossible to make up a caravan without some grey beards; and wherever Kaffirs found profitable employment in great industrial undertakings, as in the copper-mines of Ukyep, the diamond-mines, and the like, the endless family train of non-workers which hampered them and even drained their resources had often to be compulsorily removed.

Agreeably to the natural relation the mother stands first among the chief influences affecting the children. From the Zulus to the Waganda, we find the mother the most influential counsellor at the court of ferocious sovereigns like Chaka or Mtesa; sometimes sisters take her place. Thus even with chiefs who possess wives by hundreds the bonds of blood are the strongest. The father is less closely bound up with the family. He is indeed the head, and is recognised as such; it is said too that the negro is in general a lover of children and therefore a good father. But even here he often rules more by force than by love. Among the institutions recalling Roman law which Hübbe-Schleiden, an expert on that subject, found among the Mpongwes, he mentions their domestic or family life: "We find among them the *patria potestas* equally comprehensive and equally strict, if not carried into such abstraction. Wives, children, servants are all in the power of the *pater-familias* or *oga*. He alone is quite free; a degree of independence to which a woman among the Mpongwes can never attain." Yet that woman, though often heavily burdened, is in herself in no small esteem among the negroes is clear from the numerous negro queens, from the medicine-women, from the participation in public meetings permitted to women by many negro peoples.

Marriage is concluded by purchase. This feature appears, to the suppression

of all others, among those tribes who accumulate capital by the ownership of herds. The practice of wife-purchase is found, however, also among agriculturists, and a man's wealth is measured by the number of his wives. Polygamy is usual wherever there are means to support it. We sometimes find the young bridegroom living in his father-in-law's establishment till the birth of his first child. Only the ruling chief of the district has the right to take any man's daughter without the usual payment, just as the chief's daughter may select any man, who thereby from a peasant becomes a chief.[1] Many pretty features are met with in connection with the courtship. Among the Madis the daughter first takes the mother into her confidence, and she informs the father. He fixes the price, and the couple obey absolutely, whether "yes" or "no" be the end of the negotiations. The marriage ceremonies are almost entirely secular. Oxen are slaughtered and there is singing and dancing. Among tribes where good manners prevail, during all this time the bride never leaves the hut which her father has built for her, but sits surrounded by her new brothers and sisters-in-law, who extol the charms of married life. At the same time she may partake of the marriage-feast, but without letting herself be seen. The following picture of a ceremony in greater style is given by Cameron. First the bridegroom performed a solo-dance for half an hour; and when this was over, the bride, a girl of nine or ten years old, was placed, with all the state that could be mustered up, on the shoulders of a woman, and borne to the dancing-place, while a second woman supported her from behind. The bridegroom gave her two or three tobacco-leaves and beads, which she threw among the dancers. Then the bridegroom and bride danced together for ten minutes with very unseemly gestures, after which he snatched her up, and disappeared with her into his own hut. The dancing, yelling, and drumming went on all night.

Dissolution of marriage is not only rendered difficult by the business thread which runs through the band of wedlock, but apart from this, it comes into relation with legal institutions. Divorce is rare among tribes who lead a simple life undisturbed; nor is adultery so frequent among them as among those who have accumulated capital, possess numerous slaves, and have come into closer contact with Arabs or Europeans. But even among these a marriage is not dissolved without formality, as might appear on superficial observation. Among the corrupt tribes of the Gold Coast, only princesses have the privilege of separating from their husbands without coming before a tribunal. Some white clay, handed over by the husband, serves as a sign of dismissal. Common people on the other hand have to appear before the chiefs, who decide the case. If they allow the wife her divorce, her family keep the purchase-money, and the chiefs present the woman with a piece of white clay, with which she marks the trees of the principal street as a sign that she is no longer a wedded wife. If the divorce is granted to the man, the wife's family have to return the sum received. An interesting example of innovation in this domain is given by Broyon in his description of Unyamwesi, where he relates how the Arabs had formerly from selfish motives introduced a law that a woman who broke anything of theirs became their slave. The negro women had turned this to their own advantage. In order to get free from an uncongenial husband, they would break something of the chief's, and become his slaves.

[1] [Innumerable fairy-tales point to the prevalence of this rule among primitive races.]

In the division of labour, work requiring strength falls to the man, that which demands rather perseverance and dexterity to the woman. The man drives the cattle afield, seeks animals that have strayed, protects them against beasts of prey, digs the wells, draws water, hunts. Meanwhile the wife looks after the children, tills the ground in company with the younger ones, keeps an eye on the calves and lambs, fishes where fishing is a light job. In co-operation with the husband she builds and maintains the house, and sees to firewood and water. When the husband brings the cattle home at night he milks the cows and she prepares the meal; only among the Dinkas does the wife milk. In the villages you will hardly ever see a man carry a child, though it is common enough on a journey. In the house the man naturally has the supremacy. "But," says Büttner, "when we become more closely acquainted with family conditions, we notice that there, as elsewhere, husbands are under petticoat government, and those most of all who like to pose before the outer world as masters of their house. The women, including the aunts, have on all occasions, important and unimportant alike, a weighty word to contribute. In addition to recognised female rule, there is always the strong private influence of the chief's head wife. Almost every king has a feminine privy-councillor of this kind, without whose acquiescence nothing of importance is done."

An Abaka negress with lip-plug. (From a photograph by R. Buchta.)

The patriarchal system allows the first place after the father to the eldest brother, and when there is none, to the father's brother. The eldest son is at once heir apparent, and recognised by all the others as first after the father. But besides this, "mother-right" appears clearly in the rules of inheritance, and this certainly sets limits to the tendency towards depressing the women. Among the pastoral tribes a patriarchal feature is predominant, by which the father is permitted to allot the inheritance. As a rule he leaves a share of his property to each of his "houses"—that is to every wife with her offspring, while the chief wife and her son, the principal heir, take a larger share. It is otherwise among the agricultural West Africans; here the children reckon as kin to the wife's family, even when wives are sold and pledged, so that a man is looked upon as belonging to his mother's tribe, and enjoys special protection and privileges in it, even in cases where hostilities have broken out. From the fact that the practice of exogamy, though perhaps nowhere so compulsory as in Australia or Polynesia, is yet widely spread, these intertribal relations acquire also a political character, which appears, taking precedence of everything else, in the marriage and succession of the greater chiefs. As a rule these take only their first wife according to their own choice; afterwards as they grow older and increase in wealth and power they are more apt to have princesses sent to them as brides. They cannot return them without provoking serious conflicts; on the

contrary they have to offer rich presents to the fathers. The last, if of highest rank, may become the principal wife, and her son be named heir to the throne.

In other conceptions of relationship too many points are found in common with other races at a similar level of culture, and in the terms denoting kinship there prevails among the pastoral tribes an effort after generalisation in which everything is subordinate to the patriarchal order. It will be of interest to note how the language of a sharply-defined tribe, the Hereros, as given by Büttner, deals with the nearest family relations. "Father" is *tate*, "mother" *mama*—denominations belonging to the origin of language. But these words are used exclusively of the speaker's own father and mother, and serve at the same time for all members in the ascending line; though in domestic intercourse the grandfather is mostly called only "the old one" *omu-kururume*, and the grandmother "the little old one" *oka-kurukaze*. These words are also used by step-children of step-parents, and generally by children, of the nearest relations of their actual parents. On the other hand "your father" and "your mother" are called quite differently; *iho* and *onyoko*; "his father" and "his mother" being *ihe* and *ina*. There are no special words for "son" and "daughter"; only for "child," "suckling," "boy," "girl," etc. These words are obviously the same in very many Bantu languages; even though, in vocabularies often hastily compiled, individual words appear rendered directly by "son" and "daughter," they are obviously always only the general designations for "child" and so forth. Equally little is there any general word for "brothers and sisters," as there are no special words for either relation. Here again the family system has made its mark on the language. The brother calls his eldest brother *e-rumbi*, which becomes generally a title of honour for the head of the family, his younger *omu-angu*, which can denote generally an inferior, also has not much to say. His sisters he calls *omu-tena*. The sister again calls her eldest sister *e-rumbi*, the young *omu-angu*, her brother *omu-tena*. The same terms are used not only of actual but of adoptive relations. All who belong to the family are called *ova-kuetu*, "ours," *ova-kuenu*, "yours," *ova-kuano*. Then for the Christian address "brethren" or "dear brethren," the natives found *ova-kuetu* the best rendering; and when it came to "Peter the brother of Andrew," it always caused much racking of brains to settle whether it was right to say elder or younger brother. "When we missionaries," says Büttner, "tried to make it clear to them that these relationships were not accurately known, they always preferred to decide in favour of the general terms *omu-kuetu*, etc."

The temporary isolation of the young men under the charge of elder men in special villages which may not be entered by women, is found frequently. Even where no further religious ceremonies take place, boys who are subjected to the very irregularly, almost capriciously distributed rite of circumcision, in all cases dwell as a community in a house far from the others, and when possible in a forest. The circumcision knife, which is old-fashioned, often even of stone, is applied to no other purpose. Maidens reaching maturity are often similarly secluded.

The conditions of a happy family life exist in the family with its firm organisation. Any disturbance no doubt comes by far most frequently from without, where political conditions are as unstable as those of the family are firm. The negro has indeed, with all the freakishness of his ways of thought, a child-like disposition to obey which he carries beyond the family into the patriarchal com-

munity, which takes a pronounced form among the pastoral tribes. Together with a very extensive independence in all matters that have to do with the conduct of life and personal rights, we observe among all flourishing and uncorrupted races a superstitious reverence for their rulers, who in practice have something of divine right. The natives have no conception of a community, however limited in numbers, being able to arrange its own affairs without a "head," as the Basutos say in their language. Just as little do they understand a deputed or temporary authority. They obey only a real uncontested power, whose origin is concealed or lost in the darkness of the past; or which, where it is of more recent date, has succeeded in allying itself with the belief in the supernatural. There are chiefs who have attained to that dignity by force of arms, and we even hear of one chief who had become rich as a slave—though this was among the trade-loving versatile Bateke of the Congo; but most are scions of the princely families of the tribe. Even the best African rulers are despots in our sense. Did they wish to be otherwise, they would soon be brought to that position by the zeal with which their subjects seek to serve all the caprices of the sovereign. The most obvious and simplest form of political flattery is the imitation of whatever the chief does. Sechele described this custom to his friend Livingstone as falling into decay. "In former times, when a chief was fond of hunting, all his people got dogs and became fond of hunting too. If he was fond of dancing or music, all showed a liking to these amusements. If the chief loved beer, they all rejoiced in strong drink!" Great chiefs kept flatterers in their pay. Thus in all the Bechuana tribes there are persons who understand the art of delighting the chief's ear with songs of praise. In this they display no small degree of eloquence, and have a great wealth of imagery at command. They are expert in dancing with the battle-axe and rattle of gourd. The chief rewards their sweet speeches with an ox or a sheep. Songs of this kind, endless variations on the same theme, unfortunately hold the first place in negro poetry; thus the brag and vanity of negro princes, which has often been such a nuisance to Europeans, is very natural. The Manyema chief Mwana Goy, who, as Stanley says, swaggered about his village with a stick in his hand for a sceptre, clad in a quantity of fine cloth woven from grass, all trimmed with tags, tassels, and fringes, his skin painted different colours, and wearing a feather head-dress, is thus typical of many petty kings.

Chief's sceptre, from Uvinza. (After Cameron.)

The most powerful states are only middling in respect of square miles, small in regard to force. Most, however, are in every respect small editions of states, something like the old German sovereign "villages of the Empire." From an estimate of Perrin, the missionary and lexicographer, confirmed by Bleek, the Kaffirs of Zululand consisted in 1853 of 78 tribes. Each tribe averaged 367 huts and less than 1500 souls. Max Büchner reckoned the number of the Ilolos of the Lunda kingdom, "many of whom are not more important as regards strength than our large farmers," at 300; and Schweinfurth gives the tale of souls in the whole Jur stock, much divided as it is, at 20,000 head. One of the chief causes of the muddle in African ethnography is the confounding of such patriarchal

# MAP SHOWING THE CIVILIZATIONS OF

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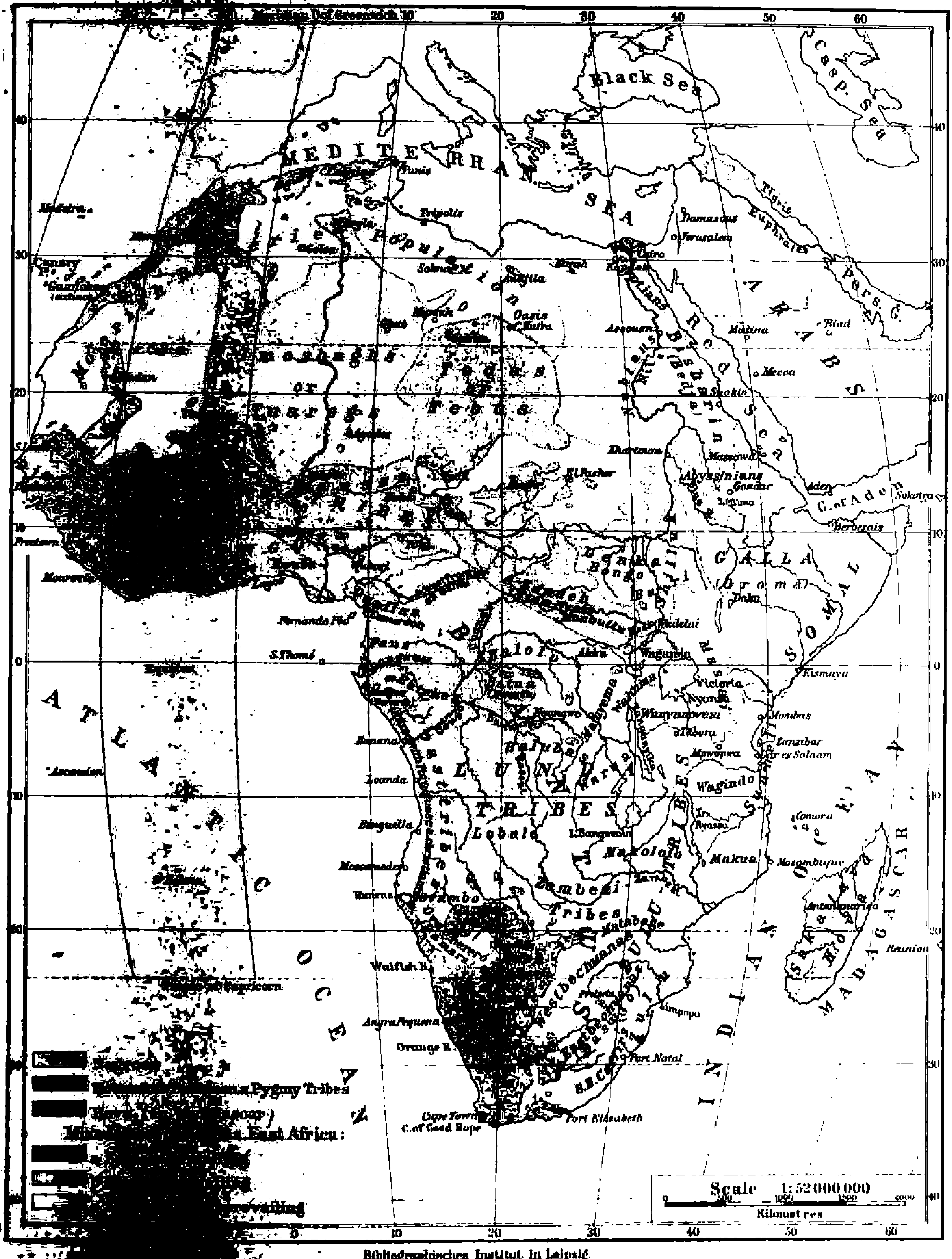
# RACES OF AFRICA.

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communities, perhaps once accidentally pushed into prominence, with real states, that is conglomerates of tribes like the Zulu empire of Chaka and his successors, or the kingdom of Sebituane. The mistake is all the greater, that even those larger combinations are as a rule very short-lived. They are indeed opposed to the nature of the negro and to his stage of culture. However great may be the respect or the fear in which a chief ruling several tribes is held, he will seldom succeed in making a homogeneous people of them. It lies in the nature of these little African states to split up of their own accord into countless fragments under the influence of peaceful and prosperous circumstances. The chiefs all live in polygamy, and have numerous sons, who all put in a claim for lands and herds. If the increase of possessions does not allow Lot and Abraham to live at peace, we can imagine what results it has for people who always put their own interests in the first place. Have the events of which the southern negro countries have been the scene in our own century—the Kaffir and Bechuana wars—infused any more disposition towards concentration?

King Tom Will, of the district inland from the Slave Coast. (From a photograph by Büttikofer.)

The reaction of the natives in South Africa against the Europeans has, no doubt, taken an ever more definite form and a wider extension, as a comparison of the older with the more recent Kaffir wars will show; but it has never reached such great and firm alliances as that of the "Six Nations" in North America. The opposition to the partition of Africa came more from the Arabs than from the negroes. The feeling of nationality can only exist among negroes in the narrow, simpler and more primitive form of tribal feeling. In this form Schweinfurth has

expressly ascribed it to the Monbuttus. In these narrow relations the idea of "international" falls to that of "intertribal." Within these limits the feeling of the negro for diplomacy and definitions of right makes itself especially available, and there are countless unmodified treaties which limit the sovereign village principalities of Africa and their "spheres of interest." Thus the trade with the places on the coast—the cause of so much strife among the tribes of the interior crowding to secure it—gave rise to stipulations which for a time were strictly complied with by a group of tribes. Similarly the trade with the interior is regulated. When Buchholz visited the Kwakwa river, south of King Bell's and King Akwa's towns, he found there solely fishermen from Akwa's place, none of Bell's people. Each of these two Cameroon tribes has its own "bush countries" — localities with which its people trade, and where they have relatives, the result of mutual intermarriage. Here too, then, exogamy has the effect of binding races together. Among every African people a number of strangers live, primarily as slaves, also as traders or manufacturers, hunters or fishermen; or again as squatters, who roam about the forest in order to bring a piece of land here or there into cultivation.

Kosa Kaffirs, counsellors of Sandili.
(From a photograph.)

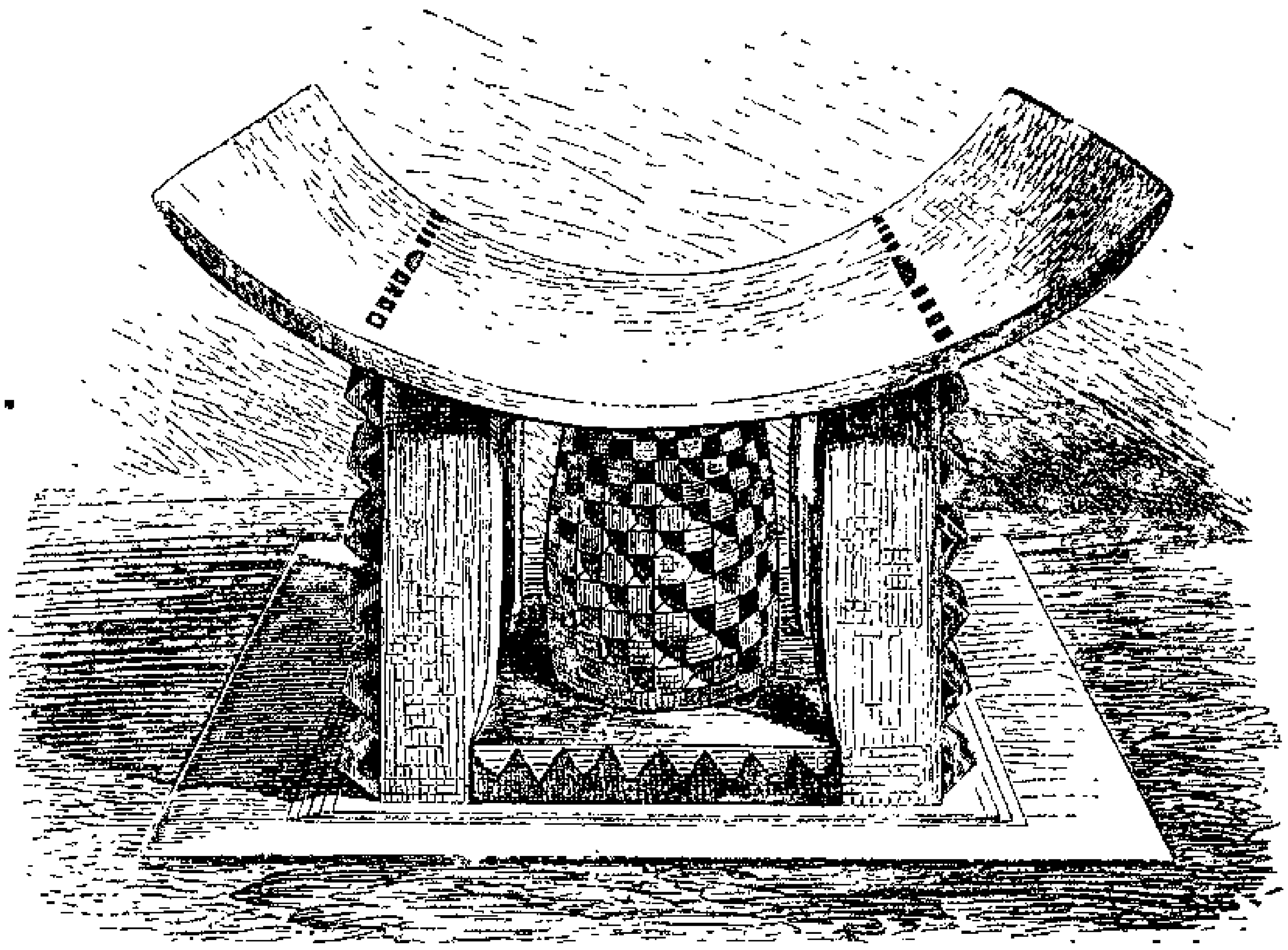
The minute subdivision of states has its roots deep in the tendency of individual states to overrate themselves, for want of any standard of comparison. This was Wilson's motive for suggesting a mission from Uganda to Europe. "What the chiefs and the people want is a more accurate knowledge of their position towards the rest of the world, and the comparative insignificance of their country." In default of better self-knowledge, this tendency to split up, even among the members of nearly-related groups of states, continues to be a strong ally of the Europeans in all their enterprises in the negro country. And only one force has now and again shown itself strong enough to bring together and keep together the mutually repellent elements—an imperious, reckless personality. "Without a despot," says Fritsch, "there is no Zulu supremacy." Natures like Sebituane or Mirambo, Chaka or Ndlame, reckless, and for that very reason popular, despots, are the implements

with which Africa, so far as she belongs to the negroes, has up to now made her mark on the movement of history. Little as the negroes in domestic matters and in time of peace allow entirely unlimited sovereignty to their rulers, these can in time of war expend the forces of their nation without restriction, and pile conquest upon conquest. Every invasion is at the same time a foray, by which the whole people expects to gain. But the sovereign allots the booty, and therein lies a great part of his influence. Thus one of the most important facts, both for the history of the negro races in Africa and for European interests there, is the rise of powerful conquerors and rulers, who bring together scattered tribes and found extensive kingdoms. It is obvious that the work of civilization will also be facilitated if it can make its effort at points whence so much strength and power go forth. The work of exploration by European travellers has been materially furthered by men like Sebituane and Mtesa. These kingdoms are most frequent and most powerful, especially about the southern border of Central Africa, where vigorous Kaffir tribes develop energy and enterprise in a temperate climate; and again in the north and north-east. But when we come to enquire into the cause of this phenomenon, we touch the limits of negrodom; for those who bear the renowned sceptres of Uganda and Unyoro, as well as the Munzas, Cazembes, Cazongos, Mwata Jamvos, trench, as is partly proved by history, partly related by legend, upon the light-coloured, curly-haired Africans of the north and east. How significant is it for the character of this history, unfamiliar with far-reaching effects, that in the negro-legends, migrations to and fro, the disappearance of known men and the rise of strangers, form the poles on which history moves.

If we can speak of a definite institution, oligarchical aristocracy, or rather a mixture of patriarchal and feudal government, best denotes the negro form of state. Life is stirring in the commune, important questions keep the men exercised, and are settled entirely among themselves; the head chief only takes a hand when a quarrel breaks out between two communes. Neither the powerful Zulu sovereigns nor those of Uganda are or have been absolute rulers. Especially they have never concluded a valid treaty with Europeans without the consent of the elders. Such a thing would be inconceivable under the existing conditions of government, for a great share of the power lies in the hands of the chiefs. Wilson wrote from Rubaga: "If the chiefs could be made well disposed to Europeans, civilization would gain ground much more quickly than through the favour of a whole dynasty." While Mtesa, for various reasons, encouraged the presence of Europeans in his country, the chiefs were more or less unfriendly towards them. Quite similarly when Gardiner was seeking to get a footing in Zululand, he had to take just as much trouble with Chaka's generals as with Chaka himself. No doubt the fear that the king might, with the resources of the white men, become too independent may have contributed. Further, when the nobility forms a separate class, as especially on the west coast—in the east the imperialism of great conquerors has clearly had a demoralising effect,—it is, as a rule, connected with the ruling family by close bonds of kinship. Unlimited despotism is counteracted also by the danger that a tribe may crumble away in the hand of a ruler who grips too tight. The oppressed leave the country secretly, and go to swell the power of neighbouring princes.

The explorers of Africa have brought us acquainted not only with many a blood-dripping despot, but also with benevolent and intelligent rulers in no

small number. We are not here thinking of the good rulers of Bornu or Sokoto, who as Mussulmans came under foreign influence, but of smaller princes like Rumanika or Sebituane, genuine negro kings. There may have been some exaggeration in the statement made by a friend of the natives in the *Cape Monthly* for 1870, ascribing to Sechele the plan of preventing drought in his country by keeping up the growth of shrubs on the hills; but his foresight undoubtedly went far enough to enact, long before the Cape Parliament, a law for the protection of hen-ostriches. Livingstone, who had his eye open to all that was good in the negro, has introduced to us several chiefs of this kind. We will here refer only to the Manyema chief, Moenekuss. "It is observable



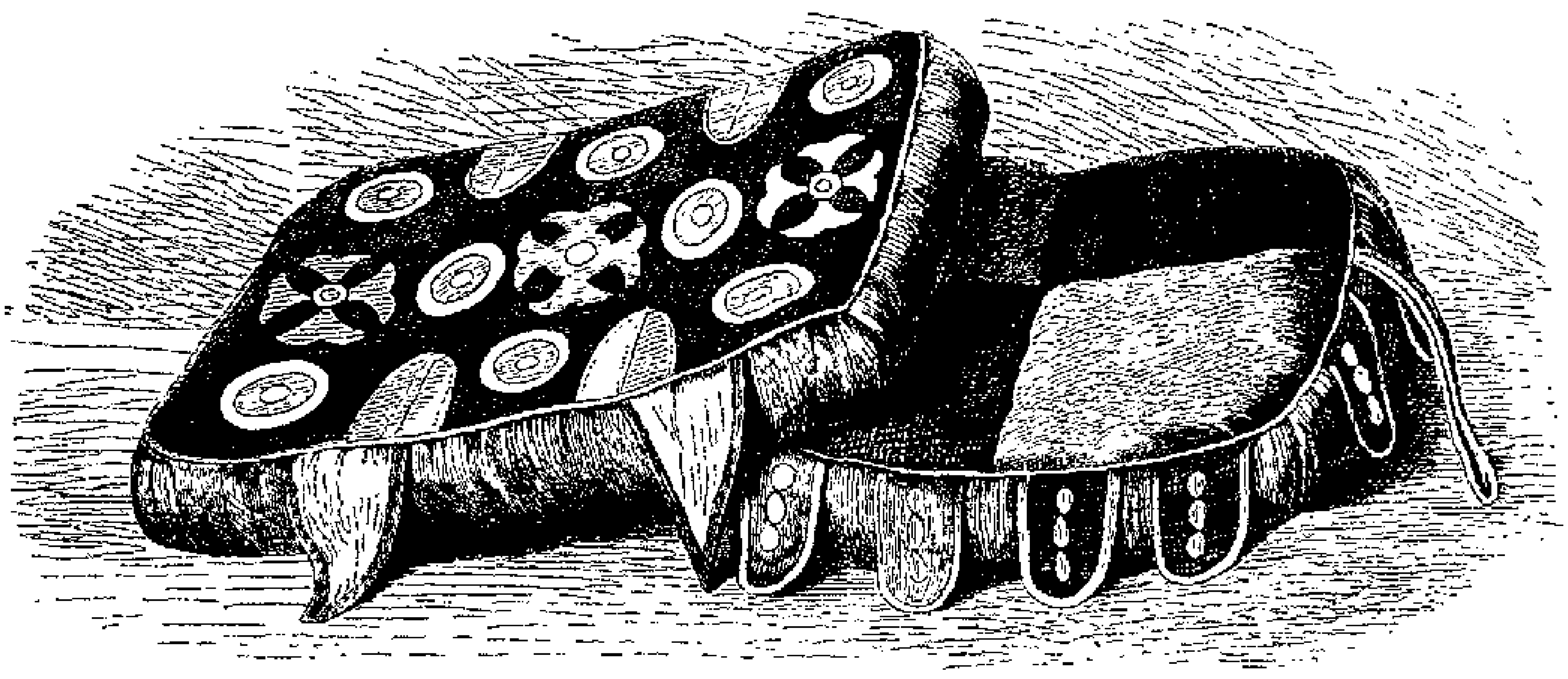
King's stool of Xossa-wood, from Ashantee. (British Museum.)

that the permanent halt to which the Manyema have come is not affected by the appearance of superior men among them; they are stationary, and improvement is unknown. Moenekuss paid smiths to teach his sons, and they learned to work in copper and iron, but he never could get them to imitate his own generous and obliging deportment to others; he had to reprove them perpetually for mean short-sightedness, and when he died he virtually left no successor, for his sons were both narrow-minded, mean, short-sighted creatures, without dignity or honour." In these few words is expressed the stationary character of the African polity, in spite of certain wise and vigorous princes. They remain isolated. The lack of continuity in both good and evil explains the ever-recurring relapse to a point reached long ago. We can expect progressive impulses to improvement at first only in the field of material culture.

Between the territories of the individual tribes there are uninhabited frontier tracts or belts. But the foundation of a firm state is impossible save by the temporary appearance of powerful rulers who form and maintain secure centres. Even in the greatest negro kingdoms we shall again and again find a kind of indefinite outline. The king actually rules effectively only in the centre where he resides, while his influence decreases in proportion as his subjects feel themselves further away from him. Each of these kingdoms has therefore a border of

dubious tributary districts, which only wait for the opportunity to revolt. What wonder if tribes and kingdoms emerge and go by like waves before the wind? The political map of Africa, and therewith the ethnographical, is in a constant state of change.

A contributing cause is found in those phantom races of grotesque slaves who imitate the warlike exterior of their lords, like the false Wayao on the Rovuma, or Umzila's subjects on the Lower Limpopo, those apes of the Zulus who, being mere unwarlike serfs, amuse themselves in the fear-inspiring mask of Zulus. Confusion is equally caused by the fact that tribes have in course of time adopted names arbitrarily imposed upon them by others. Thus various Bechuana tribes bear the name "Mangati," which the Zulus have given them.

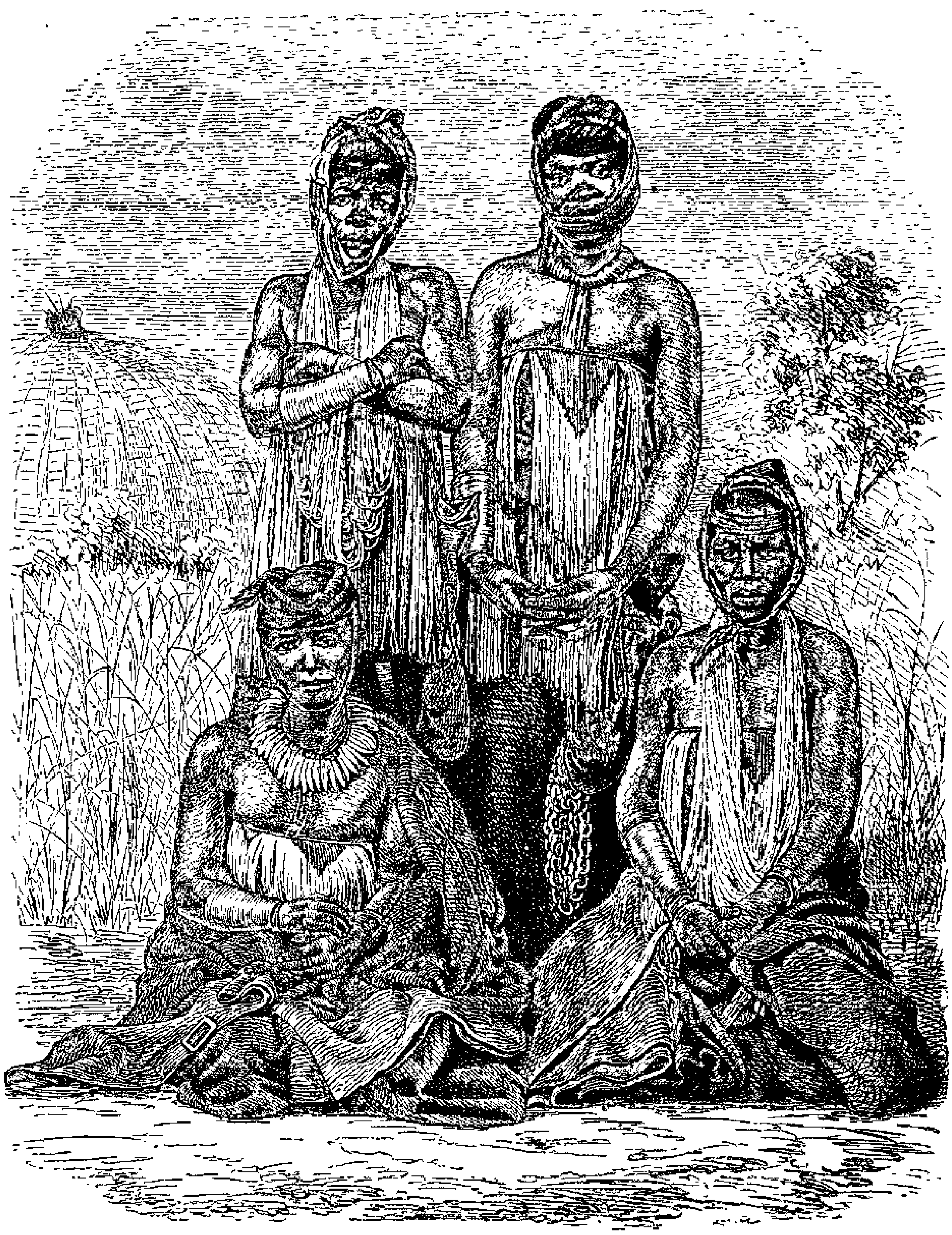


Cushions for the seat shown in the last cut.

Of the frequent formation of new peoples round the nucleus afforded by one powerful man, we have a classical and quite historical example in the Makololo.

Nothing gives a more correct idea of the poverty of a low stage of culture than the absence of magnificence about African rulers; and at the same time nothing gives so complete an idea of their highest desires as that which they use all their powers to provide. There is no oriental pomp and splendour; the great Zulu and Matabele kings, Mwata Jamvo, Cazembe, Cazongo, all these grandees of the negro world of Africa, are in personal appearance wonderfully simple. A talisman or two, a carved chair, an ornamental weapon, a ring or two more than are worn by their subjects, either of iron or twisted giraffe-hair, a monkey-skin, a red jacket, form all their external distinction. The revenue of the chiefs comes, besides trade, from the payments made to them for arbitrating in village quarrels, from the fines they levy for offences committed in their capitals, and from a duty on the trade in ivory, slaves, and boats. But among the advantages of their station are the possession of the greatest possible number of wives, unlimited beer and tobacco for them and their court, and a provision of muskets and ammunition. If we add huts somewhat larger and more imposing in style, we have exhausted all the material advantages which a negro sovereign has over his subjects. But there is something important besides; the ceremonial, the escort of spearmen, magicians, armed women, and the din of the bands of music, among which the old drums, "with the breath of spirits storming

round them," are held in especial honour. The negro is very fond of empty ceremonial, and hence the importance in the barbaric court of the master of the ceremonies. Connected with this is his fondness for diplomatising; which has a further base in his preference for wordy over actual warfare. Hence the

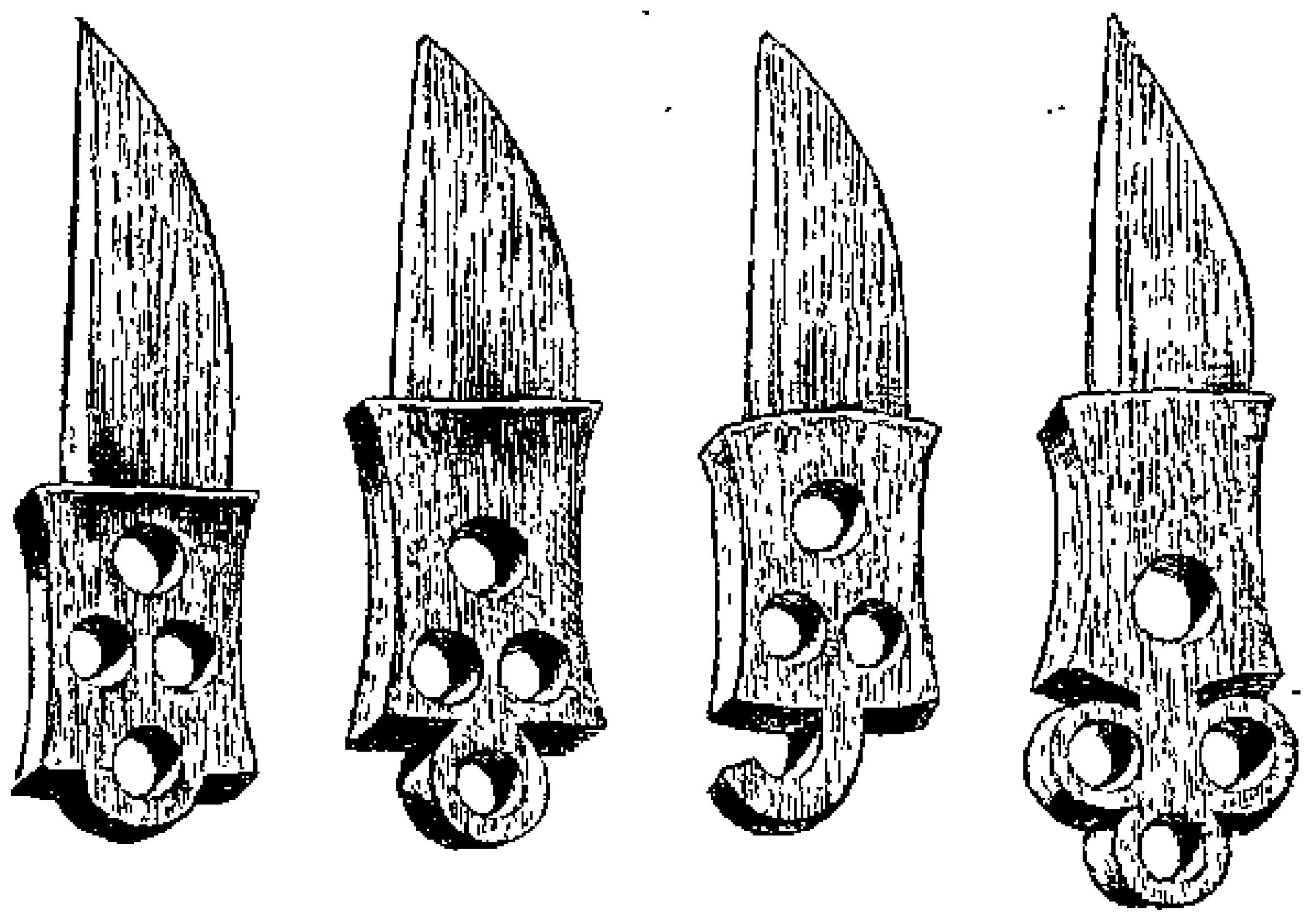


Wives of the Gaika king, Sandili. (After Professor Fritsch.)

ambassadors are weighty men at negro courts, experienced persons whose discretion can be thoroughly relied on, they take pains to display a fine and courteous demeanour. The observations which they make on their journeys render them superior to their fellow-citizens. In order to obviate disavowals and unforeseen contradictions, consequent on the lack of written stipulations, the custom prevails of always placing all international negotiations in the hands of the same men. The Basutos under Moshesh appointed even a special ambassador for each neighbouring country. This wearisome and hardly paying

office does not seem to be a burden to those entrusted with it. Casalis, the missionary to the Basutos, says: "My old friend Seetane (Little Shoe) told me every year with a smile of satisfaction that he was starting for the court of the Zulu chief Mpanda. He had to go on foot, nearly 500 miles and back. Every time I furnished him with some tobacco; and with this and a little bag of roasted mealies, he went off brisk and in good spirits as if it was a matter of a little walk." These messengers are mostly endowed with a marvellous memory, as is conceivable, when they have to repeat word for word the despatches orally entrusted to them, and in the absence of writing have at the same time to be living archives.

A peculiarity of all these despots is their habit of constantly sending off messages in every direction, and one of the common experiences of European travellers in those regions is to be overtaken, shortly after their escape from the den of one of those little lions, by his messengers sent to convey one or several belated wishes. This system of intelligence and messengers is clearly connected with the need of the negro sovereigns to be posted up about everything that goes on within the limits of their capacity for information. Just as they watch jealously to keep their village capitals the centre of the trade which they monopolise, so do they also feel themselves called to be the head and ears of their people. So too the spy-system is as highly developed among these savages as among any population of the civilized world in terror for its existence. Every man of a tribe feels bound to impart to the chief all and everything which comes to his knowledge; but if he is questioned by a stranger he either gives him intentionally the most stupid answers, or such as he knows will please his chief. "I believe," says Livingstone, "that in this way stories got about of their inability to count beyond ten, at the very time when Sechele's father was counting out a thousand cattle as the foundation of his son's housekeeping."


Dagger-knives from Bihé. (After Cameron.)

If we add to this that the chief is always the central magician or fetish-man of his whole people, often renowned as such beyond his own frontier, arch-magician and arch-priest, that he is the guardian of the fire, which is put out after his death, to be rekindled by rubbing, and that he is what is often equally important—the chief trader, we see united in him an abundance of actual power which only lacks the minor security of permanence to be imposing. Surrounded by a parliament of the eldest men of the people and his counsellors, which screens him from the people, the position of a negro prince, like so much in the negro's life, is really delightful; only it frequently develops awry and futilely. The counsellors, too, not uncommonly manage to make themselves feared by their magical powers, which may be even stronger than those of the chief. The influence of Umzila among the native tribes rested mainly on his reputation for having in his service powerful magicians, who fought with disease and the elements in place of weapons.

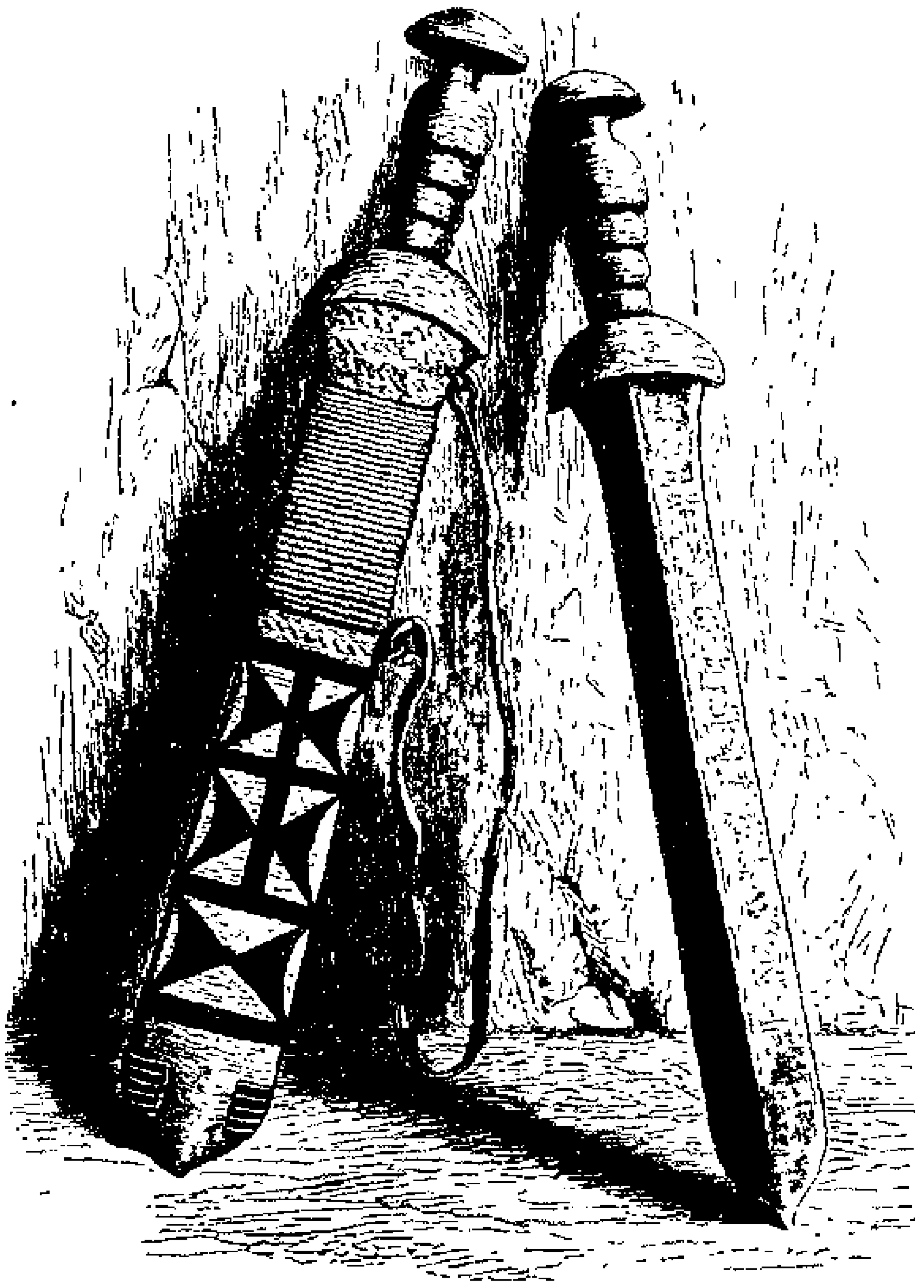
The negro is not, on the whole, of a warlike disposition like his Hamitic neighbours the Gallas and Somalis, or many Nubian or Arabian tribes in North Africa and the Soudan. He is too much a man of pleasure, too naive, too sanguine for that. Among many chiefs therefore, especially the West African negroes, the military profession plays a smaller part. But in those tribes which are full of military traditions, and whose existence even rests on their military strength, the chief is as a matter of course the supreme leader of the army. In these cases the chiefship assumes a more serious, more weighty character, and is closely bound up with the renown of the people. This is especially the case with the Zulus. Such tribes depart from the defensive; otherwise ambush is the characteristic of negro warfare. They are quite aware of their strength in defence. The fact of most negro peoples possessing no horses makes the attack yet more difficult to them in war.

But the Zulus, Watuta, and others show that the negro understands attacking outside his own fortress, and has courage to do it. The first Kaffir War afforded admirable examples of bold behaviour on the part of the badly armed blacks, against trained soldiers with muskets. If some have indicated cowardice and insolence as fundamental features in the negro character, and have accordingly placed him far below the North American Indian, and even the Malay, it is a one-sided judgment. That the wild spirit which he often enough displays is first inspired by the certainty that he has awakened fear in his opponents says nothing against the existence in him of the capacity for spirited attack. The negro has a tendency to presumptuousness and swagger. Decision alone, clear, and above all unerring as to its results, can check his presumption and the dangerous outbreaks of his savagery. In small things as in great, in hired field-labour as in politics, it has always held good that if rebuffed in his smallest pretensions the negro thinks no more of his demands, while otherwise his impudence increases without limit. This is the character of the intercourse between inferior and superior. We cannot specially reproach the negro with it. If we are accustomed to see courage and modesty go hand in hand, it is no doubt a higher ideal, but there is no inseparable connection between the two. The trait mentioned is part of the instinctive diplomacy of human intercourse, which is always striving to adapt its demands to the squeezableness which it encounters. And the negro, as the arch-realist, is a master in this diplomacy.

In the service of white men the negro shows valuable military qualities, in the United States, in Algeria, in Egypt, in German East Africa, in British West Africa. With great bodily strength and capacity for enduring fatigue, he is teachable, knows how to obey, and also to appreciate that he is a soldier. He loves his gay uniform and his weapons. The Americans make good shots of many emancipated slaves. Of sanguine temperament, he is naturally capable of that hardly definable frame which we call dash or "devil"; and what in various cases is perhaps most important, he is born with a lower notion than the white man of the value of a human life. Before the English occupation, the great majority of the Egyptian black troops consisted of Dinkas, whose imposing figure, tall stature, and innate bravery, indicated for them a prominent position in the Egyptian army. Their community, which united whole districts into one tribe imposing through its mass of warriors, has offered an effective opposition to Egyptians and Nubians, and the Dinkas remain an oasis of independent men

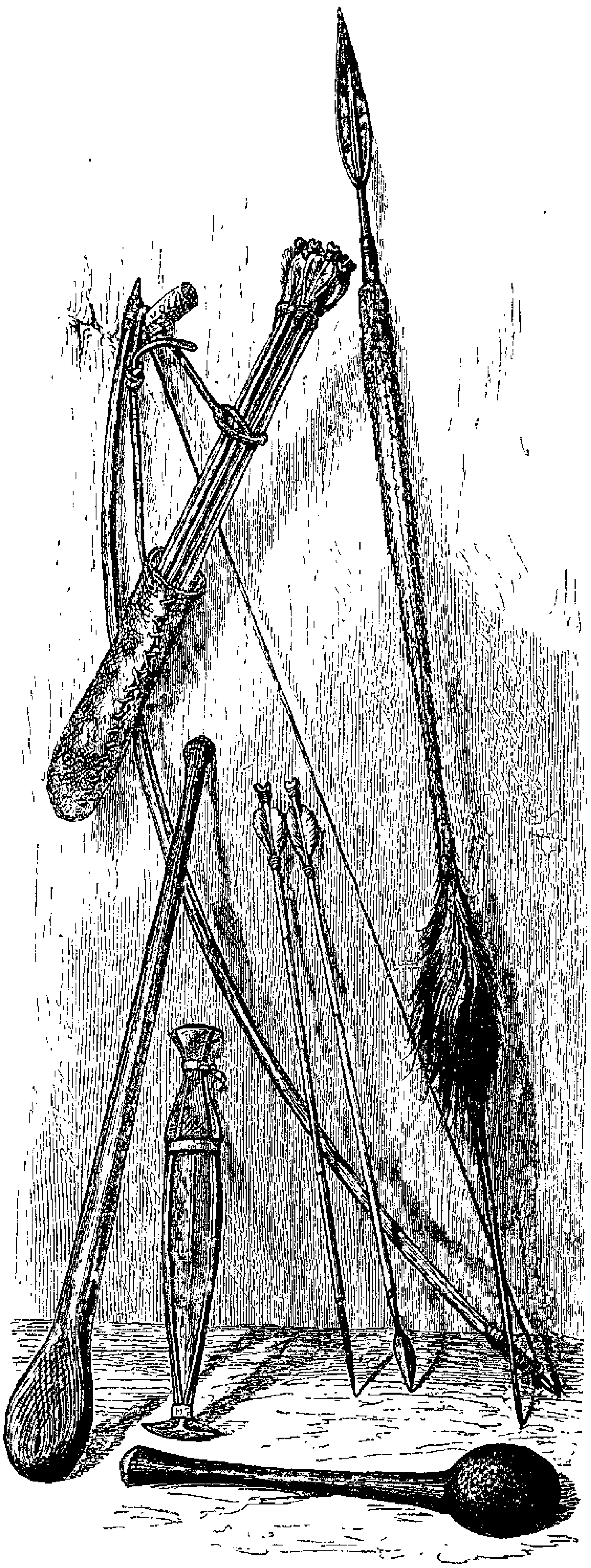
among subjugated. The Madis and Azandeh have shown equal efficiency as soldiers in the Equatorial Province.

Negro warfare is naturally cruel. Unfettered by considerations of humanity, it aims at the most practical object, keeping in view the destruction of the foe. Here the small value set upon human life makes itself truly conspicuous. Yet it penetrates generally through a great portion of the negro's ideas and actions. From Livingstone's account, the Makololo, though just as savage as their neighbours, had yet, in common with many other tribes of the great Kaffir race, a finer discrimination between justice and injustice, and more fixed and permanent usage in respect of punishments and rights. Yet their indifference to bloodshed broke through and destroyed this disposition towards higher development. This one feature annihilates all civilizing effects which might have developed from other points in their character, and they remain savages until they can get rid of it. Most negro peoples throughout Africa would in similar circumstances have behaved as in Cotterill's time the Manganja on Lake Nyassa did, when in their rage at the failure of an attempt to storm they massacred eighty prisoners, all women and little children, in cold blood before the eyes of the besieged. In justice, however, we must not overlook the historical fact that in the bloodiest periods of the Kaffir wars the wives and children of white settlers have often been spared; and probably more of their own wives and children were slain than they slew of others! Yet this did not exclude the greatest perfidy and cruelty towards white men.



Sword and sheath from the Cameroons. (British Museum.)

Negro weapons are in general not distinguished by the high finish which we find among perhaps less warlike races in the Pacific Islands. It is more rarely that they have weapons for ornament or show. Their spears do not lack variety in the form and size of the blades, nor do their battle-axes; but the forms fluctuate around a more limited type, and are always comparatively simple. Apart from that too the work of them is often not very finished; the cleanness of the edges, the sharpening and polishing of the blade, leave much to be desired. This is in no way connected with a generally lower level of what we may call art-manufacture in Africa. The hafts of spears as well as of axes, things which are doubtless only of secondary importance, are as a rule not only without decoration, but frequently even left rough. Look at a collection of Polynesian spears beside one from South or Central Africa, and you will notice a vast difference. There, even among the rough New Caledonians, all is polish, brilliancy, ornament; here,



Herero weapons. (Berlin Museum of Ethnology.)

we have uneven shafts hardly straightened. When bows are found among the negroes, they remain as a rule far behind those found out of Africa. The object is always practically enough kept in view. Spears and throwing-clubs are the most common classes of weapons; axe and knife come next. The knife, at any rate, seems to have made its way hither from the regions of Arab civilization to North and East. Small javelins weighted with balls of clay occasionally occur. Bows and arrows, frequently poisoned, are also wide-spread; but a great number of African tribes do not use them at all, and it seems as if some referred them to the lower subject races, and looked upon them as less noble weapons. For this reason they are more widely found in the less favoured places of abode, forests, mountains, plains. Genuine African bows have a simple curve, without the depression seen in those of Asia; yet suggestions of this and other peculiarities such as perforation, or retroflexion of the ends, often recur. Guns soon find their way in. Great battle clubs, contrivances for throwing spears, blow guns, long swords, are unknown to the genuine negroes. Throwing-irons and sticks occur only among northern tribes.

Other things besides weapons also belong to the warlike equipment of the negro; he seeks to make an impression by terrifying. For war, as for feasting, he adorns himself with paint, on which his polished ornaments of iron or brass stand out glittering. Some iron chains or a stiff ring of zebra mane cross his breast scarf-wise. The

1-4, 7, Assegais from the Upper Congo; 5, 6, Manyema assegais; 8, Harpoon from the Upper Congo—all one-tenth real size.

9, Bassonge shield—one-eleventh real size.

10, Kasai knife—one-sixth real size.

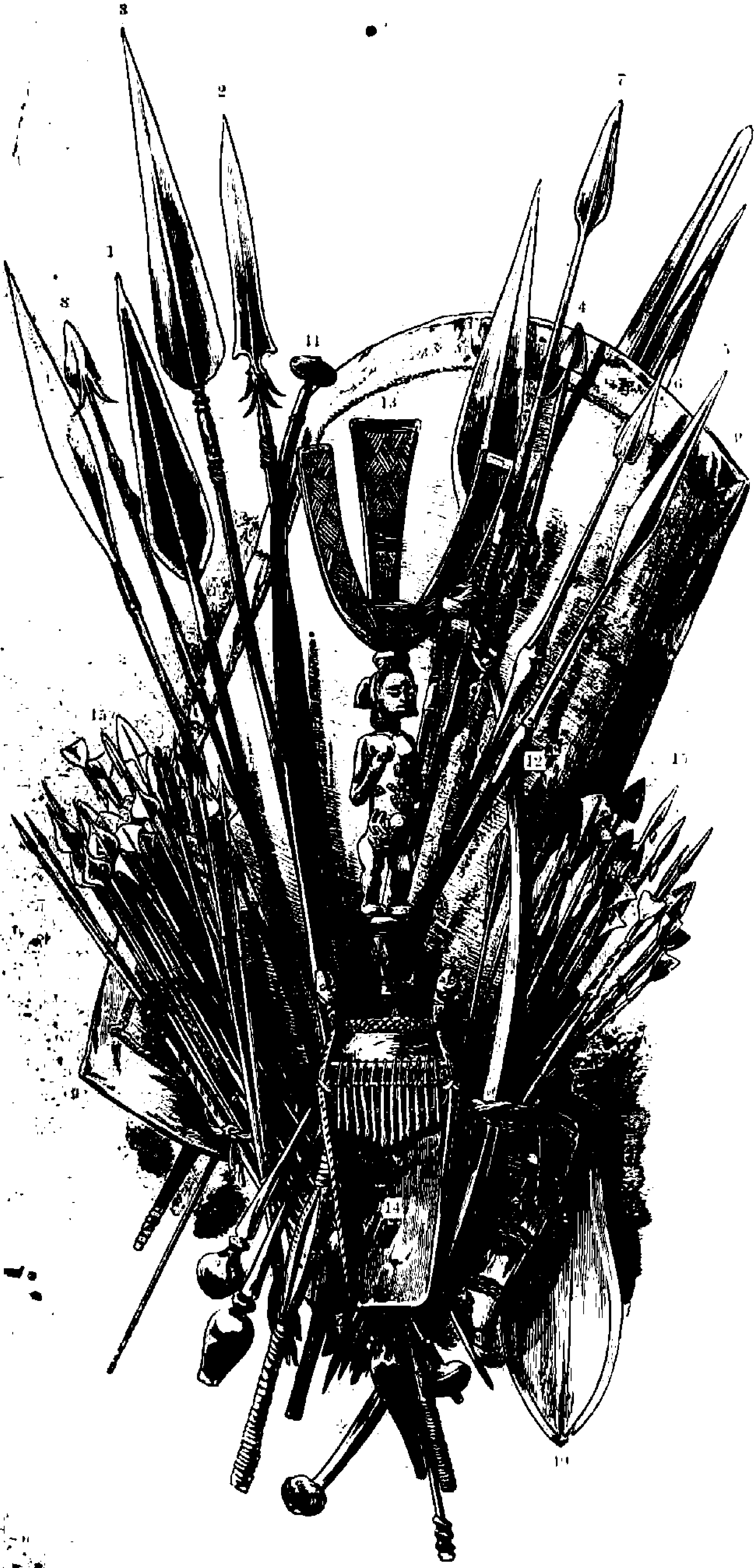
11, 12, Bows, from the mouth of the Congo and from the Kasai. Baluba shape—one-eleventh real size.

13, Waguha bow-case, 1.9 ft. high.

14, *Marimba*—one-eighth real size.

15, Arrows, 2 ft. 2 in. to 3 ft. long.

(1-8, 10-12, 15, from the Mense collection; 9, from the Pogge collection; 13, 14, from the Wissmann collection.)




Central African weapons and implements. (Berlin Museum.)

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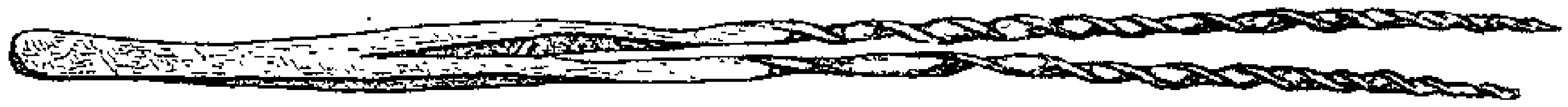
defiant countenance is, in the case of Masai, Zulus, and their kin, framed in a circle of short, black ostrich feathers, fastened on leather, whence rise, waving high over the skull, or saucily erected, some white cock's feathers. Yet more terrible is the impression when the war-shriek is accompanied with savage music. The history of the Kaffir wars teaches that even European troops were not always sufficiently steeled against such a display of warlike savagery.

In no part of the earth has slavery attained such vast importance as in Africa. The whole continent, not to mention European, Asiatic, and, during the last few centuries, above all American lands have been most profoundly influenced thereby. The once universally distributed slave trade, repressed by Christianity, has seen itself more and more confined to Africa and its neighbour countries on the east. Since 1442 Europeans have followed in the tracks of the Arabs. Even before the proposal of Las Casas to replace the rapidly dwindling Indians in the mines and plantations by means of negroes, negro-slaves had been brought to America; but after that time the number required by each province was settled, and their importation became a monopoly. Spain acquired possessions



A slave whip of hippopotamus hide. (After Du Chaillu.)

in Africa solely to get slaves. The headquarters of the slave-trade was the coast of Upper Guinea, upon which gradually all powers which used slaves made their settlements, while the Portuguese provided Brazil with slaves chiefly from Lower Guinea. The export of slaves from East Africa was in former times limited. Here the Portuguese bought the so-called Kaffirs for India, and the French for their possessions in the Indian Ocean. But then came the Arabs, who till then had met their requirements in Egypt; and it was not till some barriers were set, in 1815, to the slave-trade on the West Coast, that it began fairly to flourish in the East.

In any case the slave-trade would have been impossible on this scale had not slavery been universally spread throughout Africa. Its chief source is capture in war; but it can be inflicted as a penalty for transgression of laws, or a fine for neglect to discharge debt engagements. This slavery is, however, very remote from the mechanical forced labour with purchased man-power, such as was customary in the cotton states of America, in Cuba, and in Brazil. It cannot be denied that the freest negro in Africa is not free in the same sense as the poorest citizen of Europe. Every man bears a chain of some sort. It is only chief's children who are not liable to slavery; but this again is more severe for those imported from without, while for those who have become slaves by process of local law it is so mild as to be nearly imperceptible. Beside the slaves whom the Duallas put to live in separate villages of their own, as on the Mungo, and who attend to agriculture, and apart from their want of freedom are only a little worse off than their masters, one thinks involuntarily of the oasis-dwellers of the Central Sahara, subjugated by Tippoo, who tend their lords' date-orchards and share the produce with them. In the inhabitants of slave-villages we have very probably a similar middle term based on conquest between feudalism and slavery, which, however, owing to the slave-trade, has tended to grow more acute rather

than to be mitigated. Originally the children of these slaves did not belong absolutely to their owners as is now the case, for they are actually sold by them. Children of a slave woman by a free man have only in a few points inferior privileges to their father. Only slaves bear the offensive name of "nigger."[1]

The southern basin of the Congo in its interior part being a part of Africa as little touched as any by European influences, the observations which have there been made in great number upon slavery and the slave-trade are of double interest. Slavery is beyond question universal there. Even in the Portuguese possessions, where it is formally abolished, it survives; and the "working classes" are still, as of old, recruited by the purchase of negroes by preference from Mwata Jamvo's country. From the chief slave-markets, Mukenge, Chileo (known as the place where business can most cheaply be done—you can get ten slaves for a rifle there), and Cabao, only a few years ago thousands were going westward across the Kasai; and among the indigenous races the Kiotos and Bangala are especially active as traders and leaders of slave-caravans. In this district women and girls may be cited as the article most in demand in the interior trade of the negroes. The Angolans get them from one tribe in order to barter them to another for ivory. François mentions the case of a slave-woman who was sold by the chief Tenda to Mwata Jamvo, by him to some Issambo village on the Lualaba, and finally completing the circle, to her own home. The chief's tribute always consists in part of slave-women; and weak tribes are designated simply as slaves by stronger, as the Baluba by the Bakuba, or the Batua by all others, since they have to be always ready to furnish slaves. If some Kalamba or Lukengo has completed a tribute-collecting tour through his kingdom, and returns with hundreds of slave-women who are guarded by a corresponding number of slave men, trade becomes brisk all along, just as after a good harvest.

For the earliest writers on the African slave-trade, especially for Wilberforce, it was an undoubted fact that the actual wars of the Africans were its most productive source. "These wars call for retaliation, and thereby give rise to endless dissensions, nourish a spirit of enmity and revenge, which is inherited by the chiefs from generation to generation." Agreeably to the unchanging recurrence of the simple African customs, we find even in details the same methods prevalent in those times as are depicted for us by the most recent reporters; only that a hundred, or even seventy years ago, the immediate share taken by European traders and shippers in promoting war and raids for the sake of merchandise was greater than in later times. This function has now been transferred to the Arabs. The demand for slaves has stimulated expeditions for conquest, and produced genuine conquering races. In considering individual cases we shall learn something of the close connection between European or Arab slave-traders and African chiefs. The craving for slaves is not, as some enthusiasts hold, the only cause that has rendered more severe "the extremely lenient laws of the negroes" until slavery has become the penalty for almost every crime; but it has certainly influenced negro custom and law, and loosened many bonds which once were strong. Wilberforce, who was aware of the low stage of culture existing among the coast and river dwellers of Africa, and the higher reached by the interior regions, and noted it as a contradiction of all historical laws, ascribed it solely to the devastating influence of the slave-trade; and he was partly right. That de-

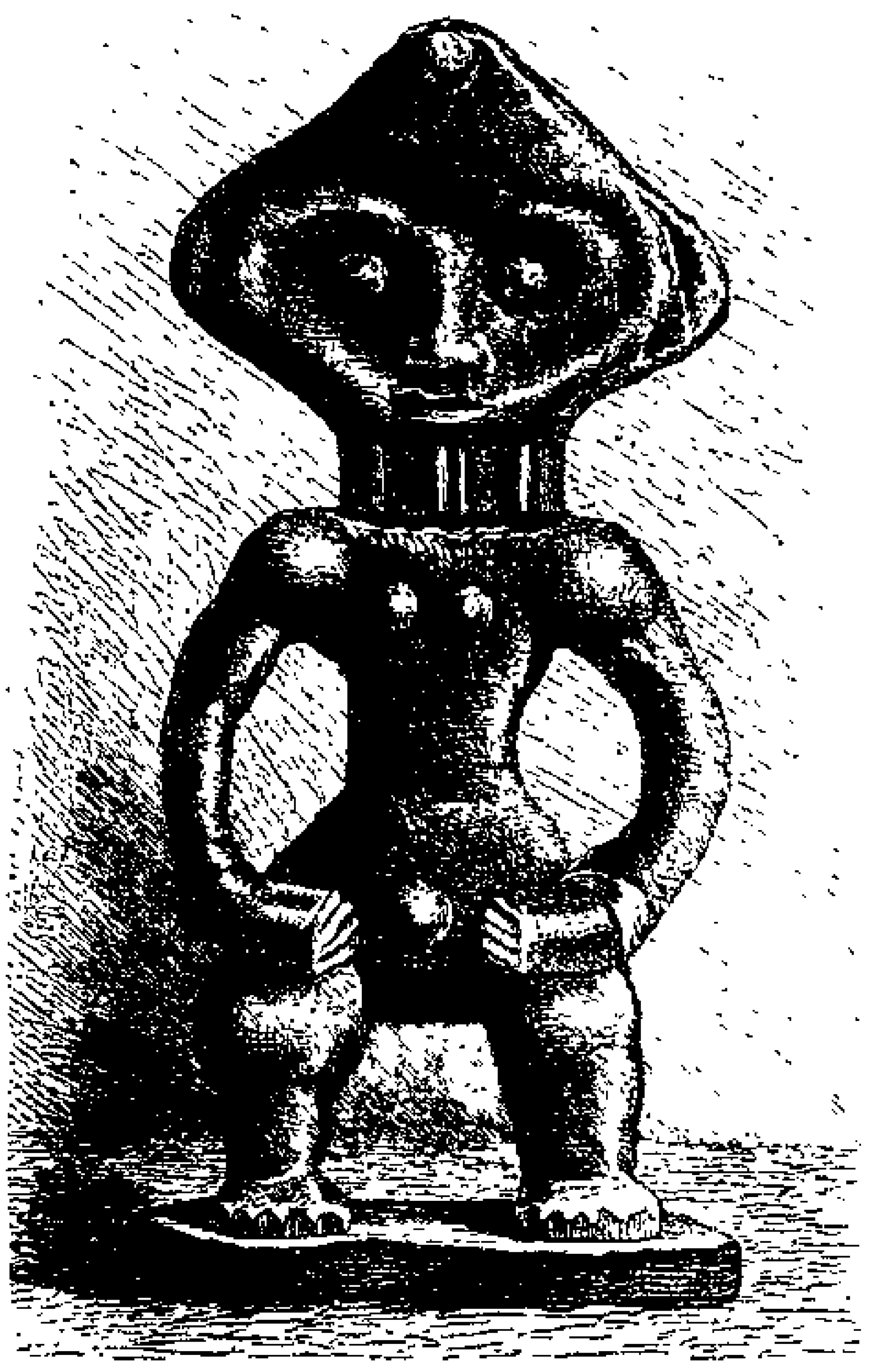
[1] [So in the original: but hardly without exceptions.]

pressing quiet which Stanley describes as existing in the plain at the southern foot of Ruwenzori, where all the people have emigrated, is one of the features of the "historic landscape" in the slave-traders' Africa. The diminution of human sacrifices on the West Coast must no doubt be directly ascribed to the effect of the slave-trade in making superfluous human beings the most lucrative articles of commerce; but when the slave-marts resulted in keeping up valueless masses of men, they would only serve to revive the old sacrifices anew. We hear plenty about them in Benin and Old Calabar, the ancient centres of the export trade in slaves. The acquaintance with the scum of Europe which the slave-trade brought about has contributed largely to the decay of the coast negroes. In presence of this horror, the teaching of Christianity remained ineffective, and the negroes only went back. Europe brought hardly anything but guns, gunpowder, and brandy, all three scourges of the country. There were small chiefs on the Gold Coast who bought 2000 slaves' worth of brandy mainly for their own consumption.

In yet another respect slavery in Africa has become a fact of political importance. The separation of the slaves into a social stratum, sharply defined, allows of the rise, under favourable circumstances, from among them of special political structures. Slave districts grew up from the custom of slaves living apart. It is asserted that the often-mentioned Dualla village "Hickory Town" was once a slave village called "Niggery Town." A settlement of the Wasegua on the Jub, with which Von der Decken came in contact in 1865, had been founded by fugitive slaves, Wasagara; they had a town on the river and several villages, and were armed with bows and spears. The gradations between genuine slavery, the trade carried on with a view to human sacrifice or to re-sale, labour-serfage, political subjection with the payment of tribute, lastly the dependence of the hunting tribes, to which belong the so-called dwarfs, or the blacksmith tribes, have never been fully distinguished. Genuine slavery, which at first on practical then on sentimental grounds has chiefly interested Europeans, is the latest offshoot of these manifold modifications.

The religion of the negroes is not one of the most ferocious, the negro character generally not being of a kind to tolerate the requirement by a spiritual authority of excessive sacrifices. But human sacrifices occur, even if not to the same extent as among the ancient Mexicans, and in a much larger proportion from secular motives. Cannibalism too is largely practised by some races. The tendency of the Arabs especially, and generally of all peoples living in the neighbourhood of cannibals and therefore in fear of them, to exaggerate this inhuman custom, causes the cannibal legend, which in relation to the Nyam-Nyams reached Hornemann even in Moorsook, to run through all African tribes. It is transferred to all quarters and all countries; but is undoubtedly justified in more spots than one. The reports of man-eating Bechuanas show too that this form of barbarism gets a footing even where it has not been imported. The misery of the Matabele wars had turned whole tribes in the Mashona and Makalaka countries into cannibals. Merensky relates too, how the Matabele youths who were to be made into men passed through the smoke of a human sacrifice. It is not clear whether, when the King of Dahomey, even in the 'seventies, was sacrificing 500 persons yearly, this butchery was to gratify his rancour or his god; but it is thought that rain-magic was rendered more efficacious by

human sacrifice. "Even in Senegambia," says Bastian, "many a Mount Heremus has been drenched with the blood of a fatherless boy to strengthen its fortifications; and the voice of the Wila demands, out of every forest, its atoning victim!" Servants follow their master to the grave, warriors their chief. "For this reason," says Joseph Thomson, "no Walungu captain dares to conspire against the life of his lord, since he would thereby be signing his own death warrant; and it is equally to his interest zealously to watch over his lord's safety." Women also are buried with their dead husbands; but in these cases a narrow opening is left in the grave through which the victim breathes. If it is found, two days after the burial, that she has survived the terrible incarceration, she is allowed to live. On the Gold Coast the custom of killing the chief's widows has taken the milder form of confining them during the funeral. From the Guinea coast we have human skulls used as drinking-cups. Besides this, a suspicious hocus-pocus is carried on with human flesh. A Matabele chief anoints his body with human fat, and fertilises his fields therewith. A superstitious notion of the operative power possessed by parts of the human body pervades all negroes. Smiths place a piece of human flesh in the forge; witch-doctors produce their best results with portions of the body, for which reason living people are careful to hide the cuttings of their hair and nails. Chains of human teeth afford a royal decoration in Dahomey. Human skulls and jaws are there among the most popular ornaments. Norris saw Bossa Ahadi's chamber, as well as the way to his palace, closely paved and wainscoted with them, and nearly every morning he found heads of freshly killed people lying on the threshold, once two dozen at the same time. Eating of an enemy's heart is more than once reported from Dahomey and Whydah; and at public festivities in Dahomey the tearing out and eating the heart of a man presented by the king is said to have formed a chief feature. These traces of cannibalism were, however, always in the nature of excesses; as a rule most corpses fell to the wild beasts. The travellers of the sixteenth century again described the Anziques who prevailed on the Congo and inland simply as cannibals, but otherwise as an honourable honest people who lacked only Christianity to make them even more agreeable to the Portuguese.



A Fan domestic idol, from West Africa. (After Du Chaillu.)

One of the very commonest occasions for human sacrifices is the causing of illness by witchcraft. With or without the ordeal, a person found guilty of such magic has to atone for the crime imputed to him. On the Lower Congo an infusion is prepared for him from the bitter *nkassa*-bark which contains a strong poison affecting the heart. A son of the chief William Bimbia, on the Cameroon river, died after a lingering illness, and some innocent man was accused of the

witchcraft, which had resulted in this death. The poor wretch was hanged on a tree, after which the whole population—men, women, and children—hastened to the shore, and went stark naked into the water, whereby the magic was atoned for and washed away.

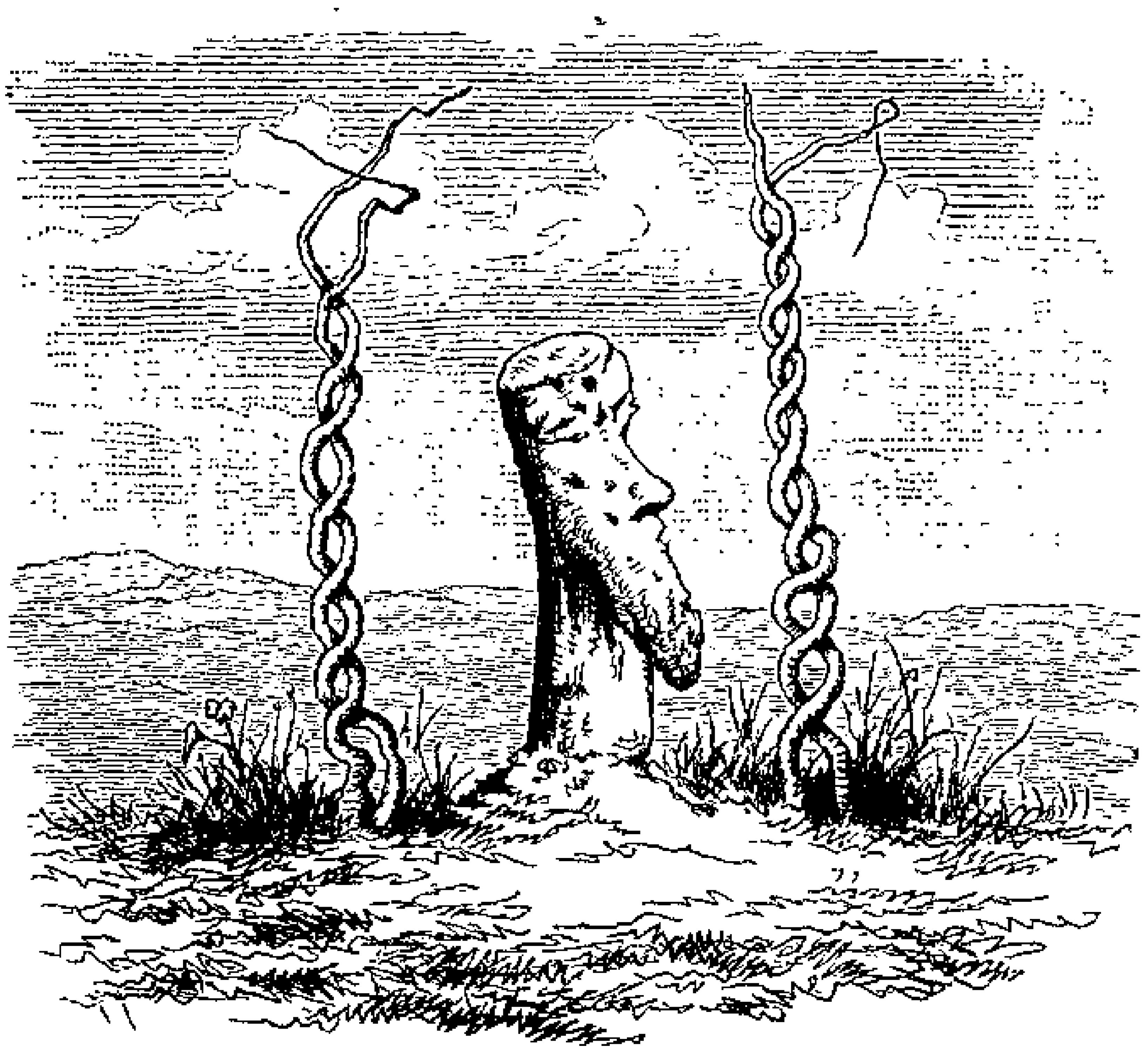
Cannibalism is universal in the far interior of Africa, and as so often happens, is most practised by the tribes who are at a higher level than others. Junker gives a whole list of these—the Azandeh, Monbuttus, the people of the Equatorial Congo. The Baris on the Bahr el Jebel, otherwise far inferior, have a horror of cannibalism. It is an unsolved riddle; we have already[1] expressed a conjecture as to its cause, which may be quite remote from religion, and more of an economic nature.

To what God are these victims offered? Indeed, does the negro believe in a God? No doubt, in his inarticulate cries we hear the need of bringing his notions of the supernatural into relation with a supreme Being; but how he conceives of this no one has yet told us. Does he know himself? Hardly. It is only in myths and legends that godlike beings appear, personally and in action. Otherwise we hear of names like Molimo, Unkulunkulu, with whom, according to Bleek, are connected the Bungo and Mlungu of the Wakamba and Wapokemo. All these are rendered by "eldest" or "ancestor," or as "destiny" or "fortune." Among the Kaffirs we have Kalunga; among the Hereros, Nymbi; among the Waganda and Wanyoro, Katonda. The Monbuttus have Noro—*Nor* is a Nubian word for "spirit"; the Dinkas speak of Dendid, the Baris of Moon, the Shillooks of Niekam, as the supreme Being, who is revered especially as creator. The Azandeh are said to have no independent term for the Deity, but the term *soma* is said to signify alike good and ill luck; but it is used for destiny as well as for the supreme Being, whom they hear called upon as "Allah" in the prayers of their foreign oppressors. The term "Somagobo," that is "the superior's God," is also certainly used to indicate the "God of the Turks." In Loango we meet with the word Zambiamhungu; in Ashantee, with Nyangkupon, on the Gold Coast, with Nyamo; in the Cameroons, with Nyambe, applied to God. It must be noted, however, that those names do not remain always the same, but supplant one another. Thus in the Cameroons, Lobe seems in recent times to have replaced Nyambe. The partitioning of various gods into various groups or leagues of worship, spoken of in the Introduction to Vol. I., occurs in East and West Africa, and naturally produces sundry favourite gods. Here may belong "devils," like Chenje and Ensone, in whose honour the Congo negroes keep strict fast-days with fervour.

Some of these names may safely be interpreted as "heaven," others as "eldest" or "creator." The Monbuttus at the word "Noro" point to the sky; while Barth explains "Nyangkupon" as Nyami's high city, that is, heaven. When the Ewe people say that fate is an unalterable decision, they are thinking of its establishment by the god whose name denotes also "weather" or "sky," and is moreover used only in the singular number. Next to him, as second deity, stands the earth, the universal mother; the supreme fetish comes only third. In Loango, too, they have an earth-spirit, Nkissi, who is honoured next to the sky-god, and has his own priests; and on the Gold Coast heaven is spoken of as the father, earth as the mother of creation. Chapman in 1854 experienced a severe earth-

[1] See vol. i. p. 128.

quake in Sechele's town, which brought all the women out in a moment into the road with clubs and hoes, with which they made threatening gestures at the sky, and cursed their deity with the most fearful imprecations. But the enlightened Sechele tranquilly gave his opinion that a great chief had died in some other country, and enjoined Chapman to let him know later who it was. The Duallas apply the name Rubi to the great spirit, and also to the sun; while in Dahomey the sun is worshipped; and no doubt the widespread worship of fire, which here is specially developed, is connected with this. The Makalaka swear by the fire, virgins alone tend it among the Hereros. The people of Akim also imagine that heaven was once nearer to earth than it now is. And with this world-wide conception is connected that of creation through the union of the two, and a host of legends about heaven-climbers and heaven-stormers, leading in turn to the tree of the Hesperides.



A fetish of uncertain functions in Lunda. (From a sketch by Dr. Buchner.)

The moon exercises an even more powerful attraction on the negro mind. To the return of the satellite are attached no less regularly recurring noisy night-festivals. They try to scare away eclipses by means of firebrands. The Matabele hold the earth's shadow to be smoke; while others have it that a monster is threatening the moon. In any case the eclipse is regarded as something evil, and similarly the time of the moon's waning is unlucky, while its waxing is thought fortunate. The Waganda have no higher festival-day or season than that of the moon's first reappearance. Muskets are fired and drums beaten. Mtesa laid great stress on the observation of this period, which kept him for many days in his magic circle, bound with all possible talismans and amulets. Speke calls this employment "an enquiry into the religious state of the country." At every third new moon the whole court shave their heads, with the exception of the prescribed combs and tufts of hair. Emin Pasha heard the evening star called the moon's sweetheart.

A third sphere of superstition is traced by negro fancy about water. Rivers are personified as great serpents, or as water-spirits, which drag victims into their depths. Springs and brooks have their own spirits; in Uganda the Victoria Nyanza has its own priestly couple, whose power is inferior only to the king's. The Lekone, too, has its priests; and as a token that here also power does not fail of its effect upon the negro fancy, the Batoka chiefs, while they still ruled over the middle Zambesi, kept two little islands on the brink of the mighty falls as sacred places.

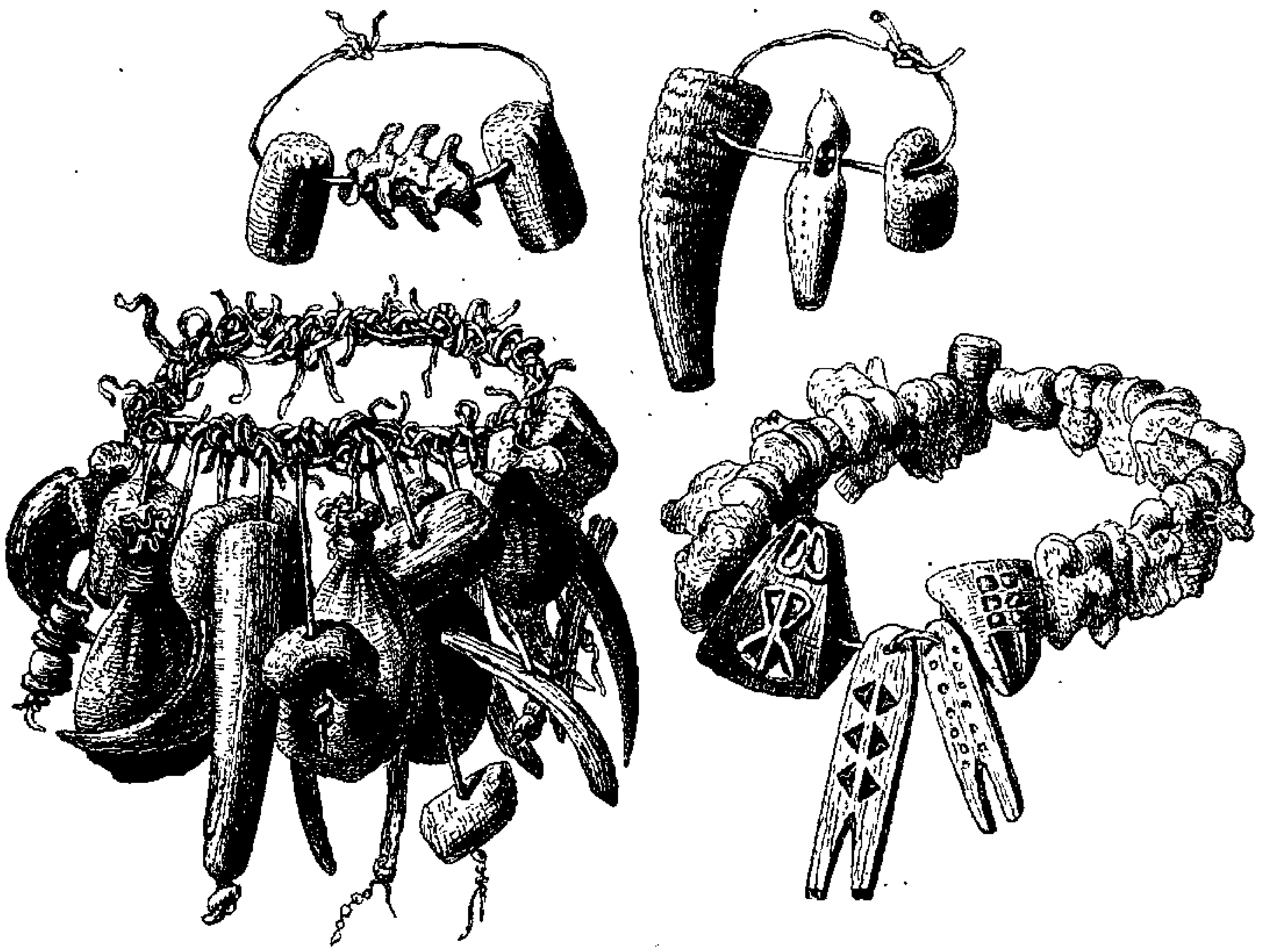
A more legendary version of the creation is adapted to the notion that not the supreme Being created, but one nearer to mankind. Thus the Zulus

distinguish an Unkulunkulu, that is "the greatest," who plays a part in the creation of men, from the supreme Being, Itongo. Unkulunkulu made men out of the morass whence he himself came at the beginning. He cried out and said, "Let men come forth." Then all things came forth—dogs and cattle, locusts and trees, grass and corn. He gave men tutelary spirits, doctors and medicines, commanded that brothers and sisters should not intermarry, and also appointed kings. When the grown-up people in the kraal want to get rid of the children, they say, "Go and ask Unkulunkulu to give you pretty things!" Then the children go and call and shout, but no one answers them. The Ashantees tell of a creator Odomankana, how after he had made men and instructed them in all things, he went to heaven, and they tried in vain to climb up by piling mortars one on another. Thence, as at Babel, arose the confusion of tongues. On the Gold Coast, too, we hear of a creator-god, Nyongmo, who is not the highest. His assistants are spirits, *wongs*. The Bechuanas say "Modimo, God, dwells in a cave to the north-eastward, from whence all beasts came forth. In those days the mountains and rocks were soft, so that you can see the footprints of the beasts in the rocks by that cave to this day." Chapman was shown such a cave on the Movi river in the Transvaal. Or else they say, "God lives underground, and has only one leg." This closely reminds us of the Hottentot Tsui-Goab, more distantly of the limping fire-god below the earth, or of Hephaestus-Maui, whose name sounds remarkably like the Ewe creator, Mawu. With the Madis, beasts issue from a circle of fire, out of which the way is found by a weasel and a vigilant bird. The Dinkas, too, have a song which Kaufmann has preserved, interesting for its echo of the creation-legends of other tribes. It depicts the creator in his activity:—

Upon the day when God all things created,
  Created He the sun;
The sun goes up and down, and comes again—
  Created He the moon;
The moon goes up and down, and comes again—
  Created He the stars;
The stars go up and down, and come again—
  Created He mankind;
Man comes forth, goes to earth, returns no more.

The affinity with myths external to Africa is yet more clearly manifested in the tradition that there was once a state of blessedness in which good men could ascend to heaven by a cord which God let down. The cord broke, or a blue-bird bit it in two, as the Kichas say, and therewith the connection between men and heaven was severed. The loss of immortality and of a former state of happiness plays otherwise a great part in the negro Genesis. The blue-bird recurs in various other animal forms, in which it prophesies to men the loss of the happy time, or itself brings this about. The Waganda and Wanyoro speak of a supreme Being, Katonda, who created the world, and men; yet no worship is paid to him, because, they think, he is far too high to trouble himself about men. The Madis, who make the first man come from heaven, take the same view; and we meet with a similar connection, transferred to the region of fable, in the faint echo of the story of Paradise heard in the Wakamba's tale how in the beginning the whole firmament, sun and all, went about peaceably on earth. But one day the sun came too near an *Adansonia* tree, which was thereby scorched up; and a quarrel arose,

resulting in a separation of the stars from the earth. This legend is strikingly similar to some Polynesian and Melanesian myths, the Micronesian legend of the *denges*-tree, and the like; and with this are connected the traditions of the origin of whole races from a tree—*Quercus africana* or *Laurus bullata*, in the Herero version. In its branches the negroes hold that good spirits dwell. They hang trophies on it, as the old Italians hung *oscilla* to Bacchus; they bury their dead beneath its shade, and hold solemn assemblies there, at which treaties are concluded. This tree-cult is doubly interesting for the bit of natural poetry that peeps

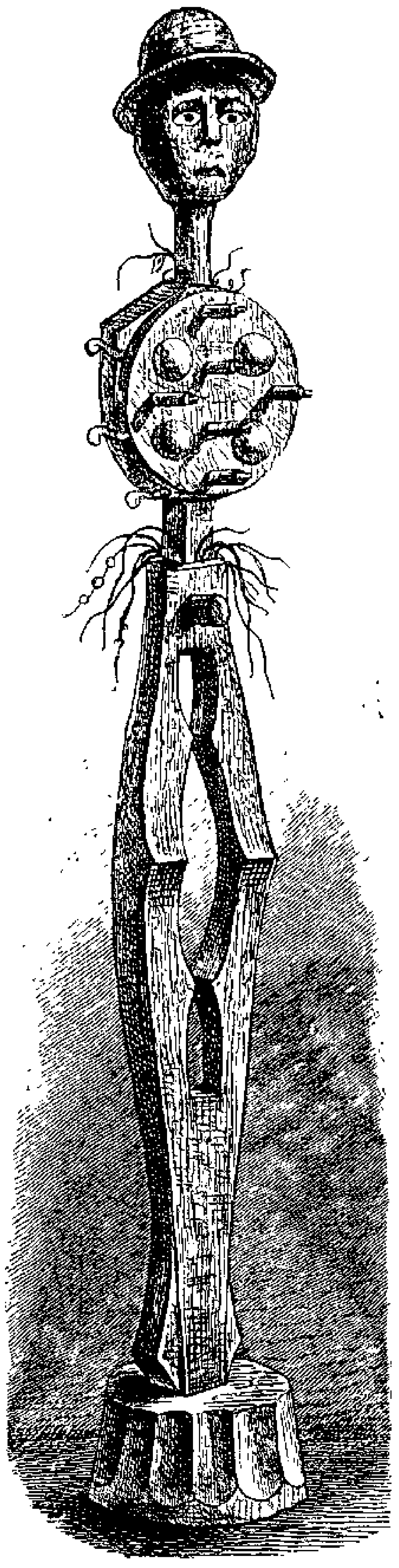


Kaffir witch-doctor's apparatus; amulets, dice, etc.—one-half real size. (Museum of the Berlin Mission.)

through. The largest tree that Frank Oates saw between Natal and the Zambesi was a gigantic baobab on the Umvungu in Matabele Land. The natives recognised the poetry in this giant; and because, on special occasions, their chiefs held drinking-bouts beneath its shade, it was called the Induna-tree. Among the Wapokomo and most West Africans the same well-known giant tree is the object of veneration. From these trees places take their names, and they are known far and wide as sacred groves once were in Germany. Fetish-huts, too, often stand deep in the forest. Again, in the legends about the foundation of certain Soudan States, like Kuka or Massenya, great trees play a part. Trees, bananas laden with fruit, and such like, are allowed to die as vicarious sacrifices. Beside the votive trees, magical plants are tended in the Shuli villages; these stand between the houses, and are found hung with skulls, antlers, horns, and teeth. Emin Pasha mentions in a Madi village those of leopards, cats, antelopes, buffaloes, pigs.

Negroes, just like other races, select by preference animals as symbols of tribal groups. These are then held in high honour, spared, not eaten. Thus the

Batlapins have fish; the Bakalahari, a lion; the Makonde and Dahomeyans, a leopard; the Basutos and their kinsfolk the bird called *Scopus umbretta*, or by the Boers "hammerkop"; the Bakwena, a crocodile; the Bakatla, a monkey; the Bamangwato the *ducker*, a kind of antelope, some Ashantee tribes the wild cat, others the buffalo. In this way arise a number of intimate relations between tribe and animal. In addition to the food prohibitions there are also cases of individual vows to abstain even from kids and fowls. A good deal else, however, arises, from the friendly or hostile contact between these races and the countless beasts with which they share the land, or which they collect in their kraals as domestic animals. The mass of superstitions which twine themselves round any animal increases, it would appear, in proportion to his importance; a chapter might be filled with elephant-superstitions.



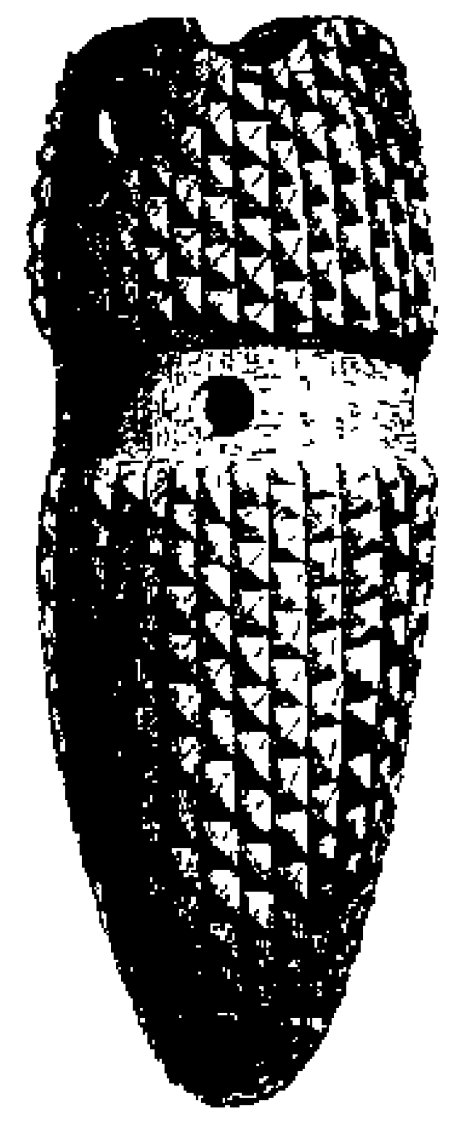
Idol from the Gaboon. (After Du Chaillu.)

This goes so far that even the dirt on the tusks of a freshly-killed elephant is scraped off and used as a charm by the Matabele. They think they can be preserved from bleeding at the nose on hot days by holding it to that organ. But the regular hunter's charm to bring elephants within shot consists in picking up the first tortoise you come across, spitting on it, holding it to your forehead and letting it go again. Hairs from the tail of the elephant or the giraffe—in later times horse-hair also—are wrought into wonder-working neck-rings. In the sixteenth century a horse-tail fetched two slaves in Angola. Innumerable customs connected with the breeding and tending of the herds are found among the enthusiastic breeders of East Africa, Bechuanas, Zulus, Wapokomo, Dinkas.

In West Africa various beasts of prey, the crocodile on the Gold Coast, the shark in Bonny, hyænas and others, take the place of men in a curious animal-cult, and receive their victims with regular solemnities. In Angola whoever kills a crocodile is bound under heavy penalties to take its gall-bladder to the nearest chief, who sees that it is buried with quick-lime in a secluded spot. In Loango the leopard's gall is held to be poisonous. This attachment to living nature goes down to the smallest animals. On the Gold Coast, Buchholz often found clay dolls, representing a man and a woman, surrounded with roots, cabbages, and other things, laid at the foot of white ants' mounds.

Lastly, the snake is an animal woven round with legends, and courted by superstition. To the Zulu, departed spirits dwell in snakes. If a poisonous snake has to be killed, its death must be atoned for, and its skeleton is hung up

at the gate of the village. If a snake crawls into a house and stays there, it is Itongo, the god of the house. This explains why the Dinkas call snakes their brothers, assigning names to those which come into the house, and treating them as friends. Among the Galla peoples snake-worship is found in the same form, and even the Abyssinians, before their conversion to Christianity, are said to have adored a large serpent. We are reminded of this by the Bechuana legend of the Mamokebe, a serpent who dwells in the streams as river-god, and by the belief that great fortune is the lot of him who sees the giant snake; or by the legends which make white snakes the dispensers or guardians of the water of the springs. At the ceremonies through which young girls have to pass in order to be declared marriageable, there is found among some Basutos the custom of making a clay image of a snake and dancing round it. When Heughlin killed a gigantic snake in the Jur country, the negroes of a neighbouring homestead were very indignant, and said that the violent death of their ancestor would bring trouble upon them. The Baris call the snake their grandmother, and feed it on milk or meat. This recalls totemism; so, too, when the Shillooks' deity Nickam appears to them in the form of a snake, a lizard, or a bird. The Madis represent their *odis* or evil spirits with human faces or snakes' bodies; and the same people's custom of painting the walls of their huts inside and out with the most curious pictures of leopards and the like no doubt also comes under the head of animal-superstition.

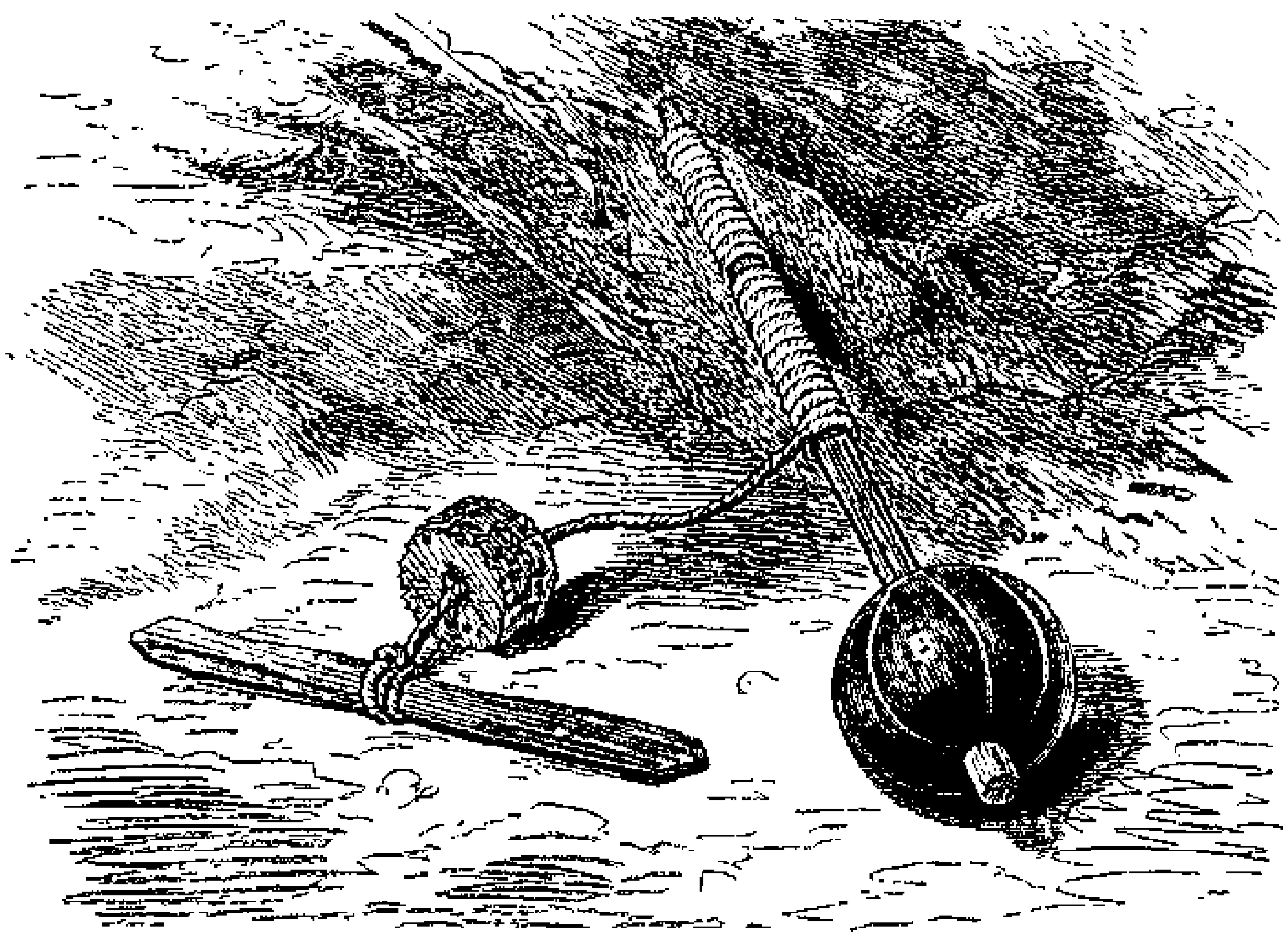


Wooden talisman set with sharp nails, to be held in the hand when taking an oath. From the Upper Nile. (Vienna Ethnographical Museum.)

The old gods, who either were the earth or grew up with the earth, are recalled by the tale of the first men who had tails, who begat or brought forth the moon. It was burnt by the sun, whence the markings on it. A collapse of the sky or a deluge punishes them for their sins. The Congo negroes hold that the swamps on the lower river were caused by the tears of the god Ungka over the devastations of the Jaggas; they disappear, and then a new mortal race is formed. With this the difference between white men and black is accounted for in many droll variations, usually to the effect that both were originally black, but one washed himself sooner than the other and so became white, and then made a more judicious choice of callings or implements. The Ewes relate as follows in respect of the origin of their own people and the beginnings of the human race: When God had in the beginning created heaven and earth, Nodsie, a town still standing in the East, which plays a great part in the legends of the Ewes, Ashantees, Dahomey negroes, and their kinsfolk, was the place where he formed men. He made two pairs of men, one white and one black. After making first the black pair and then the white he let two covered baskets down to earth, one large and one small. Then the men received instructions to share the baskets peaceably between them. The black pair snatched at once at the large basket, and left the smaller to the white. In the large one they found a hoe for tilling plantations, cotton for fishing-nets, a bow and arrows for hunting, and gold-dust for trade. The white pair found in theirs only a book, but they read diligently therein, and acquired so much wisdom thereby that the white man soon excelled the black man in everything, and became much richer. Thereupon the white man was

envied and persecuted by the black. But God came to the aid of the white man, let down a long rope from heaven, and brought him across the great water. Is not a fragment of self-knowledge expressed in this? Curious, too, is the material connection with heaven which recurs in this modern legend. The only thing that appears obscure is the conception of a subterranean realm of the dead.

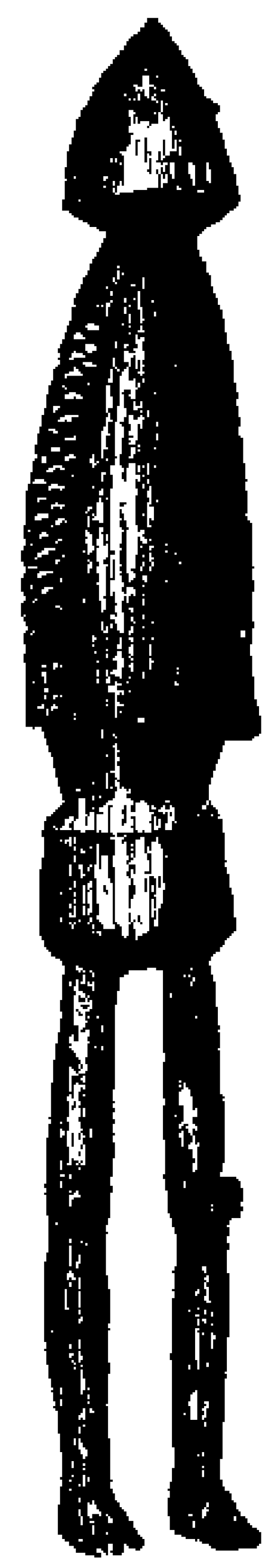
All this mythology lives in fables and legends, the mythical worth of which is undoubted, and especially in extremely various animal legends, like those given in our account of the Bushmen and Hottentots; but the gods are too thickly masked in them to be otherwise than remote from the negro. The only things that touch him nearly are ancestral souls,—nearest of all to every man those of his father and grandfather,—and the spirits and ghosts which proceed from them. For many, doubtless, no deity emerges from this crowd. Both Basuto and Bechuana stocks denote "God" in the plural as Badimo and Amatonzo, that is "the class of God," and hold that they affect men especially in dreams. Good and ill fortune come from these. Among the Zulus the souls of departed chiefs go to the Amatonzo. Kaufmann reduces all the worship of the Dinkas and Baris to sacrifices; "negroes know nothing of prayer to god or devil." Yet the Dinkas distinguish the good spirits who are with God, "*adjok*," from the evil ones on earth, "*dijok*." The best missionaries who have worked among the Hereros could find nothing going beyond the simplest ancestor-worship. Their chief deity Mukuru, that is "the Ancient," is a spirit whose dwelling is placed in the Far North. His grave is regarded as a sacred spot in many places. Every tribe has its own Mukuru, to whom all superstitious usages and customs are referred. Above all he sends rain and sunshine. Beside the name Mukuru or Omukuru, they employ with the same notion "Obempo," that is "breath" or "spirit"; but this cannot be interpreted as implying a second spiritual being. Mukuru's "grave" certainly points to the weight assigned to ancestor-worship among these people, and many other facts confirm this.



Sacred humming-top of the Massaningas—one-half real size. (Fischer Collection, Munich Museum.)

It is thought that the soul, or breath, of the man dies with him, but that his ghost, or shadow, or reflection, goes beneath the earth and no doubt returns thence. They believe in the lingering of the soul near the corpse during a certain period, and in its return to the grave. The belief which Walker reports positively from Old Calabar, in a continued existence of souls as counterparts of the persons to whom they have belonged, emerges more or less clearly from many expressions met with in other tribes. They are especially dreaded for the damage they may do. Hence the human sacrifices at graves, which now have been to some extent mitigated into the imprisonment of the victims, the offering of valuable articles,

of food and drink, the fetish-huts over graves, and the like. These souls wander about the world for an indefinite time, animate nature as good and evil spirits, and evoke a luxuriant superstition, maintained by fear. The otherwise progressive Waganda, whose religion was called by Speke "a tribute to certain evil spirits" worship demons, *Lubari* (a word which Mtesa rendered by Jinn). These, however, are more comprehensible than is usual with many African ghosts. They have stated dwelling-places, and special power over various objects. The highest and most dreaded among them is Mukusa, the *lubari* of Lake Nyanza, who rules the lake like a Neptune. From time to time he takes up his abode in a person, man or woman; to whom, as to the god's oracle, supernatural powers are thenceforth ascribed. By prophesying the future in times of sickness, rain-making, war, pestilence, and famine, and by acting as the god's representative and incarnation, he or she acquires a limitless influence over the minds of chief and people, and thus exercises an important sway over the government of the country. Always before a journey the Waganda sacrifice to Mukusa, to put him in a good humour. For this purpose the canoes are assembled at some distance from the shore; the chief stands up, lays some bananas or other food on a paddle, and prays for a good journey and a happy return. Then he throws the fruit into the water, and calls upon the god to take it. Other demons are Chiwuha and Nenda; they are war-gods, and are said to inhabit certain trees in various districts of Uganda. These have their own watchers, and beneath them the Waganda pray before going out to battle, bringing live animals, kids, sheep, oxen (these always black) as offerings, which the watchers of the tree receive in the name of the gods. In some parts of the country are river deities, to whom human victims are offered. Former kings of Uganda are similarly revered as demi-gods, and their souls dwell in witch-doctors. The maintenance of their graves is a religious function; buildings are erected over them, to which one of the first chiefs has constantly to attend, and in which human sacrifices are offered. Under Mtesa these reached the number of 2000. The trees planted round these graves are watched by wise women, whose oracles are recognised as having authoritative power on certain occasions when conclusions have to be drawn as to the course to be adopted by the reigning king. The demon Ndaula seems to be identical with one of the former kings of Uganda. He lives on the top of the Gambaragara mountain, inflicts smallpox on the land, and is dreaded as the embodiment of that disease. Thunder, too, enjoys divine respect, and where lightning has struck, the natives set up either an arch, under which no stranger may pass, or a little hut, as shown on p. 42 of the first volume.



Bari magic doll, or ancestral image. (Vienna Museum.)

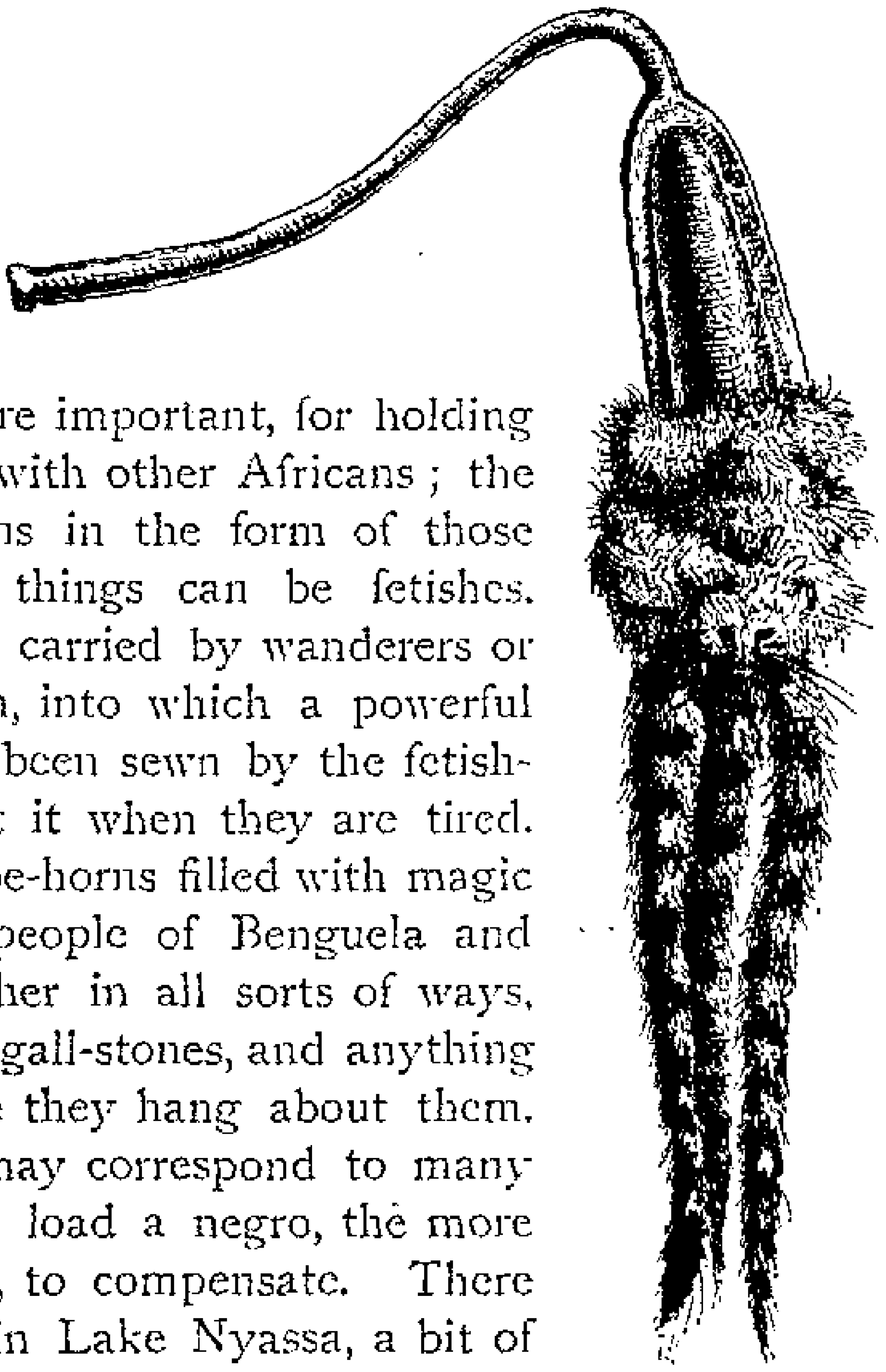
The idols of which we hear so much are seldom anything but ancestral images. Here again the phenomenon of very unequal distribution is repeated. They are frequent in West Africa, where, as our illustrations show, they assume fantastic forms; less numerous in the east. J. M. Hildebrandt, a traveller of much experience, writes: "I have only twice come across imitations of the human form in East Africa. One was in Usaramo, a fairly successful carving about 8 inches in height. Though the natives asserted it was a child's plaything, I

believe it to have been an idol. I could not manage to get possession of it. On the other hand, in Zanzibar, I succeeded in buying a roughly-carved little wooden group of a man and woman in Wayao costume. Here again they asserted, though evasively, that it was a toy." The fetish-huts are often only huts erected over graves; certainly that seen by Bastian near Shemba-Shemba was such. It was a rectangular erection of straw-mats, the long front of which was formed by a wooden frame containing three doorway arches. Over each of the two side doors was a pyramid, over the middle one a dome with two transverse beams laid across it, and the posts were painted with figures half green, half black. The interior contained a simple mound of earth, from which projected three wooden poles painted with red and white stripes. Livingstone saw huts of this kind erected by the Manganja to dead children. In West Africa three stakes are stuck in a witch-doctor's grave, at the head, the middle, and the foot. Two idols which Livingstone saw in a special hut near Ujiji (the only approach to idolatry which he found in those regions) were used for rain-making and for the cure of sickness; there was also a fetish-hut with soul-images. Just such are the chiefs' graves of Mussumba and at Cazembe's town. At stated times food and drink are brought to these images. In our collections are plenty of rough wooden dolls from the west coast, showing the traces of the chewed kola-nut which has been stuck by way of offering on their stomachs. Skull-worship naturally fits in here, such as Cameron proved to exist near Cazongo, in a hut full of ancestral skulls adorned with beads, representing "great medicine." It was very natural that the Congo negroes should take the same view of images of Christian saints; and Bastian actually saw in a hut at San Salvador three life-size wooden figures of saints, which were carried round amid heathenish jabbering. As to the Barí wooden figures, 12 to 16 inches in height, Junker has no doubt that they represent household gods. They are hung up in the huts below the roof. The Bongos run quite into luxury in regard to such figures, with which, as protectors, they surround the entrance of their villages. A widower puts up the image of his wife in his hut, and the images of murdered relatives are specially reverenced. Witch-doctors use them as magic dolls—figures a foot high, roughly carved and ugly, with a few teeth stuck in where the mouth should be, and two red beans for eyes. In a description of the west coast we read: "In a crowd of people one man is seen running up and down with loud yells, at the same time shaking to and fro a wooden doll hung with rags of many colours, and whipping it with rods in the face and on the shoulders. If you ask the reason, you are told that a negro's knife has been stolen, and that

Amulets from Ubujwa. (After Cameron.)

to get it back he has gone to this priest, who possesses a fetish renowned for its power of frightening thieves." The Hereros in their sacrifices use sacred sticks from trees or bushes consecrated to the ancestors; these are dipped into milk before drinking, and at the sacrificial meal the flesh of the victim is set before them first, as representing the ancestors. Many keep these sticks, which are perhaps the last relics of ancestor-worship, in bundles, hung with amulets, upon the branches of the bush *makera*, which stands at the place of sacrifice and represents the altar.

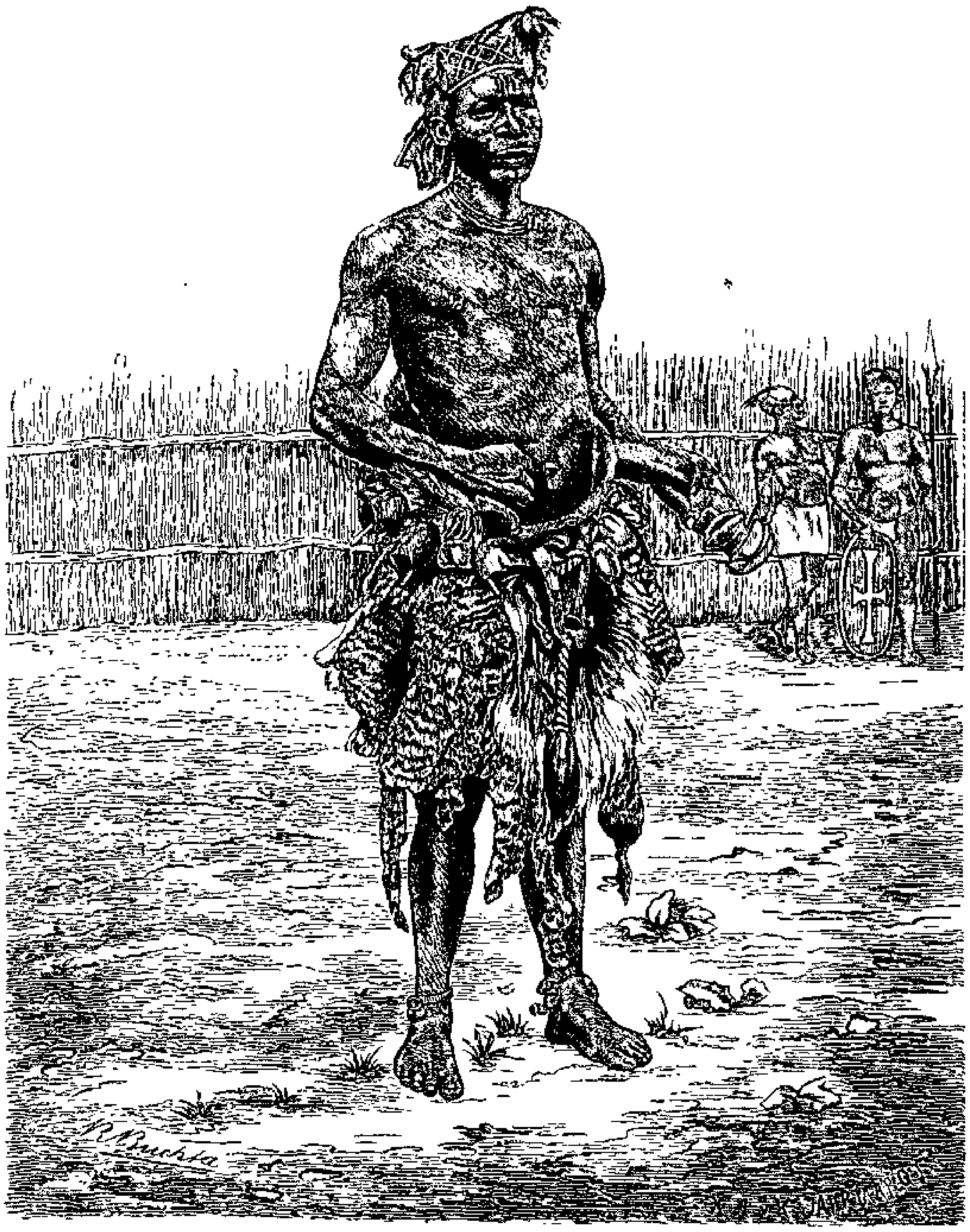
Nothing special is implied by calling such a figure a fetish; nor need this word, derived from the Portuguese, receive by preference any application to the religious or superstitious symbols of the West Africans, as though the people here had quite a different form of worship to that found elsewhere in Africa. At bottom the West African religious conceptions, and the means, held far more important, for holding intercourse with spirits, are the same as with other Africans; the difference lies only in the local variations in the form of those conceptions and means. Innumerable things can be fetishes. For instance, the common form of fetish carried by wanderers or travellers is a red globular bale of cloth, into which a powerful medicine, usually a piece of a plant, has been sewn by the fetish-priest. People may be seen to smell at it when they are tired. But there are also the well-known antelope-horns filled with magic powder, the universal medicine of the people of Benguela and Angola; or again, strings knotted together in all sorts of ways, roots, balls of animals' dung, bones, teeth, gall-stones, and anything else that may strike their fancy. These they hang about them. The various qualities of these charms may correspond to many different objects. The more heavily you load a negro, the more fetishes he will put on for his own part, to compensate. There is a fetish belonging to Likoma Island in Lake Nyassa, a bit of ichneumon skin stuffed with "medicine," which the witch-doctor uses to discern crimes and the like, talking to it, it is said, and making it jump about. We have the following description of a fetish-hut on the Gold Coast: "Like all the sacred buildings of those parts, and perhaps all negro huts generally, before they became acquainted with Europeans, it is a round edifice, thatched with rushes, with no window and a low doorway. Inside it looks wretched enough. A block of wood, or a stone, or a fish's skeleton, lies there on the ground, perhaps a drum, or some object having no value or meaning. But they are things of significance for the negro, for in them dwells the fetish, or *wong*, to whom the shrine is consecrated. All sorts of earthenware lie heaped about the floor, likewise buffaloes' and goats' horns, shells and feathers, which serve either as charms or counteracting amulets. On the walls hang all around conjuror's apparatus and fetish-bells. Spiders innumerable spin their webs here, and revolting insects flutter about the dark, musty room, which is also the priest's sleeping-place. Bats nesting under the grass-thatch circle round the sacred place at evening, and enliven the deep shadow of the trees that surround the



Magic whisk with bell. (After Du Chaillu.)

hut." What determines the fetish is not the thing itself, but its contents, or the effect attributed to it; and there is often a tendency to see something distinguishing in the neglect of all external points to the advantage of the underlying principle, whether it be called god or devil. All these favourite objects belong to spirits of a definite lower class, which might perhaps be called private ghosts; they are not personal like the higher kind, but are all the more closely bound to their owners.

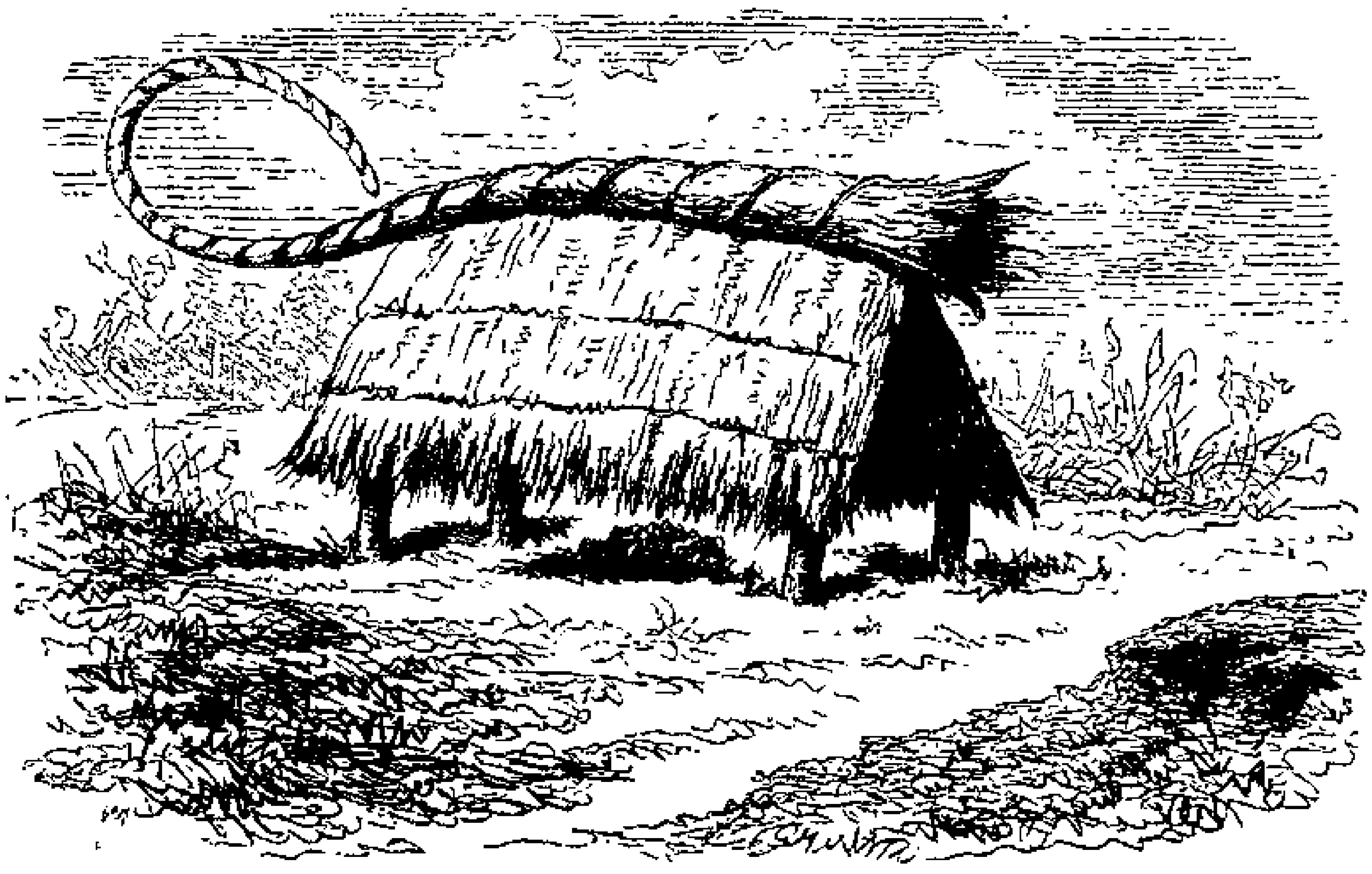
Beside the amulets on neck, leg, head, or in the houses, there belong also to



Azandeh (Nyam-Nyam) *binsa* or witch-doctor. (From photograph by Buchta.)

this class especially the countless charms found by roads and paths, in huts and kraals, the purpose of which can be only dimly interpreted as the fulfilment of wishes and averting of evil, or transference of it to others. Among the Baris they are called *kugur*, and Marno describes them exactly as Buchner had done among the Balundas: "Beside the skull-hung trees, one finds in the homesteads branches of trees on which a number of little stones or bits of slag are hung by strings. *Canna*-stalks, with bunches of feathers, are also frequent *kugurs*. But also in the open, by every road in field and forest, one finds the most extraordinary things, which are *kugurs*. One would think that children had been playing there. Old boundary-

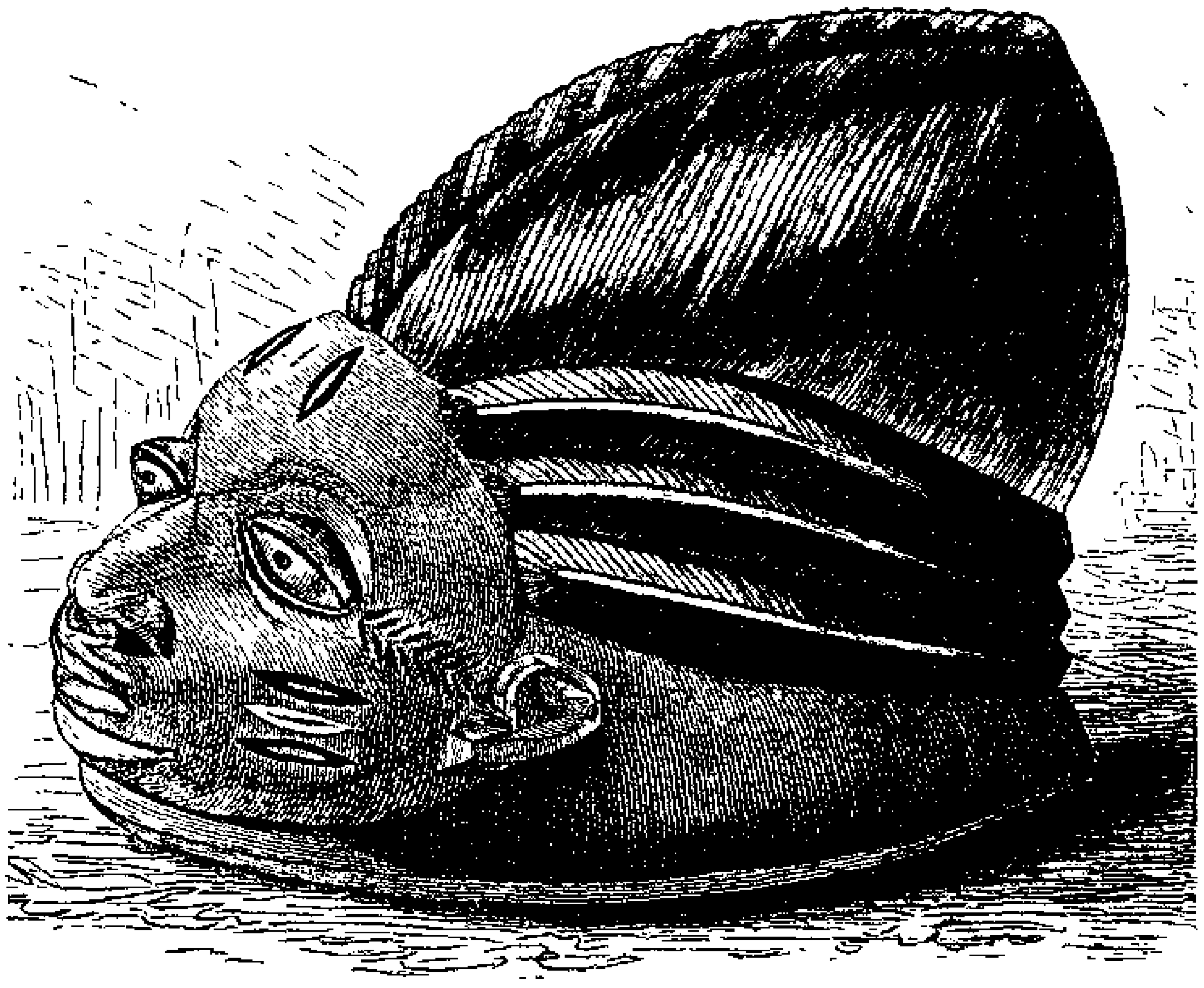
stones hollowed out, under which are laid ivy-tendrils, grass-stalks, twigs, and so on, twisted together; little mounds of kneaded earth, decked with wood, straw, and little stones; old cooking-pots, or mere potsherds, with sticks stuck through them; twigs and bunches of leaves, twined into wreaths or plaited; bits of old mats and woven work pegged to the ground with splinters of wood." The lesser fetishes or spirits which form the second personal class, and are obviously nothing but an imitation of the greater fetishes, have their abode principally in large trees, sometimes also in a wooden pot or a metal pan, which is filled with a mass of clay and leaves. These lesser fetishes have priests who act as their interpreters, announce their wishes to men, and dance in public before the people. Lastly, the first personal class consists of spirits having their seat in rocks, forests, caves, but not in trees. These, with rare exceptions, remain invisible even to their priests, but are yet present everywhere, influencing the lives of men for good or evil, and therefore are treated to the best sacrifices and served by the most respected priests. It must be specially insisted upon that the supreme deity is not included in this troop of spirits, and accordingly is not embodied in a fetish. This makes it all the more probable that the fetish religion has arisen from the reverence paid to souls, as an excrescence upon a purer belief in gods, just as among other higher races the cult of images has overgrown more spiritual forms of worship. The connection with the ancestral soul is clearly shown where, as among the Cazongos, the highest fetish, "Kungwe a banza," is at the same time the founder of the royal family and consort of the king's sister; while a widow of the deceased king becomes a prophetess of the most dreaded kind by her intercourse with this ghost.



A fetish (purport unknown) in Lunda. (From a sketch by Dr. Buchner.)

In order to make a fitting use of these forces, which remain suprasensual, mysterious, and worthy of the highest veneration, even when they reside in a wooden doll or a pebble smeared with ochre, or, as among the Tushilangs, in the intoxicating smoke of the *dakka*-hemp, magicians, or, if the term is preferred, priests are needed. It is their business to dispose the good spirits favourably, and to ascertain the causes of mischief wrought by spirits, so that an expiation, or preferably a chastisement, may be possible. In some circumstances he must rampage around as a sham devil with horns and bells in order to chase the real devil away. Every one, not excepting women, can acquire magical powers and rise to the highest influence. A person who is selected by one of the lesser fetishes on the Gold Coast as his priest or priestess jumps about as if possessed, avoids food and drink, even speech, and behaves like a child until an older priest has

found out the fetish's name. If a lesser fetish is discovered, he receives a place of abode by being put into a pot or pan, upon which offerings are made to him. The newly-appointed priest is then put under the charge of an older one, who for three years instructs him in his duties. Priests are always chosen young, and may not marry during their period of training. They are bound never to have their hair cut so long as they live. This priesthood is not hereditary. If a priest or priestess dies, the fetish whom they served can select a successor out of any except the royal family; for the chiefs have by inheritance mighty magical powers, and it is one of their most weighty duties from the moment they have entered upon their office to use these for the good of their people. Yet where there are various classes of fetish, they concern themselves only with the greatest, who stand next to the deity, and whose priests, at least when they have separate priests, often surpass the chief himself in influence.



Painted wooden mask from Dahomey—one-quarter real size. (Berlin Museum.)

It may be said that every act which has to be practically performed is anticipated in its result by some witchcraft directed to the same end. Before a war begins, the enemy is magically annihilated; before a message reaches the court, its purport is investigated by means of magic; the coming harvest, the spoils of the chase the fortunate issue of a trading or raiding expedition, not to forget the good fortune which is necessary above all in love-affairs—in short a happy termination in all things—is first sought to be attained through magic, and only where this has preceded can head and hand set to work with a prospect of success in their aim. Persons of unsound mind, or otherwise abnormal, are predestined to this form of activity by the ease with which they can be brought into a state of semi- or complete hallucination. Albinos or *dondos* are also, owing to their rarity, looked upon as possessed of magical powers. Among the Dinkas and Baris old women as a rule appear as sorcerers, called *tyet* and *panok*. Among the Bongos there are witches who are credited with a knowledge of the persons who cause deaths and misfortunes; they betray the operations of these, and exorcise the evils arising from them. Heuglin made the acquaintance of such a woman, who performed very good tricks of jugglery.

In the dry climate of Africa it is natural that in many districts the "rain-maker" should possess extraordinary influence, not unfrequently surpassing that of the chief, even though he as a rule regards the chief as his superior, the high-priest of the caste, as we may say. Every tribe has one or more rain-makers, who

simultaneously practise medicine. Their power goes so far that they are able entirely to stop the burial of the dead, and to have an order carried out that a corpse shall simply be dragged away, and left for the beasts of prey to devour. When the Bechuanas of Kuruman were in distress through a drought of many years' duration, they sent 250 miles for a famous rain-maker from the Barotse.

A Zulu witch-doctor. (From a photograph belonging to the Berlin Mission.)

The climate of Zululand makes rain-makers seem less necessary than east of the Katlamba chain, and accordingly any rain-making required there is done by Bechuanas from waterless districts.

The priest is outwardly indicated by being hung with a medley of magic articles of the most various kinds; by white streaks on his face, bells about his body and back. A Basle missionary on the Gold Coast gives the following description: "His head is covered with a tall official cap of plaited straw. Agreeably to his dignity he is adorned with a carefully-tended beard, which reaches from his chin to his breast. The cunning peculiar to the fetish-priest speaks out

of the dark negro face. Round his neck, as priestly adornment, hang strings of white coral, upon which the fetish descends during incantations. A silken sheet of gay colours fantastically knotted and covered all over with charms, rolls down over the priest's dress. In his hand he carried a wisp of rushes as a fetish-whisk. This is here and there exchanged for a cow's or buffalo's tail, and is always regarded among fetish men as the symbol of priestly office. His naked feet are adorned with sandals of red leather, and his ankles ringed with chains of coral. Two priestesses stand beside the priest—witch-girls are indispensable on the Gold Coast as assistants to the priest—adorned like him with chains of coral and amulets of all sorts. Forehead, arms, breast, and feet are roughly painted with white clay, always in two parallel lines. This painting is undertaken by the fetish-women as an occasion for religious ceremonies; and whoever has seen the convulsive dancing and leapings of these women at such times, must imagine himself in presence of possessed beings, inspired by demons, and in the face of Satan. Besides pointed caps of antelope-skin the fetish-priests have a special dress, in which they appear doubly sacred and inviolable. At some places in Little Loango there are fetish-doctors, *ganga-nkissis*, who put on a very peculiar costume in cases of death. It consists of a feather crown, a colossal mask of light wood, and a robe of gray eagle's feathers falling over the whole body. A more peculiar impression cannot be conceived than is produced by the unexpected appearance of a *ganga*, figged out in this way, dancing, singing, and ventriloquising.

The witch-maidens, or *ondangere*, of the Hereros, as a rule the daughters of a chief's first wife, remind us of the Roman Vestals in the fact that one of their chief duties consists in the maintenance of a kind of sacred fire, *omurangere*. In fine weather a fire is always kept burning in front of every hut, where the inhabitants are accustomed to sit, but when the weather is bad, the fire is brought into the *ondangere's* hut. If it should unluckily be let out the whole community assembles in order to offer an expiatory sacrifice of cattle, after which the fire is rekindled by friction. For this purpose pieces of wood are used, held in great reverence, which the chief has inherited [1] from his forefathers. The Hereros profess to have obtained the fire from the Makurus or Obempo. If a tribe change its residence, the *ondangere* goes in advance with the fire. If some of a tribe separate from the rest, the man of highest rank among them receives some of the fire, and the dignity of *ondangere* is assumed by his daughter. Beasts for sacrifice are slain with a spear, those intended for food are strangled. If a man dies, part of his cattle are killed with clubs. If an ox dies in a chief's kraal, the *ondangere* makes a double knot on her leather apron that no curse may enter, lays a piece of wood upon the back of the dead beast, and at the same time prays for long life, much cattle, and the like. A man returning successful from the hunt, takes water in his mouth, and spits it thrice upon the fire on his hearth, and over his feet.

The training of the witch-doctor was thus described by a Zulu, a firm believer in these things. "It befalls so, that the candidate for this office is sick till the end of the year. Then he puts himself under instruction in the healing art, that he may surpass the doctors. And then when he shows himself, it is when he wants to go into puddles of water. He comes back, bringing snakes and smeared with white clay. And then they go to the priests. They say: "My friend, this man is becoming a priest!" And then he is taken, and set forth, and brought to those

[1] See cut, vol. i. p. 76.

who have become priests. And when he comes to them, they take him, and go, and throw him into the water of the sea; and after they have thrown him in, they leave him therein. Nor is he seen again that day or on any next following. After some days he comes as a priest and practises. After he has arrived, he begins to dance to the songs that he has brought with him, and the people clap with their hands to them. He slaughters cows, goats, and everything except sheep. The reason why these are left out is because they do not scream when they are killed. He must have something that screams when it is killed. He covers his head with the bladders and gall-bladders till they hang down every way. He goes into water-holes full of snakes and alligators. And if he catches a snake, he has power over it; or if he catches an alligator, he has power over it; or if he catches a leopard, he has power over leopards; or if he catches a deadly poisonous snake, he has power over the most poisonous snakes. And so he takes his rank—the leopard rank when he catches leopards, the snake rank when he catches snakes."

Witchcraft also affords the means of taking a sweet revenge for injuries, which otherwise could be achieved only by a prosaic process of law, and perhaps not even by that. It makes it possible to hurt enemies a long way off, and lastly it protects from evil influences. Where else can the weak so easily obtain justice? Witchcraft indeed is really the one thing that makes the negro's life worth living. What wonder if he attaches a great value to it?

Hence witchcraft is the worst foe of Christianity. When the colony of British Caffraria was founded, nothing was found so hard as to suppress the severe penalties which were inflicted by witch-doctors on their fellow-tribesmen. The Kaffirs were brought near to civilization in many things more easily than in this; and even where they have become Christians this old faith is interlaced with the new like a tough plant of many roots. Even with converts it often happens that no important action is free from the accompaniment of superstitious practices. Attachment to his old hereditary witch-religion is a marked trait in the Kaffir's character. Cases in which chiefs dedicate their own parents or children as witch-sacrifices would not be possible among all negro-races. It is an historical fact that when the Gaika chief Tyali died, Tutu, the mother of the chief Sandili, was "smelt out" by the witch-doctors as the cause of his death, and was already sentenced to undergo the torturing death prescribed for such poor victims by the time that the missionaries and frontier officials were able to rescue her. Her own son, just twenty years old, had voluntarily consented to let her be tortured to death.

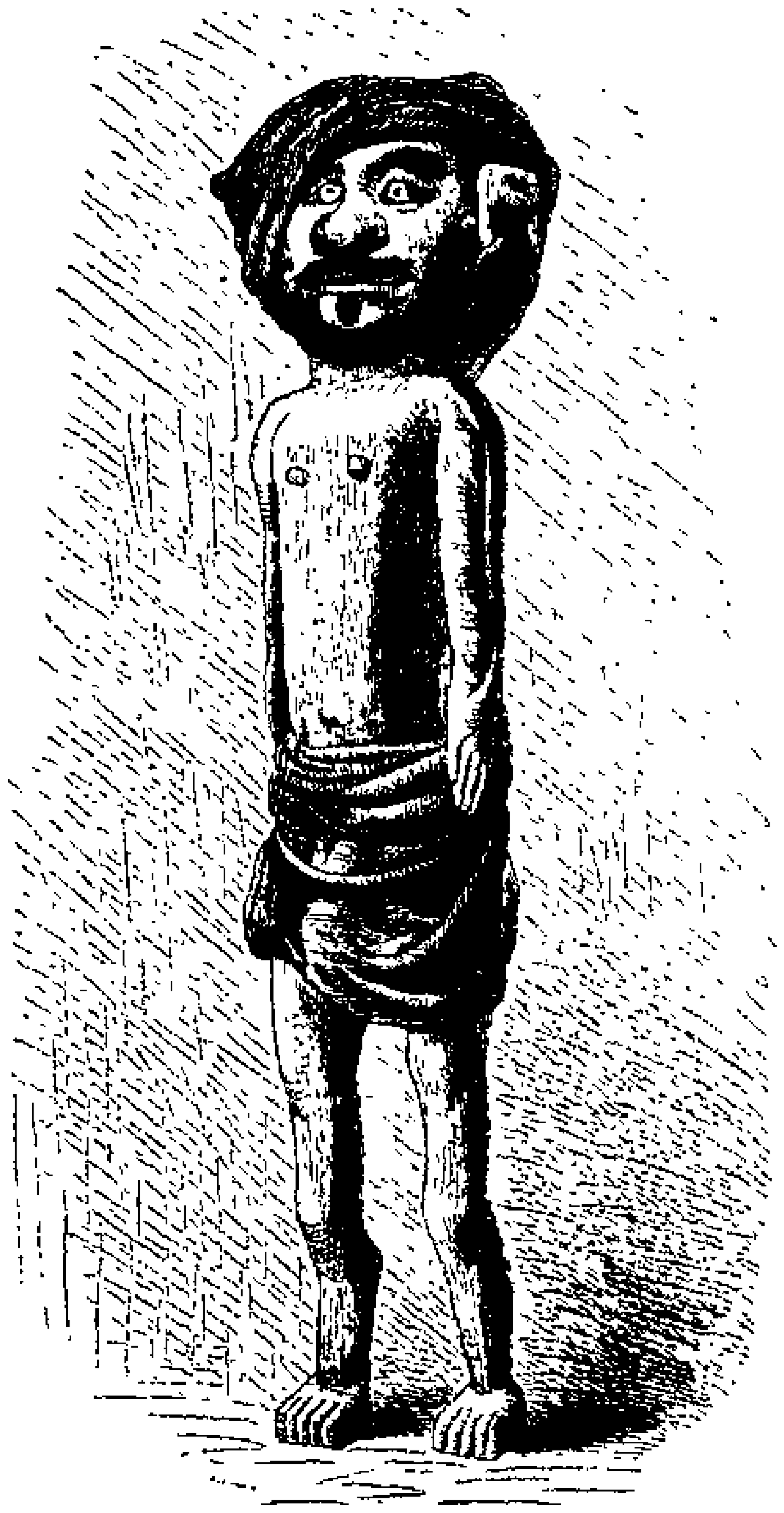
In public life the position of the priests is always influential; but it is more so where the chiefs confine themselves mainly to the management of secular affairs than where they claim a theocratic dignity, like Mwata Jamvo, who was himself a fetish-man. Among them, too, gradations of rank and consequently of influence are not lacking. But conversely to the case of the fetish-priest, witchcraft sanctifies the person of the performer only in a small degree. It is only the magic which he practises that is feared and respected in him, not his person. There are usually witch-doctors among the porters in a caravan, and they are reckoned clever, and earn a good deal by their art. But a comrade never offers to carry their load, or take any other work off them.

In West Africa, where they form a special class, the hereditary priests of the

great invisible spirits stand higher than simple fetish-priests and witch-doctors. They do not dance in public like the priests of the little fetishes, and do not act as soothsayers. At their entrance upon office they are consecrated by an older priest in the presence of others. A sacrifice is offered to the big fetish, and the consecrating priest invokes him in prayer: "God, earth, great fetish, I consecrate thy son to be thy priest. Grant him a large family and much prosperity. Defend him and his from all evil. Bless his friends who wish him well, and curse his enemies who wish him evil. Give him a ready tongue when he utters his prayers at the sacrifice." The chief duty of the priests is, on stated days in the week to offer sacrifice with prayers to their great fetish. With these prayers they have had to make themselves thoroughly familiar. The animals offered must be without spot or blemish; if females, they may not be with young. Places for making drink-offerings exist in the priest's dwellings and courtyards; particularly at the fetishes' places of abode. Even the priest does not draw near these places without offering sacrifice on an altar built of unhewn stone. He must also abstain from contact with women and from animal food. Marriage with a widow is also prohibited to him, and he is strictly forbidden to touch a dead body. If he has attended the funeral of a friend or relative, he has to be sanctified at evening with holy water. He is also excused from fasting, even on the death of his nearest kinsman. These priests have an order of precedence regulated according to the importance of their fetishes. The priest of the highest or most important fetish has more power than the chief of a town or district, nay, in many respects more than the king of a whole country, for disobedience to his orders is equivalent to disobedience to the great fetish. He has everywhere the right to appropriate what he likes; and far from objecting, the owner feels himself, says Bastian, as much honoured as the pious Hindoo when Siva's bull eats up the contents of his basket in the market of Benares. In Loango they are even more honoured than the *gangas*, and their hair fetches a high price as a relic. Ill-treated slaves can obtain their freedom by invention of some great fetish; the priest sprinkles the slave with holy water, and he becomes thenceforward the slave of the fetish alone.

Zulu boy after circumcision, with assegais.
(From a photograph.)

Besides sacrifice and witchcraft, the priest has other functions to some extent more secular, upon which a great part of his secular influence often rests. Ordeals, which occupy so wide a space in negro jurisprudence, fall principally to his share, both in their arrangement and in their execution. No doubt the person who has to discover the author of the deed is often other than the manager of the ordeal, since it is he who, on the West Coast, prepares the bitter poison, or among the Madis presents the red feather which has to be bitten through, and shortly causes the death of the guilty person; or throws the dice which reveal the culprit. But both are matters for the priest. The sprinkling of a child with water, the naming, the circumcision, and connected therewith the introduction of the youth into the circle of the men, are attended to by the priest; he too leads the festivals of atonement and harvest, the mask-dances, the solemnities for the dead. Above all his medical activity must not be forgotten. In cases of snake-bite, if a freshly-killed black hen does not answer, a decoction of the priest's pointed cap is taken with full confidence.


Fetish of the Wayao on Nyassa. (Berlin Museum.)

All this superstition is not important only for its own sake. Our notion of these people's lives will regard them as much too simple and unspiritual if we do not take into our reckoning this uninterrupted undercurrent of religion. Superstition has to furnish a substitute for much that culture gathers from without, in order to produce abundance and variety. Customs senseless and sensible in copious confusion enlace and enrich their life as climbing plants do trees in a tropical forest; and often enough they stifle and kill it. But there is always a large share of unconscious poetry of life in those customs which, with a mysterious glamour, play around the matters of every day.

The life of a Bechuana, of which, and on this very side of it, we have, thanks to Casalis, Grützner, and others, extremely accurate knowledge, we find to be, from the cradle to the grave, entangled and confined by the most complicated, clumsy, and time-wasting usages. The woman in labour is assisted by all the wise old women of the kraal, one of whose first duties is to twist the neck of a child that presents the feet, or of twins. So too children who cut the upper teeth first are put to death. For the first three days the mother is allowed only the most disgusting drink, while the child is stuffed with pap almost to bursting. On the third day her breasts are scratched, and rubbed with medicinal roots; thenceforward the child may suck. The husband is not admitted till the fifth day. Both husband and wife have to go through a purification, by sitting crosswise opposite each other on an amulet-stick; they are then smeared with medicinal ointment, and stepping over the stick, go away in

opposite directions. This *lesoko* is a piece of wood one to two yards long; it is laid athwart the door wherever any one is ill. At this ceremony some witch-doctors make them also drink healing water; and it is thought that the man will swell up and die if he return to his wife without going through this process. The child may not leave the hut for the first month, nor go beyond the porch for the second. After the first month the witch-doctor "helps" it, by sprinkling a consecrated powder on its head in a prescribed manner, saying: "Modimo ("God") spare this child to us! Help it!" It is also scratched in many parts of its body, and has a fetish medicine rubbed in. Lastly, the man of science fastens a bit of wood to the skin in which the mother carries it. This wood is called the child's "Modimo," and preserves it from being bewitched. These processes are often repeated, even when the child is quite well in all respects. In payment for all this treatment the doctor receives a child, after the marriage of the last child of the family. His last service consists in fastening an amulet about the bride. After her marriage she must consult another witch-doctor.

At the entrance upon maturity, the ceremonies of circumcision, instruction, seclusion, occupy months, often years. Marriage is introduced by the sending of a deputy-wooer to the lady's kraal. Questions and answers always follow the same forms. The deputy, usually the suitor's own father, says after long circumlocution, "I am come to beg a little dog of you." The reply is, "Son of N. we are poor, we have no cattle; hast thou cattle?" Then follows a further digression about lack of cattle, complaints of pestilence and disease, and so on; and at last the answer, "Yes, cattle can be had." When the deputy returns, a second messenger goes to the girl's kraal, and fetches snuff, which has been prepared by her kinsfolk, and is then taken by the family of the suitor. Then some lads, friends of the suitor, drive the stipulated cattle to the girl's kraal, when they are received with cheers, festively entertained for days together, and brought into intimate acquaintance with the young ladies of the kraal. After some time the suitor comes with a comrade, bringing more cattle, and is honoured in the same way. They may not, however, take their food out of the dish, but have it handed to them on bits of wood. They wait two or three months, and often repeat these visits. At length the bride is brought away to the bridegroom's kraal, and by the same comrade, who makes his entry with the words, "Come, let us bring the bride home, the beer is brewed." On this day water is poured over the bride, and she rises from her place weeping. They kill and cook, and brew beer. But of the principal dish, a stiff porridge, the bridegroom does not eat; he merely pinches a bit off, and throws it in front of the hut. In the evening the witch-doctor comes and performs his hocus-pocus over the two. That night the bridegroom does not sleep with the bride, but among the girls of the kraal. Next day both go to the bridegroom's home; and there, after the first night, both are scratched by the witch-doctor in various parts of the body, and their blood reciprocally rubbed into the wounds.

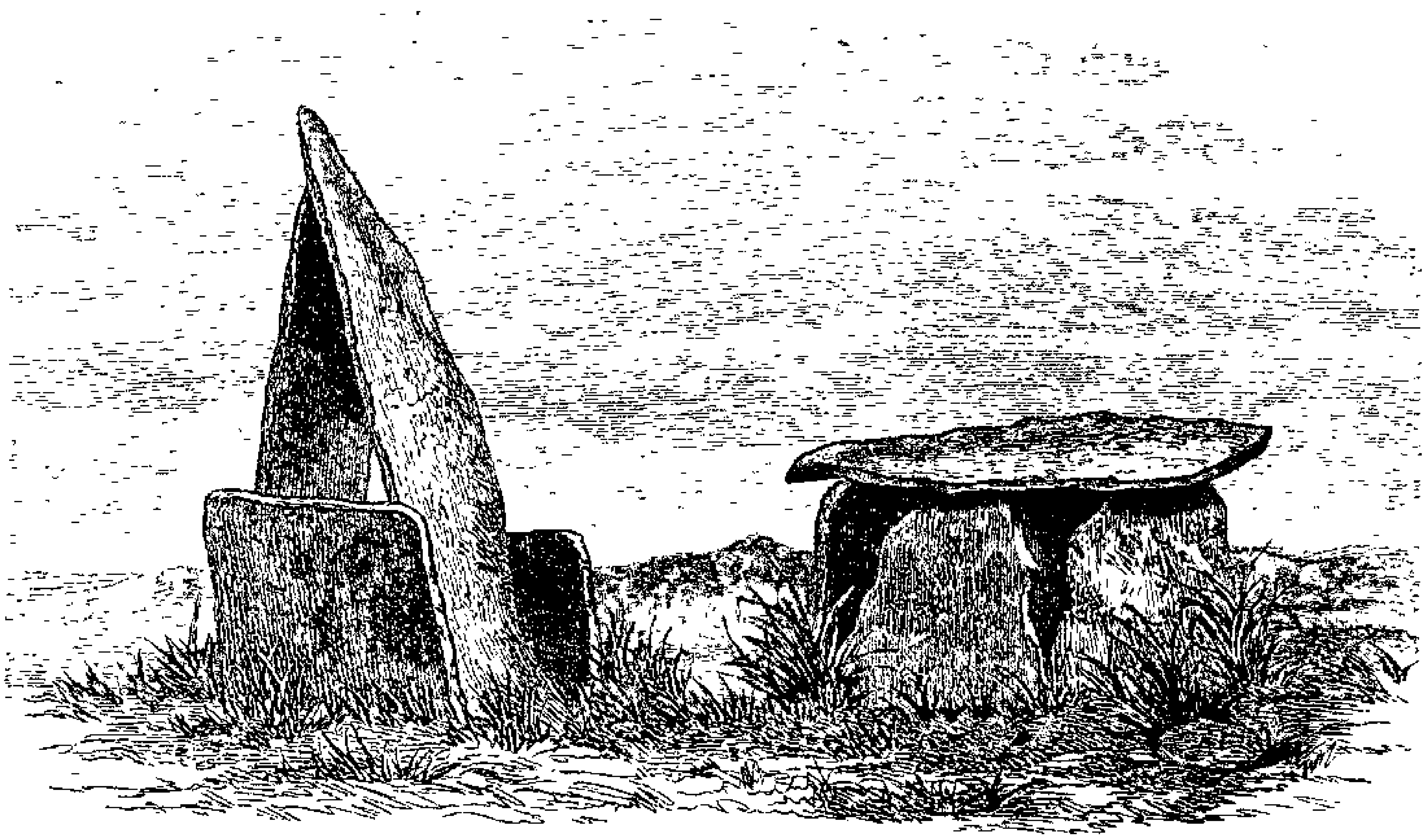
A European can much more easily fancy himself without doctor or parson than can a negro without a witch-doctor. Many forms of superstition perhaps excite a smile through their childish simplicity. But when it threatens the life and property of the individual we cannot but think it highly pernicious. On the Lower Zambesi the natives live for months together on the fruit of the mango, yet nobody will plant one, though it might be done without any trouble. The

belief that whoever plants a tree will soon die is firmly rooted in them. When Livingstone advised the Makololo to take some mango-stones to plant in their country, they openly declared that "they did not wish to die directly." A similar superstition prevails among the native Portuguese of Tete, that no one who plants coffee will ever be happy again; yet they drink it and are all the happier for it. Belief in witches is no less widely spread in Unyoro and Uganda than belief in vampires, old women in the form of hyenas, or cannibal demons. It is believed that there are men who leave their huts at night and kill wanderers, devouring their flesh or employing it in all kinds of magic arts. They retain, indeed, their human form, but understand the way to make themselves intangible by means of witchcraft. Spear thrusts and shots do not hurt them; but with certain sticks they can be driven along till they become visible in the light of day. This passion for human flesh is hereditary in certain families; and the members of these are of no use either for marriage or service, since they will not eat all foods, and are cross-grained. Whoever comes into their company flies from them, but will not say what he has seen. There are witches also, who can poison food with a glance, and give it to others to eat. Only when the right woman (women alone are capable of this kind of magic) is found, and spits thrice on the body of the sick person, do the pains disappear. The list of portents, and of consecrated things and animals, is infinite. A buffalo or a dwarf antelope crossing their path brings bad luck to the Waganda, the *tragelaphus* brings luck. Universal, and especially potent, with men and women alike, is the belief in the evil eye, which may even cause death.

When a Bechuana dies, his knee-joints, and if necessary his hip-joints, are cut across, to facilitate the folding up of the corpse. The loins are wrapped in a fresh he-goat's skin, and the whole body in a fresh ox-hide. The grave is bathed with "medicine" water, and the very foot-prints of the bearers sprinkled with water from a consecrated horn. The pot in which the holy water was is broken over the grave. A small thong from the skin of the corpse is bound round the widow's forehead. The relations kneel on the grave, and for a long time great lamentation is made there morning and evening. No cow is milked on the day of death. The bearers are purified by having their fingers scratched and a medicine rubbed in; but the nearest mourners are scratched all over their bodies, and further freed from impurity by having their legs dotted all over with a piece of wood smeared with fat. The mourners also smear themselves with charcoal instead of with red earth. The whole kraal then dot their faces with ashes, eat one grain of the deceased's corn, together with dry cow-dung, visit his hut, and return into their own huts, entering head last. Then the ornaments of the father or mother, if surviving, are hung upon the youngest child. Finally, the people of the kraal remove their mourning by the aid of water and fresh cow-dung.

The forms of burial, in their more complete manifestations, as found among most tribes, point to the desire to cherish the memory of the deceased, and to keep in touch with him. Hence the erection of a heap of stones over or beside the grave, the fencing it with skulls of the vanquished, with elephants' teeth and other trophies of the chase; the construction of niche-shaped graves, as in the cut, vol. i. p. 48, in order to preserve the corpse from direct contact with the earth of the mound; among the Lunda tribes and the Waganda, the guarding of

the kings' graves and fitting them out with fetish-huts, and the visits accompanied with sacrifice, which their successors have to pay to them at regular intervals; the Herero custom of burying witch-doctors so far away that they cannot find their way back. Interment in the hut occurs, as with the Duallas, but also the destruction of the hut which the deceased has inhabited; or else the whole village migrates when a chief dies. It is an ultimate offshoot from this, when the Manganja bewail their dead for two days, and then smash their crockery, and throw away their stores. There, too, as a sign of mourning, people wrap palm leaves about their heads, necks, breasts, arms, and legs, and leave them till they drop off. Graves are dug in common burying-places near the villages and under



Dolmen-like graves of the Madis. (After Dr. Felkin.)

the shade of trees. The Manganja lay utensils which the dead person used in life on his grave, and plant a banana-bush at the head end. The northward position of the head is said to be universal among the Nyassa tribes; the Bongos lay men facing north, women facing south; the Azandeh lay them looking east and west respectively. The squatting position is the more usual. The body, tied together with cord, is wrapped in a rug of hides, and placed in a very deep grave, furnished with a niche-shaped side-chamber, so that the body (as is prescribed too by Islam) has not to bear the pressure of the soil used for filling the grave. The Azandeh arrange the body in the sepulchral chamber, which is protected with poles, sitting on its chair, or lying in a coffin- (or perhaps boat-) shaped tree-stem, and finally, when the grave has been well stamped down, set up a hut. Strangers are simply exposed. The Bongos erect a great cylindrical stone-heap over the grave, upon the middle of which a water-jar is placed. The place of burial, which is close to the dwellings, is always indicated by high wooden poles, adorned with many notches and incisions; the branches, by utilising the natural forks, are sharpened to look like horns. A belief in a further life after death is at the bottom of all these modes of burial. On the

Cameroon coast the soul takes nine days to reach the place of its eternal rest; and hence the funeral feast is not held for nine days after death. The stone mounds frequent in South Africa, and in Southern Equatorial Africa, are partly monuments, partly, no doubt, obscure memorial tokens in honour of some spiritual being. They occur not only in negro countries, but also among Hottentots and Gallas. They are found most frequently on mountains or passes,[1] by roads, in short, in places which need to be distinguished for any reason, in general, no doubt, as boundary or road marks. Thus two rise exactly at the point where, as you descend from Miule towards the Rovuma country, you catch the first view of the blue surface of Lake Nyassa. A sanctity of unknown origin is attached also to particular stones, such as old stone weapons. A gigantic granite pillar near Cambala in Benguella is called Tembalui, or "Devil's finger." Very peculiar are the Madi sepulchral monuments, consisting mostly of two narrow stones sloping towards each other, and two smaller slabs, covering the opening between them; a regular stone-laying. Among the Bayansi smoking, perhaps with a view to preserving, is said to occur. In the Soudan the negroes are distinguished for the care they take in their burials. While those who have gone over to Islam carelessly leave graves insufficiently protected against wild beasts, so that most corpses become in a few days the prey of the hyenas, here one sees monuments with large, well-rounded vaults, on the top of which again stands an urn, while others are marked with a few tree-stems or poles laid across.

The funeral is followed by feasts of lavish gluttony. Zulu chiefs were accompanied to the tomb by 1000 cattle, the flesh of which was devoured by the survivors. Palm-wine, beer, spirits, are brought in enormous quantities for the carnival. While meat is seldom to be got at ordinary seasons—only the wealthiest people killing except at these feasting-times, not less than thirty goats, and many sheep as well, were slaughtered at the death of a Bakwiri village-chief's wife. The burial-place of the chiefs of Canyumba in Bihé is marked by a great trophy of human or animal skulls. Here as everywhere shaving the head, painting with yellow ochre, clothes of inferior quality, abstinence from certain foods, are among the signs of mourning. In Dahomey on the death of the king his wives destroy all the furniture in the palace, after which they used formerly to kill each other by hundreds. Upon the graves, which at times used to be fenced round with elephants' teeth, people throw broken crockery of all sorts. The companions of a fetish-priest throw a handful of sand apiece into his grave, and stick three stakes into it to correspond with his head, his middle parts, and his feet. The custom on the Loango coast of hanging up corpses as bundles between two poles, may have reference to a particular way of death; for in the Cameroons district the corpses of people who die out of doors are so disposed.

The most remarkable usages take place at the death or burial of the king. If his illness begins to be dangerous, it is kept secret. A chief takes his place, and gives out perhaps that the king has gone to his plantations; all people in his neighbourhood are kept in confinement. But some always get away, and carry the melancholy tidings to their nearest relations and friends with the greatest precaution, saying: "Things look dangerous." "The great tree is about to fall." "A shaking of the ground is drawing on." For the death of a king may in no case be mentioned in plain words. Even the announcement of his death is made

[1] [So also in Europe; but they are not regarded there as in any way connected with "spiritual beings."]

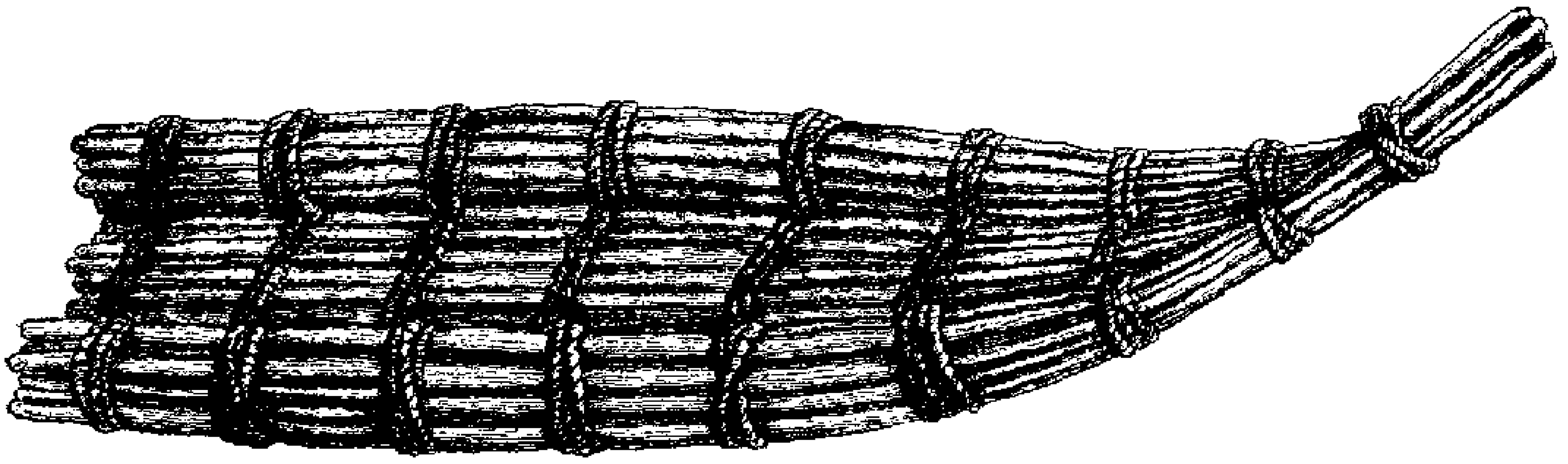
in figurative language. Among the Tshis of the Gold Coast the beard and head of the corpse are shaved, and a man is then killed "so that he may have a stool when he washes his feet." The dead man's favourite viands are set before him every day. Of these only the so-called "soul-persons" may taste, who during their lives have been distinguished by special gold ornaments, and are finally laid with their necks broken, at the head or foot of the grave. The other companions of the dead, when the funeral is over, have their throats cut by a troop of the king's sons and grandsons, acting as executioners. No member of the royal family on the mother's side may attend the funeral, on pain of losing his rights of inheritance. The companions of the dead are chosen by tacit agreement from the slaves and others who have been guilty of any offence. Some of the king's wives too are sent after him. The remainder of those about him have to abstain from all bitter kinds of food, substantially to take only palm-wine and spirits, to shave their heads and wear mourning. After time the nomination of a successor, from among the sisters' sons, takes place. The instalation of the new king goes forward with festivities. The deceased is not laid to rest till a good deal later, his bier having till then been exposed to view. During this time the executioners, the king's grave-diggers, and those who have come from outside to partake in the feast, in Loango also the slaves of the deceased, have permission to take victuals wherever they find any. Meanwhile dancing, yelling, and shooting go on constantly round an image clad in costly raiment, which represents the king and is set up in a palm-leaf hut. The Loango negroes build a highly clumsy house, which the subjects draw to Lubu on Loango Bay, the place glorified in legend, and the only spot where a nobleman of the Loango may be interred. To this end broad roads are industriously made; but even industry flags, and it may happen that the hearse stands still, until some superstitious village-chief has it moved on beyond his boundary in the direction of Lubu. Sham fights take place in connection with the business, the aim of them being the surrender of the body to the inhabitants of the privileged village of Lubu for its final transport to the place of burial. Perhaps these fights are to be interpreted as a substitute for the obsolete human sacrifices which still go on to an immense extent in the blood-stained kingdoms of Dahomey and Ashantee,[1] and also in Central and East Africa, Ten maidens followed Chaka's mother to the tomb.

Under the guidance of foreigners some negro tribes have become stalwart sailors; but keels, sails, and rudders had to be introduced from without. The Central African lakes offer more inducement than most to navigation, but on none of them were sailing-vessels seen till Arabs and Europeans brought them in. With infinitesimal exceptions, they never got beyond the dug-out tree-stems, for which indeed the giant trees of Equatorial Africa afford good material. Even 300 years ago, when Lopez gave his description of the kingdom of Congo, gigantic canoes with snouts like crocodiles floated on that river. Apart from the Waganda canoes built of planks, which may make us imagine influences finding their way from the coast, these huge single trees are the culmination of negro boat-building, so that this bears no relation to the size of their navigable waters. On the calm, shallow Lake Ngami, with its abundance of fish and population that may almost be called amphibious, one would have expected an active navigation, but we find

[1] [Written before the last Ashantee "war," which has, it may be hoped, put an end to them in that country.]

nothing but a few small dug-out canoes with which the natives cross the lake in still weather. On the Upper Zambesi, Serpa Pinto saw for the first time a canoe 33 feet long. Distinctly larger, but equally simple canoes appear on the Congo and the great Lake Nyanza. Rafts made of bundles of reeds or rushes, such as the dwellers round Nyanza make of the leaf-stalks of the palm, and the Shillooks of *ambatch*, the spongy wood of the *herminiera*, carry whole groups of men on Ngami.

Lichtenstein remarks indeed that a certain dread of water is common to all Kaffir stocks, but most to those who dwell on the coast. "They know," he says, "no kind of boat, and in spite of their penury reject the easy means of procuring sustenance by means of fishing. The Kaffirs of the interior again eat no fish, and drink water only in the most urgent thirst, when milk and whey are quite unattainable. No negroes who wear leather clothing ever wash it, but grease it with fat as they do their bodies. They like the proximity of springs



An *ambatch*-raft from the Nile—one-twentieth real size. (Vienna Museum.)

and rivers for the sake of their cattle only." Are not we to assume that the development of so sharply-marked a peculiarity was only possible in an inland and pastoral life of somewhat long duration, which would lead men to think that the land was his natural place of abode and sole source of food? Generally speaking the negroes of West Africa seem to take much more kindly to the water than those of the East. Yet excellent boatmen and fishermen live on the Nile; as for instance the Shillooks. Negroes have not the same passion for bathing as the men of their race in the Pacific. On cloudy days they avoid the water; and they leave the watery chase to the nomad hunters or trappers who form tribes of their own. On the whole Zulu coast hardly a fish is caught by natives.

Trade reveals good and useful natural qualities in the negro; they take to it in earnest and zealously. Most of them have a natural turn for trade. It suits their restless nature, their curiosity and garrulity; they like trade more for its own sake than for the profit, and it forms their pastime. Among many tribes it has taken the character of a mischievous passion, for the sake of which they abandon all productive labour for a life of chaffering vagabondage. The negro comes into a station with an elephant's tusk, considers the price offered, demands more, and at last goes away without selling. Next day he tries it on with another merchant, talks, considers, racks his brains, and goes off. He continues this business from day to day till at last he sells the precious tusk to some one who gives him less than the first dealer had offered. Trading often falls to the share of the women as their sole occupation.

If the market-place is the spot where the negro is happiest, this preference is

often based less on economic grounds than on his geniality. From the Fish River to Kuka, and from Lagos to Zanzibar, the market is the centre of all the more stirring life in negro communities, and attempts to train him to culture have made their most effectual start from this tendency. Trade is a great implement of civilization for Africa; and this is as true of the furthest interior whither Europeans or Africans seldom penetrate, as of the places on the coast. In the larger localities like Ujiji and Nyangwe, permanent markets of more than local importance are found. Everything can be bought and sold here, from the commonest earthenware pots to the prettiest girls from Usukuma. Hither flock from 1000 to 3000 natives of both sexes and various ages. How like is this market traffic, with all its uproar and sound of human voices, to one of our own markets! There is the same rivalry in praising the goods, the violent brisk movements, the expressive gesture, the inquiring searching glance, the changing looks of depreciation or triumph, of apprehension, delight, approbation. So says Stanley. Trade customs are not everywhere alike. If when negotiating with the Bangalas of Angola you do not quickly give them what they want, they go away and do not come back.

Paddle of the cannibals of the Aruwimi. (After Stanley.)

Then perhaps they try to get possession of the coveted object by means of theft. It is otherwise with the Songos and Kiokos, who let you deal with them in the usual way. To buy even some small article you must go to the market; people avoid trading anywhere else. If a man says to another "Sell me this hen," or "that fruit," the answer as a rule will be "Come to the market-place." The crowd gives confidence to individuals, and the inviolability of the visitor to the market, and of the market itself, looks like an idea of justice consecrated by long practice. Does not this remind us of the old Germanic "Market-peace"?

Such is the local traffic. Traffic at a distance seems to have received its first impulse from the appearance of Europeans and Arabs on the coast. Artificial roads, one of the first signs of a people's progress, are (with a few slight exceptions, such as Uganda), not to be found in negro Africa. The most frequented roads are goat-tracks, less than a foot wide. They are trodden out by men and animals during the travelling season, and in the rainy season perish and get grown over. In open or desert spots, four or five such tracks run alongside each other; in districts of much bush they are tunnels through the shrubs and branches, and make it difficult for the porters to get their loads along. Fields and villages are surrounded with abattis, which compel deviations. In the open country one may set down a fifth of the distance to windings; where there are obstacles, you may take them as half. The most laborious roads lead through tall, hard grass; in the mountains, through the beds of torrents; or lastly, along the swampy shores of streams, and occasionally through water. Among the most frequent way-marks are bleached bones and skulls, potsherds, or imitations of bows and arrows, indicating that water is near.

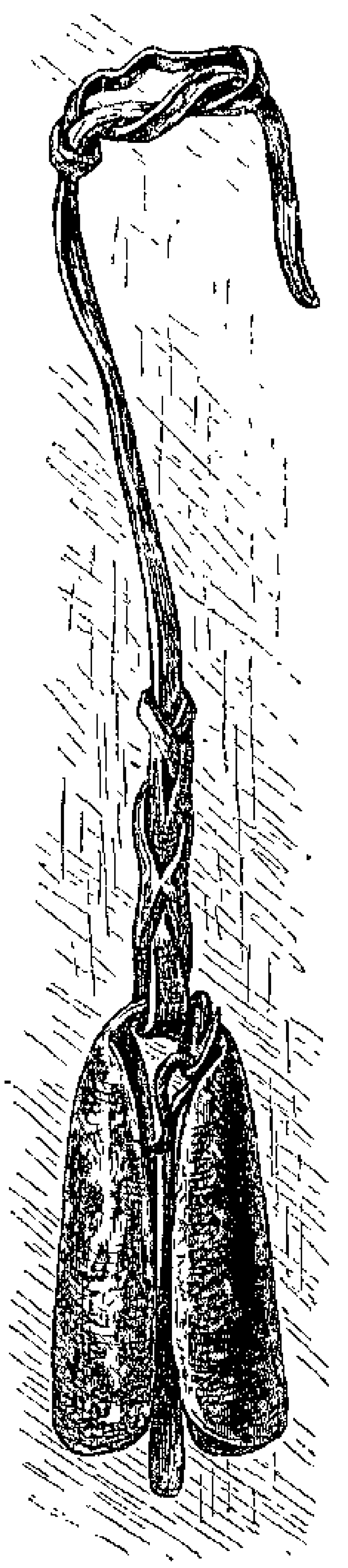
Rivers are, when possible, forded. In Burton's day only two rivers were bridged between Ujiji and the coast, while the Malagarasi could be crossed by a ferry.

These bridges are often constructed with much patience; that over the Rovubc, which Cameron crossed on his return march from Nyangwe, consisted of poles over 30 feet high. Wilson had to cross a bridge over the Wami, on his way from Bagamoyo to Lake Victoria, which was built of two strong creeping plants, fastened at either end to stout trees. These were attached at short distances by transverse pieces of wood, carrying long beams; a third layer of short sticks, placed on these, formed the floor of the bridge. The whole was supported by some stout poles which were driven into the river bed, and fastened to the plants that served as ropes; two other creepers, similarly drawn over them, formed the rail and added to the solidity of the construction. When new, this bridge must have been capable of bearing a great weight; then, however, it was old—the whole affair swung and shook, so that it was hard to maintain one's balance. Bridges built on a larger scale, such as those Junker saw thrown across the Assa river with its many branches, are extremely rare. These were constructed of thin supple stems, which did not offer too much resistance to the current, laid with thin boards, and similarly firmly suspended at the ends by lianas which had been hauled taut. The caravan closes up at the crossing-places; at other times it marches in a long straggling line, so that the leader is obliged to mark all wrong turnings by drawing lines with his spear or laying twigs. At these gathering points, too, the camp is pitched, under great trees, or in the shade of rocks; when in a friendly territory, hard by a village.

The permanent caravan-roads call for special attention. They are of the greatest importance to the culture of Africa at large, since they have long formed the channels through which every stimulus to culture found its way from foreign countries into the interior. The most important are those that come in from the east, since they lead directly into the heart of the negro countries. The south and west, too, are less favoured in this respect; only the Portuguese road to Cazembe's country had a certain importance here. The northern roads through the desert to the Soudan, however, do not lead directly to the negroes, but at first into the mixed states of the Canooris, Fulbes, and Arabs, whose intercourse with the negroes to the south unhappily results, as in the case of the old Egyptians, in slavery.

In the east, however, not foreigners but the negroes themselves have been active in the caravan-trade. Here is the true seat of the trade in negroes; here especially the porter system is organised. It was formerly far easier to reach Uganda or Ujiji from Bagamoyo than Stanley Pool from the mouth of the Congo. The Wanyamwesi, those talented, keen traders and colonists, have made their roads to the coast from time immemorial. When one was closed by war or a blood-feud, they opened up another; but the caravans proper—called *Safari* in Kiswaheli, *Lugendo* in Kinyamwesi—for long consisted only of hired porters from the coast. Burton states that it was only shortly before his time that the inhabitants of the coast began to go on this business. These people do not care to leave their fields between October and May, and for this reason the caravans to the coast select as a rule the dry season. The tone of a caravan depends a good deal upon the supply of victuals; and the distribution of the meat rations in East African caravans is strictly regulated by ancient custom—the head belongs to the witch-doctor or scribe, as the case may be; the brisket to the flag-bearer; the hind part to the chief guide; the heart to the horn-blower; a leg to the crier.

These caravans usually lose a deal of time over their preparation; then they try to make it up, until sickness or desertion constrains them again to a slow advance or more loss of time. They shorten the hours on the way by singing, yelling, shouting words never heard on other occasions; and this noise is redoubled as they approach a village, when the flag is unfolded and the drum beaten. "*Hupa, Hupa*—forwards, forwards! *Mgogolo*, the halting-place! Food, food! Don't be tired! Here is the village, home is at hand! O, we see our mother! We will eat!" Yet even in districts where villages are plenty, they do not always turn in there, for all people are not well disposed to caravans. The Wamrima, who are used to intercourse, let strangers unhesitatingly into their villages, and so do the Wanyamwesi; but the Wasaramo will not take in any Wanyamwesi; while in Ugogo it is usual always to camp in the open from mistrust of the population. Further to the north, in the Masai country, the caravans are like warlike expeditions. They march slowly and in close order, since the Masai cut off lagging porters and knock them over. As soon as the camping-ground is reached, a circular fortification is at once made of thorny shrubs.



Caravan-crier's bell, Wakamba—one-half real size. (Berlin Museum.)

The pace of the caravans is naturally very various. Burton mentions one led by Arabs that did its thirty miles a day; but this is quite exceptional. Two and a half miles an hour must be a very liberal average for a long journey. Livingstone, with his powerful Makololo, did somewhat more; but Lacerda's porters in East Africa were amazed at the suggestion that they had to do 10 miles in a day, while Petherick's porters marched 20 miles in the day. These differences are explained by the quality of the human material, by the ground, by the climate. Galton's conclusion from much experience seems to fit the case pretty well—that 12 miles or so a day is a good average, and that the man who can get a caravan through a rough country 500 miles in a month and a half, deserves praise.

The principal starting-points from which caravans have from old times gone into the interior, in cases where the chief destinations were the Masai and Wakamba countries, Ugogo and Unyamwesi, or the districts of the Makua and Wayao, that is, their most productive hunting-grounds for slaves, are Mombasa, Sofala, and Zanzibar. Even at the beginning of this century they had penetrated as far as Lake Victoria, and Livingstone found single traders on the Zambesi. We know nothing of foreign trade on the west coast till the arrival of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. But the Egyptians undoubtedly traded with the negroes on the Upper Nile, and traders must even in ancient times have brought news of lakes and snowy mountains from the interior to the Equatorial East Coast. The traders who penetrated into the interior from the east coast as later from the west were not as a rule negroes, but Arabs and half-castes. Negroes, indeed, display talent enough in their internal traffic, but in foreign trade they lack a correct estimate both of the goods and of the forces that come into play. Little as the negro can in general be said to

occupy the position denoted by the "childhood of humanity," it is yet true that certain tendencies belonging to the children of higher races survive in him. Centuries ago Vasco de Gama was astonished to see the negro rejecting gold and silver with contempt, and clutching like a child at glass beads and other frippery. At bottom he is in this the same to-day.

Where trade with Arabs or Europeans begins, beads are almost indispensable in any trade transactions. The quality in demand is not always the same, but is in a certain degree governed by the fashion. Even in the sixteenth century beads had a currency value among the inhabitants of the Angola coast, and the old Venetian beads which are found, quite worn down, in graves, point to the still greater antiquity of this tendency. But excessive importation has everywhere caused a rapid fall in value. Glass beads depreciate more and more every year, and now serve only the objects of feminine vanity; it is long, says Schweinfurth, since they were hoarded as treasures, and buried like precious stones. The preference for cowries shows more persistence. These have spread, especially from East Africa, as money; but even in the sixteenth century they were in use on the west coast. They were however given up, as too heavy, in places where they no longer had a high value. Cowries are also used as dice. In Nyangwe, besides the cowries, slaves and goats were generally current in Cameron's time. On the Upper Nile copper and brass have taken their place, and in the form of rings have a money value throughout Equatorial Africa. Besides these, iron axes and rings are in circulation, also pieces of iron shaped like horse-shoes or hoes, as shown in the cut, vol. i. p. 91. On Lake Bemba three iron hoes were the fare asked of Livingstone for putting ten persons across. Cotton cloth in uselessly narrow strips passes as money in the Soudan to beyond Adamowa, while in Bornu money even takes the form of "tobes" or shirts, never intended for wearing. Cattle are currency among all pastoral races; but, with the exception of Abyssinia and many parts of the Sahara and the Soudan, where sums are reckoned in Maria Theresa dollars, coins have established themselves only in the most progressive and prosperous districts, like Basutoland or the Equatorial East Coast; now, too, on the Niger.

Export trade, so important for the collective development of culture in Africa, suffers even more from the small number of articles of export. But it is certain that this is capable of increase. Cameron mentioned as possible articles, sugar-cane, cotton, palm-oil, coffee, tobacco, sesamum, castor-oil, black and red pepper, useful timber trees, rice, wheat, sorghum, maize, caoutchouc, gum copal, hemp, ivory, hides, wax, iron, coal, copper, gold, silver, cinnabar, and salt. In this list, Rohlfs remarks: "Cameron might easily have added as many more to the number of products quoted by him; of those he has omitted I will mention only ostrich feathers and ground-nuts." It would indeed be strange if a hardly-opened tropical country like Africa did not hide a host of unlifted treasures. According to a calculation of Westendorp, in the twenty years, 1857-1876, Africa sent to Europe alone on an average 614 tons of ivory every year, apart from the export to India and America. Beside this, caoutchouc, palm-oil, and copal have become important, and the development of plantations will add other articles of export. It is, moreover, one of the countries of the earth most rich in iron, it contains great deposits of coal and copper, and has gold and diamonds.

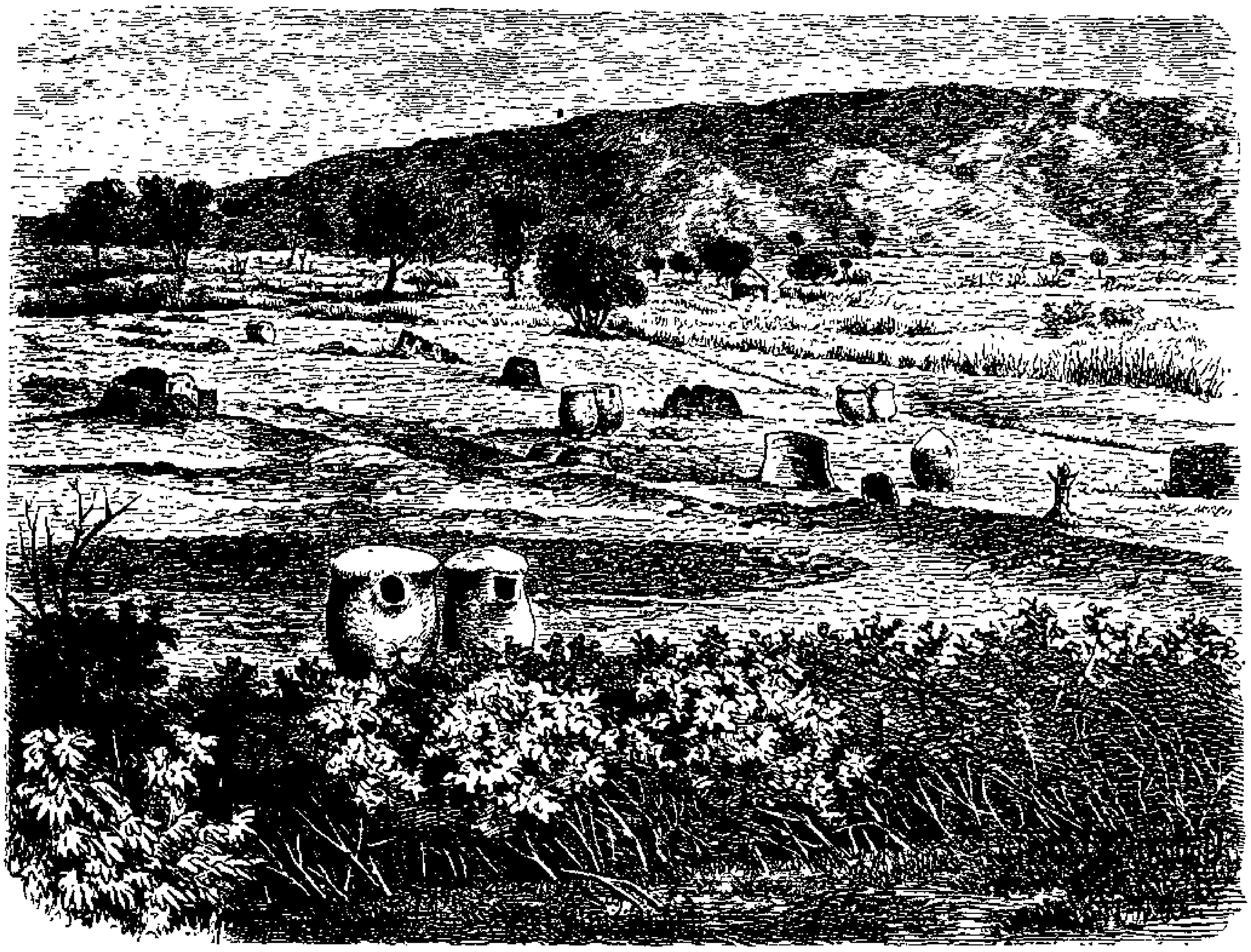
Volatile and curious, the negro has developed an etiquette of travel. If people

who are unacquainted meet each other, they avoid a close approach. The later comers rather remain standing or sitting at a certain distance till the others condescend to take notice of them. Then they draw near, and, in answer to questions, narrate their experiences in strict succession. Many have a custom of imparting news with the most serious countenance, and with often-repeated hand-clapping. In this case the speaker always speaks in quite short sentences, two to four words long, which the other repeats. Apart from this natural distrust, only those who have been frequently raided by slave-traders, or the robber-tribes, are unfriendly on principle. Otherwise the stranger who is travelling as a merchant, or at least with goods, is the guest of the chief, who, as having the monopoly of trade, seeks to get some profit out of him. Among many negro tribes hospitality is not so pure nor so firmly maintained as among other races, being ruined by selfishness. But every one who has travelled has particular friends among other tribes, called *kala*, who surrender their huts and wives to him. This custom is naturally based upon reciprocity. The custom of blood-friendship, by exchanging blood as a seal of friendship, is universal. The bond is made closer by the exchange of rings from the skin of victims that have been eaten in common. Oaths of fidelity are yet more binding. Among the Wakanda the emissaries of the two parties squat together in a circle round a pot as large as the fist, roughly moulded in clay and dried in the sun, containing water. The speakers take a stick in their hands and speak, tapping all the time on the pot, of the friendly disposition of their belongings, until one takes the pot in his hand, and with the speech, "If we break the friendship which we have here promised, may we be broken like this pot," dashes it to the ground. The Mussulman Swahelis, in place of an oath, dash down a cocoa-nut in the mosque. The Wakikuyu strangle a lamb, wishing that they may undergo the same death if they break the oath. Is this a relic of human sacrifice, such as seals an alliance among Central African negroes? Oaths are also sanctioned by fire. In spite of the solemn formulae of alliance, either party can dissolve it. It goes without the previous knowledge of the other to the spot where the original meeting took place, kills a sheep and pours a little blood into a fragment of the pot used in making the alliance, or sprinkles the whole place with it. Thus it sets itself free from the oath.

Hand-shaking is a usual form of greeting with some tribes. Van Gele was delighted with the friendly hand-shake of the Bansis on the Upper Ubangi. "The cordial pressure of the hand," says Junker, "with which one is greeted by negroes, appeals to our sympathy much more than the Arab custom of touching the finger-tips." The women often held Gambari's hand for minutes together. Many tribes greet each other by clapping hands; the Boboros of the Cameroons by laying palms together. The Dinkas' greeting used to be spitting on each other. The world-wide custom of holding out grass or twigs as a sign of friendly meeting recurs also among the negroes.

Among all the great groups of the "natural" races, the negroes are the best and keenest tillers of the ground. A minority despise agriculture and only breed cattle; many combine both occupations. Among the genuine tillers, the whole life of the family is taken up with agriculture; and hence the months are by preference called after the operations which it demands. Constant clearings

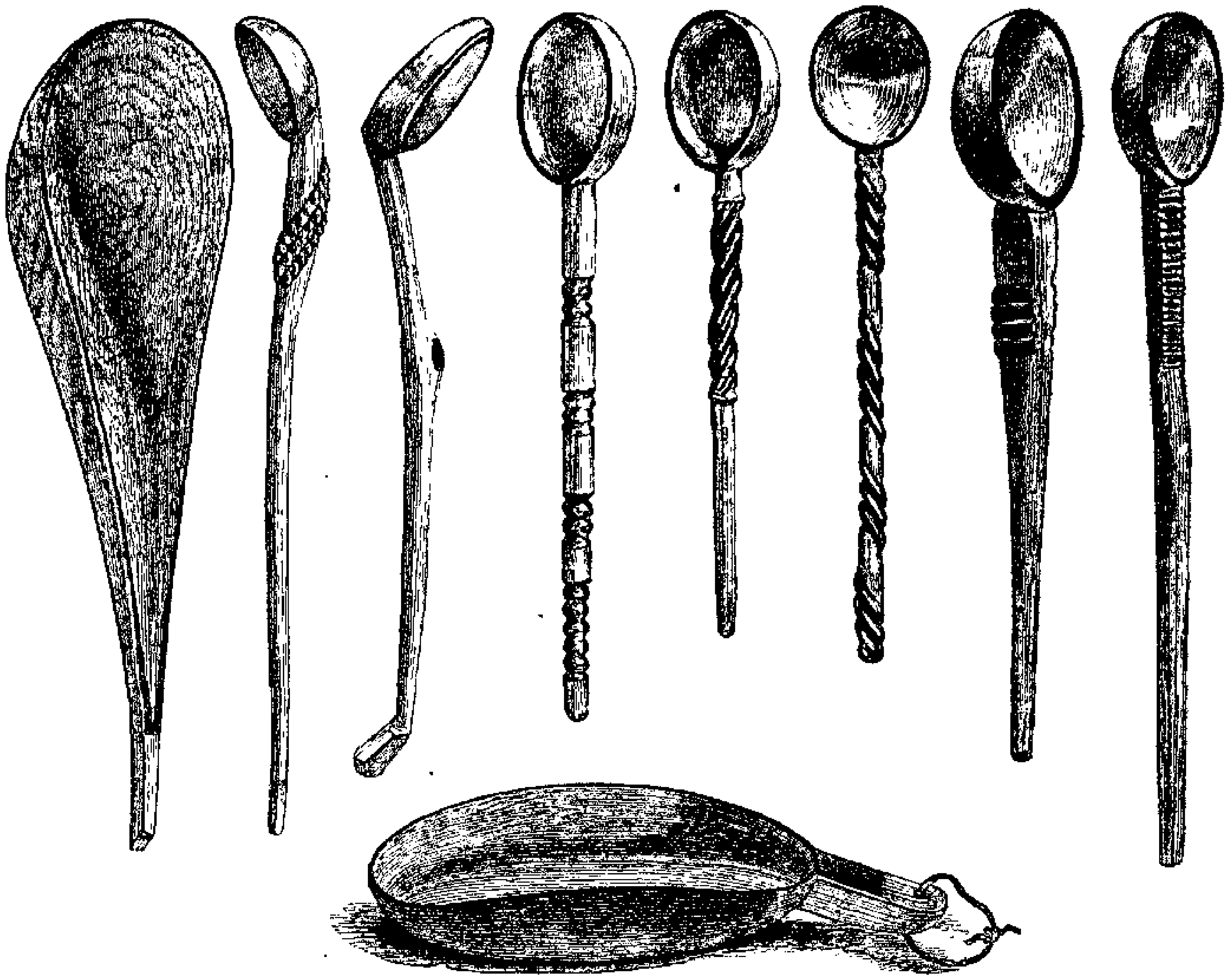
change forests to fields, and the ground is manured with the ashes of the burnt thicket. In the middle of the fields rise the light watch-towers, from which a watchman scares grain-eating birds and other thieves. An African cultivated landscape is incomplete without barns. The rapidity with which, when newly-imported, the most various forms of cultivation spread in Africa says much for the attention which is devoted to this branch of economy. Industries, again, which may be called agricultural, like the preparation of meal from millet and other crops, also from cassava, the fabrication of fermented drinks from grain, or the manufacture of cotton, are widely known and sedulously fostered.



Fields of the Bakwena, with reservoirs for corn. (After Fritsch.)

The ground for cultivation is cleared by means of fire, or with the hatchet or small axe. On the east coast a broad chopper with spear-shaped blade and short handle is also used. The lance or spear-head has in general to serve many peaceful purposes. Larger trees are killed by barking. Thorny branches are placed as a border to the fields, under the shelter of which close quick hedges gradually grow up. The ground is broken and cleared of weeds with a wooden spade sharpened to an edge at either end. Many peoples have hitherto not ventured to use iron tools, since they keep away the rain. When the ground has been got ready, somewhere about the beginning of the rainy season, the sower walks over the field, scraping a hole with his naked foot at every step, into which he lets some grains fall from his hand; the foot covers them up, and if the good witch-doctor makes rain enough, and the bad one does not keep it back, there is nothing more to be done till harvest, except to hoe the weeds once. Some peoples have a special crescent-shaped tool for this purpose. In general this labour does not go very deep, and Livingstone expresses a universal truth when

he says that the Manyema hoeing is little better than scraping the soil and cutting through the roots of grass and weeds by a horizontal motion of the hoe or knife. Hence the necessity of frequently changing the ground. Yet there are differences: the position of the Azandeh towards the Bongos is that of large but lazy and careless landowners towards an industrious population of farmers. But, on the whole, it is rather a persistent and varied than an exacting form of labour, and for this reason it is left in a great measure to the women and children.

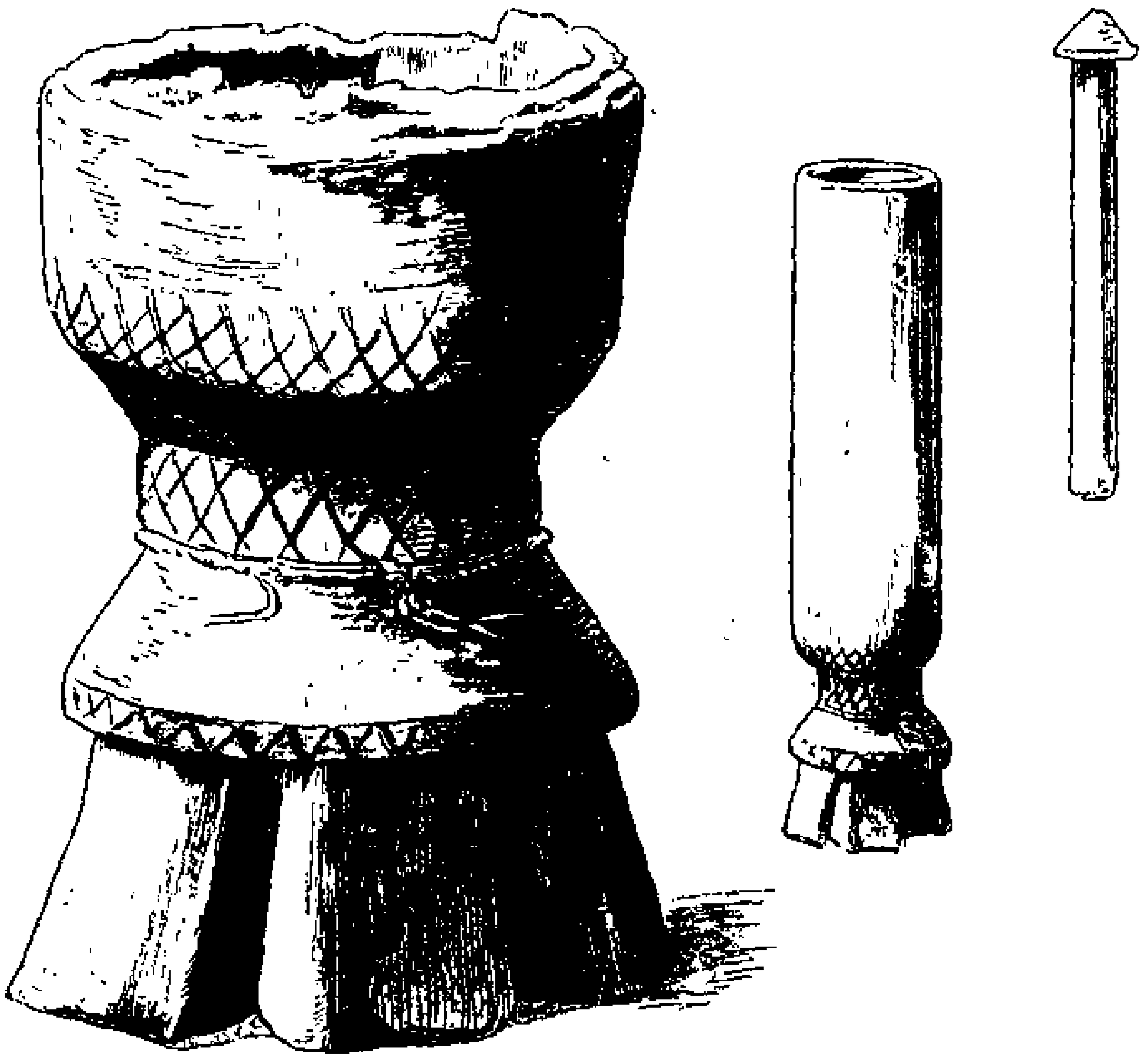


Kaffir spoons and scoops of carved wood—one-sixth real size. (Berlin Mission.)

A field is sometimes planted not only with one crop, but is "interplanted." Thus in the east, potatoes or manioc are set in the fields of *cajanus* or sorghum, which require two seasons to ripen; or beans are sown, and find their support in this way. Here and there bottle-gourds trail on the ground. Tobacco is planted close by the huts, where it flourishes well in the abundance of manure. The bulbs whose juice is used for poisoning arrows, grow in front of the council-house. Castor-oil trees stand at wide intervals between other field-plants. Sowing and harvesting go on all the year round. Sorghum, sown in the autumn rains, remains quiescent in the dry season, and quickly develops in the spring rains till it ripens in May. Maize, pulse, gourds, and other quickly-ripening plants, are sown in the great rains. When they are got in, *penicillaria* is cultivated in their stead. The ears of corn are cut one by one with a knife before the grain falls out, and left to dry in the hut. Occasionally they are threshed on hard ground or smooth rocks as a floor, with long thin switches, on which a few of the end twigs have been allowed to remain.

Agriculture is rendered more laborious for the negroes through the simplicity of their tools and their neglect of animal manure, which is replaced by ashes, though also by the offal which is thrown together outside the villages, as well as through their methods of storage. To the present day the plough is practically strange to them. It is not to be found south of a line drawn from Agades to the Galla country. Many negroes, however, till without ploughs better than the Abyssinians with them. We must not apply any European standard to negro agriculture. The abundance of highly productive crops, and the possibility of repeated harvests in the year, allow it to be more like spade-husbandry, and it is therefore far removed from the agriculture which with us needs great attention to be successful over wide areas.

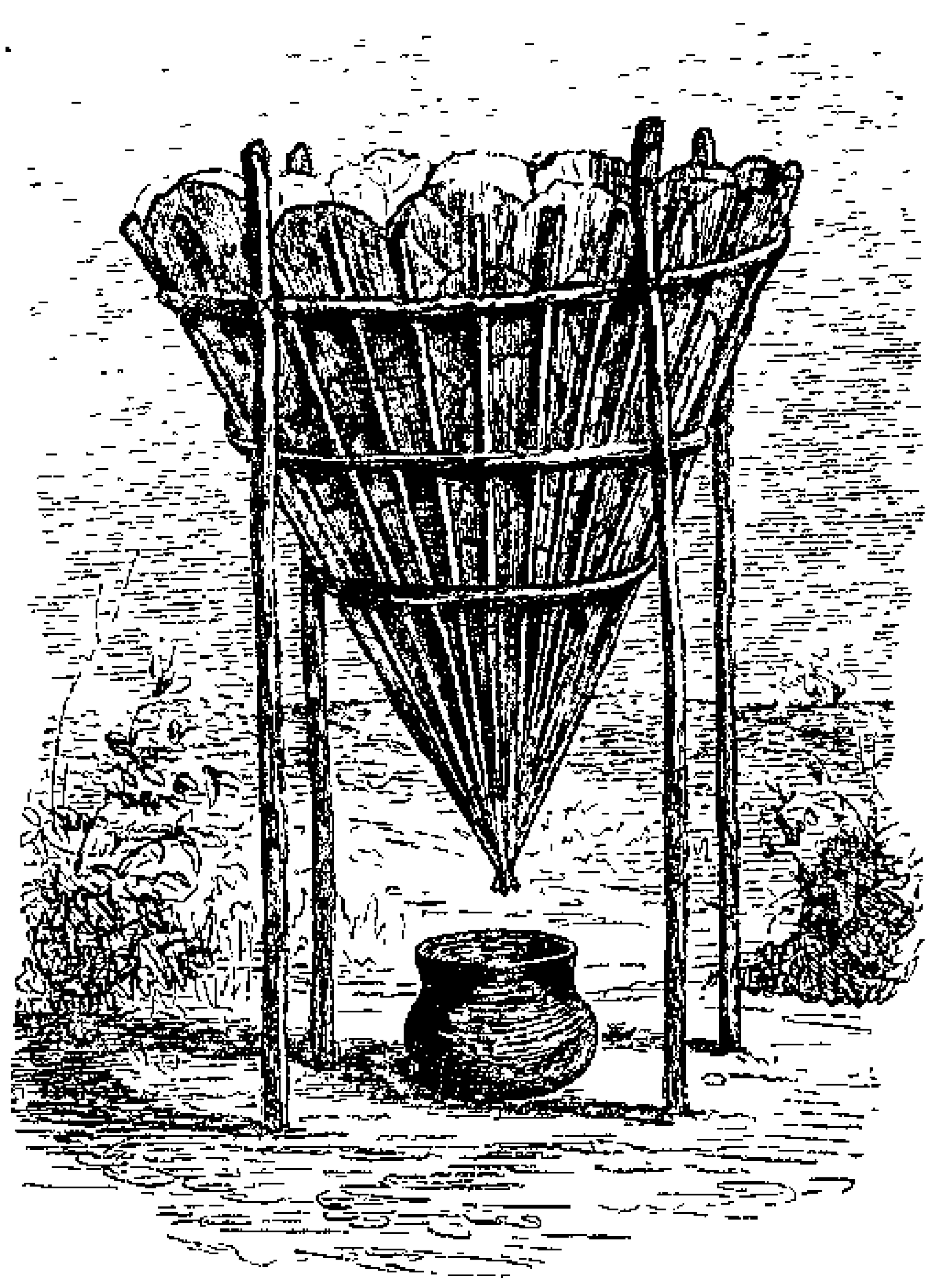
In all the tropical parts the storage of the harvest is full of difficulty. The weevil hardly allows the millet to last till the next harvest-time. Cultivate as much as they may, and plentiful as the crop may turn out, all must be consumed in one year. This is one of the reasons why so much beer is brewed. The necessity of consuming the stores between one harvest and another has certainly an unfavourable influence on the whole economy of the people. So far as the tropical rains and the white ants extend, one finds granaries standing on posts, and other arrangements for securing them. In the smaller granaries the whole roof can be lifted off like a lid to get at the contents. Among the Bechuanas the earthen reservoirs for grain, which are in principle like those of the Nubians, stand in the open field; among the Bamangwato they occupy a great portion of the huts, and the Musgùs, who make them tower-shaped, have them in their farmyards. The Bongos have a way of crowning their granaries with an elegantly woven straw-cushion, so that they may sit at their ease, and look over the level country covered with a tall growth of corn and grass. Round this seat rise the sloping horn-like ends of the roof timbers, a characteristic of the Bongo landscape. We meet with the South African system of removable conical roofs also among the Azandeh, the Golos, and the Krejes. The part of the granary which holds the grain is usually earthen, after the Nubian pattern; it often stands on a pole, and is thereby secured against damp, termites, rats, and thieves. We find such among the Golos, with a goblet-shaped grain-holder of clay, raised on a central post and supported by side timbers, and a conical roof, removable like a lid; also granaries with a dish-shaped substructure on four poles. Baskets or frames hung to the trees secure the maize in the open from rats and mice, and



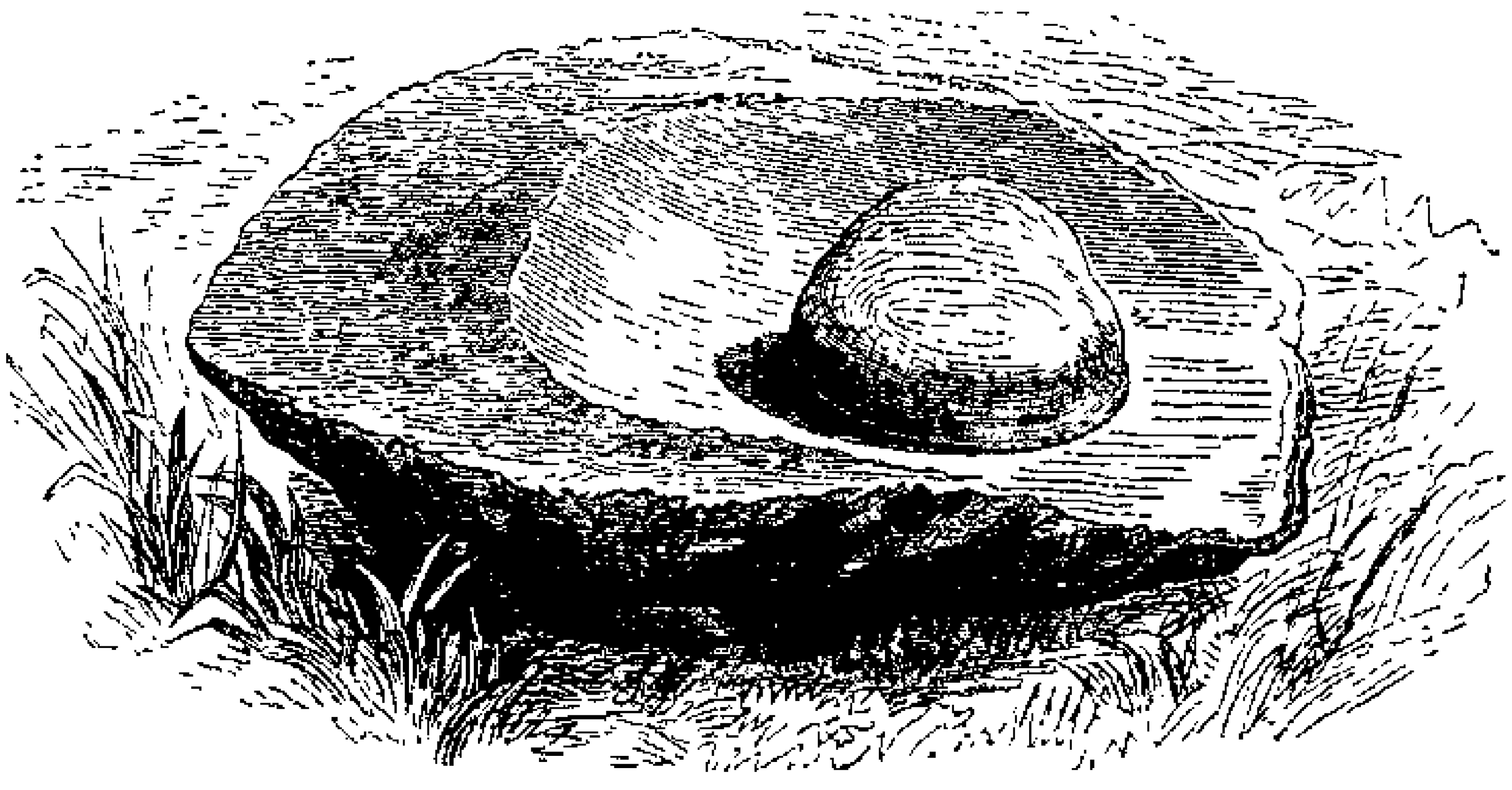
Bajokwe pounding mortars—one-fifth real size. (After Stuhlmann.)

among the Manyema the open frames used for drying the maize serve also for storing it.

The food of the negroes is almost universally composed of both animal and vegetable materials. It is only the Masai and the Gallas who are said to reject all vegetable food. The cooking art reaches very various stages. Schweinfurth praises the consummate cookery of the Dinkas, while among the Wakamba, according to Hildebrandt, the cuisine is at the lowest level. Raw flesh is very commonly eaten when hunting. The next stage is roasting on spits or split sticks. Drying of meat in the air is very general, especially in East Africa. Smoking appears to be known only within the domain of Arabic and European culture. The method indigenous to Arabia of roasting on hot stones or in heated holes in the ground occurs also among East African negroes; some also boil the meat in water. Bones, either raw or after roasting, are smashed between stones, and the marrow used especially for greasing spears and swords; but it is often preferred to the meat. Negroes generally eat fat in great quantities, being in this respect in no way influenced by their tropical climate. Meat and fat are the negro's ideal of the desirable. "Meat and goodwill go hand in hand through Africa," writes Horace Waller in Livingstone's last Journal. A clever shot is certain to find many adherents; as explorers like Pogge and Wissmann have found to their advantage. Very popular is porridge made by grinding and boiling the grains of millet and also of maize. The negroes use grinding-stones worked by hand, as in the cut opposite; in the East, roller-stones are found in Zanzibar and the coast regions. Roundish stones as big as the fist, sometimes mistaken for the crushing-stones, serve for sharpening. Flat unleavened dampers, baked on hot plates of stone or iron, take the place of our bread. In the lake-district bananas form the predominant food; and among the West Africans manioc takes the first place.



Preparation of salt from saline earth in Urua. (After Cameron.)

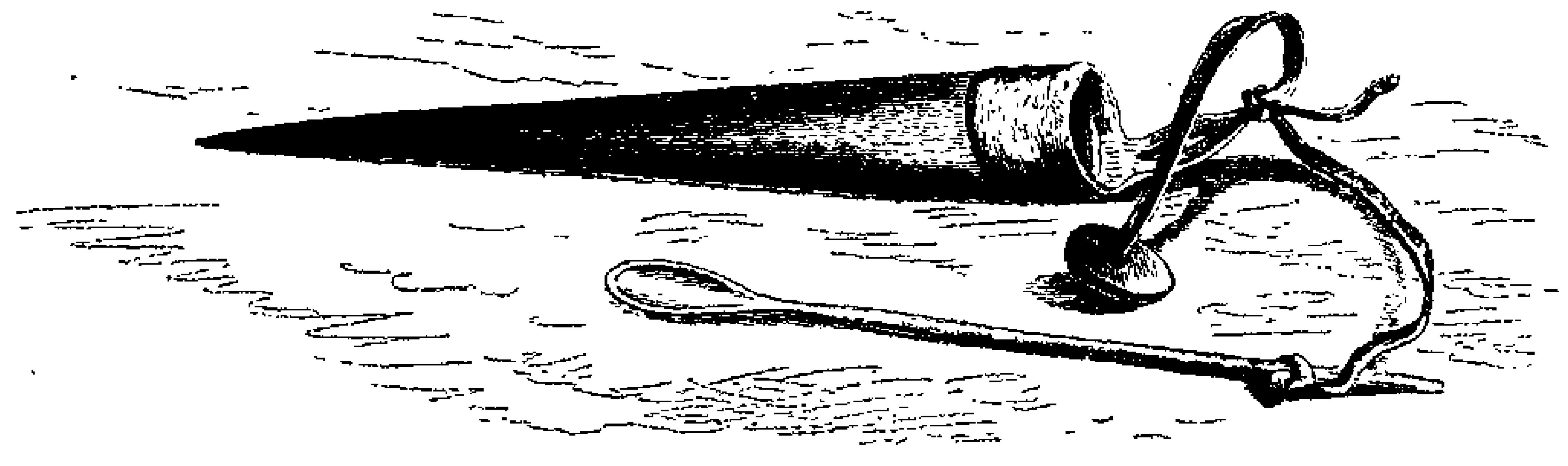


Hand grinding-stone. (After Livingstone; *The Zambesi and its Tributaries.*)

Among seasonings salt is that most in demand. It is one of the most important articles of Central African trade, and is replaced also by potash-substitutes. Some races go entirely without it. Cayenne pepper, which is indigenous to Africa, is used by some tribes on the Upper Nile, not as seasoning, but as arrow-poison. Certain aromatic herbs are taken in infusions like tea; and the negroes often besprinkle their greased bodies with the powder of them. They make intoxicating drinks in great quantity.

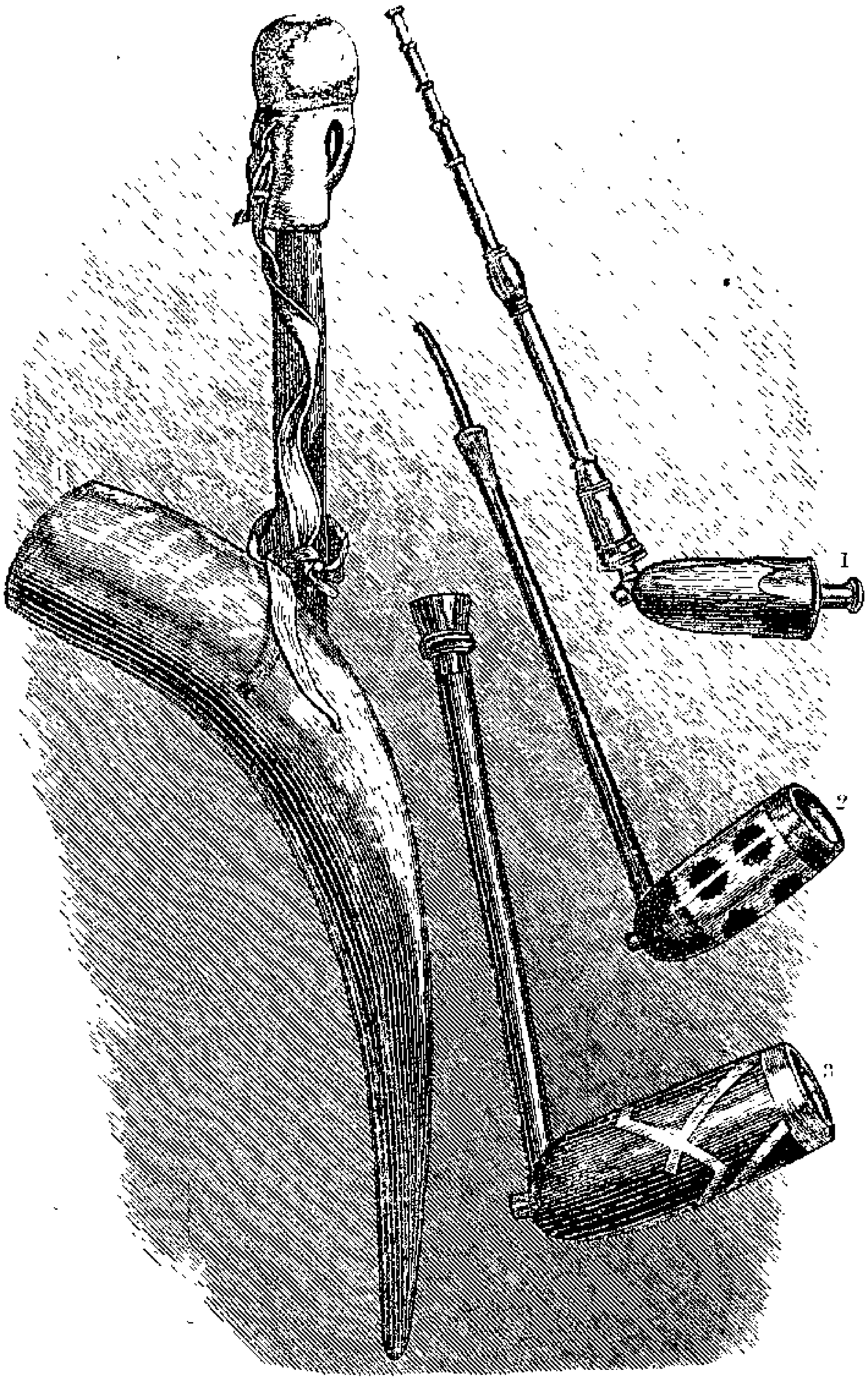
Beer-jug used by the Western Makalaka. (Munich Ethnographical Museum.)

Millet or maize beer is brewed from malted grains, with the invariable addition of aromatic herbs. Intoxicating drinks are prepared also from bananas, sugar-cane, and honey; and the practice of tapping various species of palm runs through the whole zone of palms. Negroes did not wait for the European to come with his spirits; nearly all have fermented drinks, and drunkenness is so general a vice that people who know the facts, like Wissmann, indicate it as a practical danger to peaceable intercourse with negroes, and recommend that negotiations with chiefs should, when possible, be opened betimes before the great open-air boozes under some shady tree, which often last far into the night, have begun. Singing and dancing goes on to the sound of the drum, and next day one of the guests—for no one is invited who does not return the entertainment—bids the company to meet round a fresh trough. Beers prevail in the south and north, palm and banana wine in the equatorial regions. Of other luxuries the chief are tobacco, hemp, coffee-beans, and *guru*-nuts. Tobacco is passionately enjoyed, and in the most various forms. In East Africa smoking predominates among heathens, chewing among Mussulmans. The Kaffirs snuff,


Ovambo snuff-box and spoon—one-third real size. (Berlin Museum.)

strewing the tobacco mixed with pungent substances on a piece of skin, and sniffing the stinging narcotic dust into the nose in long draughts. Only well-to-do persons take pinches out of the box; they carry their snuff in a tube in the lobe of the ear, or else in boxes of gourd or ivory hung round the neck or to the belt. Part of the paraphernalia is the nose-spoon or *libeko*, a miniature shovel two to fourteen inches in length; which is also used to clean the hands after a meal and to scratch the back. Smoking is still more widespread. The apparatus is of the most various kinds; in South Africa antelope-horns are used, the broader part serving as mouth-piece; in the Equatorial district, pipes holding a pound of tobacco; where

conditions are most primitive, a hole in the ground with a perforated stone over it. By many it is regarded as the height of this luxury to swallow the water impregnated with nicotine which collects in the water-bags. The value which negroes attach to tobacco is shown by the great part which it plays in their customs. The offer and acceptance of it is not only a specially complimentary form of greeting, but it is a really important symbol in the preliminaries of a wedding, while in the Kasai country hemp-smoking has become an affair of religion. Under the name of *dakka* or bang, the dried leaves of *Cannabis indica* and probably also of the thorn-apple (*datura*) are smoked either alone or with the tobacco. Europeans found this custom existing in South Africa. This smoking is usually done with a hubble-bubble, consisting of a tube the upper end of which carries a bowl filled with the material to be smoked, while the lower end is a horn partly filled with water. Otherwise they make receptacles of clay, which at one end receive the weed, and at the other allow the mouth to be brought close, while in the middle they hold water. The people dwelling round Lake Nyanza take their coffee by chewing the raw beans. In the Western Soudan and in Upper Guinea the *guru* or *kola*-nuts are eaten. They contain a principle similar to that of tea and coffee, and form a chief article of trade in the Western Soudan and the Niger country. Their use seems to spread diagonally through Northern Equatorial Africa to the uppermost part of the Congo basin; there it occurs among the Monbuttus, though to a small extent, as if it had been only lately introduced.



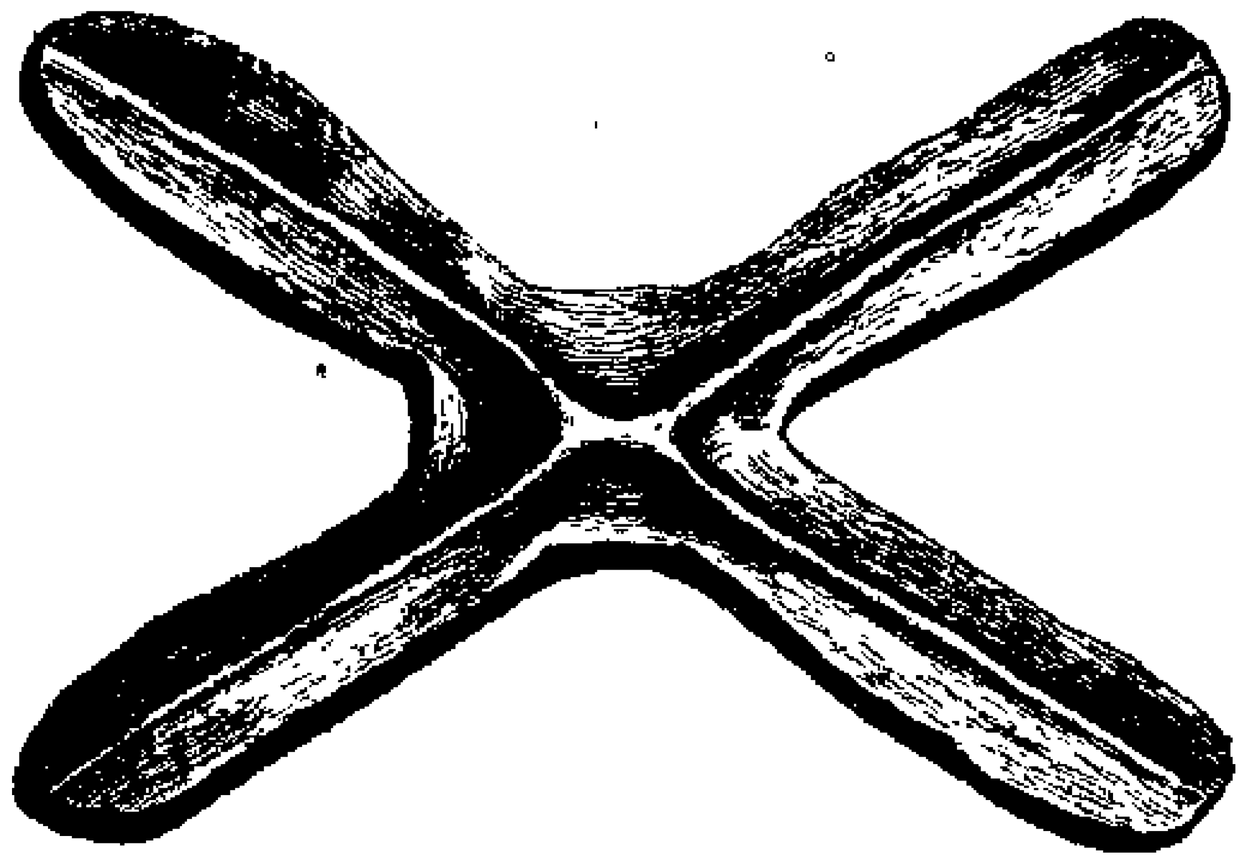
1, 2, 3, tobacco-pipes; 4, a *dakka*-pipe used by South African Kaffirs. (British Museum.)

Some trades are, among the negroes, confined to special artisans to whose lot they have fallen in the division of labour; others are as a rule carried on together with agriculture and cattle-breeding. For ironwork, boat-building, fishing and hunting, particularly hippopotamus-hunting, there are people who devote them-

selves to these alone and to nothing else. Pottery is mostly the women's affair. In other respects the settled nature of agriculture seems to make it more favourable to handicrafts than the pastoral life with its tendency to nomadism. Livingstone conjectures that the great dexterity of the Banyeti on the Middle Zambesi in ironwork and wood-carving may in part be referred to the fact that the *tsetse* fly prevents them from keeping cattle. Thus the Waganda are better workmen than the Wahuma, the Wanyamwesi than the Watuta, the Monbuttus than the Dinkas. Hunting, too, ruins handicrafts; cotton manufacture flourishes in West Africa where beasts are scarce.

Copper adze, perhaps from the Wamarangu—one-sixth real size. (Wissmann Collection, Berlin Museum.)

In this connection the point to be most weightily emphasised is that the negro has now passed wholly out of the stage which we are wont to denote by the "Stone Age." All their more important implements and weapons which might be of stone are now of iron. Stone has not indeed been superseded in all forms. Grinding-stones—that is pebbles that can be held in the hand, and the smooth stone slabs belonging to them, as well as pieces of hard stone with which the grinding-stones are kept sharp, are used throughout Africa. For grinding maize and negro corn shallow basins are often cut in flat rocks, and in these the corn is ground down with stones as large as two fists. So, too, the principal smith's tools are of stone. The anvil is a block of rock, the hammer a stone, which is firmly bound round with thongs or cords to give a grip. The tongs are two pieces of bark or wood. Thus it is only the product prepared with these tools which is iron.

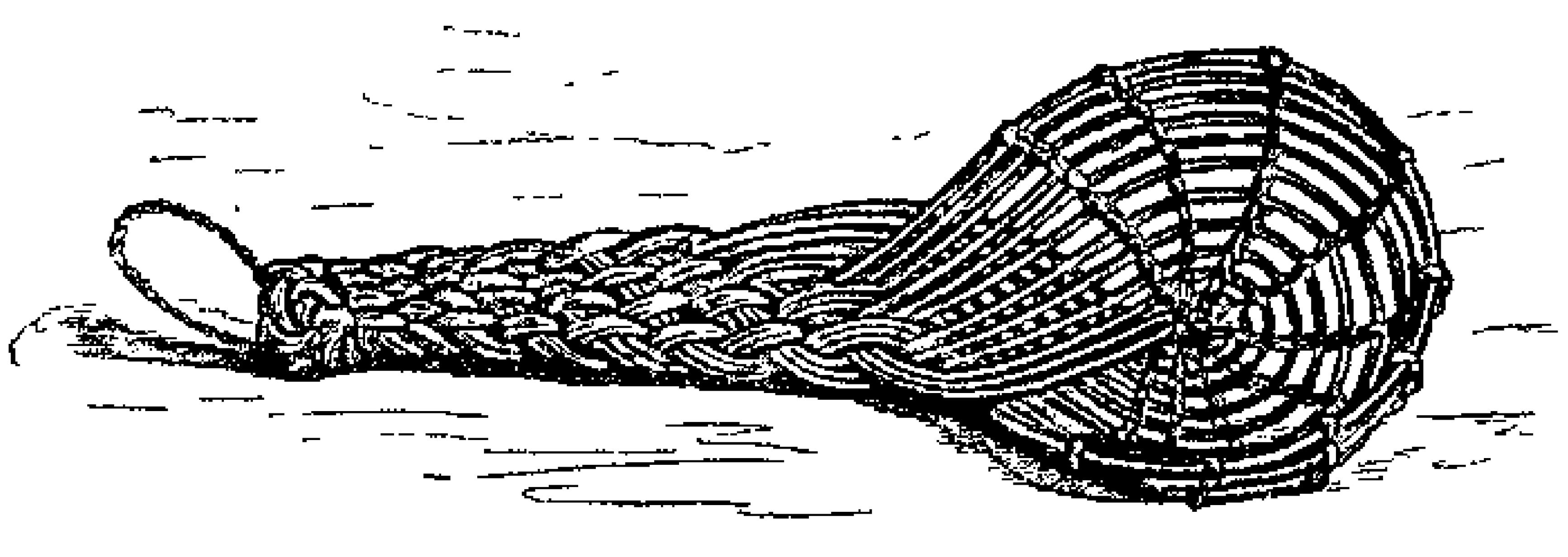


A *handa*, the usual form of copper in Uguha; used also as money—one-sixth real size. (After Cameron.)

Among the Bushmen we find stones perforated and ground round as weights for digging-sticks, sometimes also stone arrowheads. It is said that no one ever saw the natives boring these stones, and that they themselves hold them for the work of former generations. In the north of Cape Colony, Palgrave in 1870 obtained from the Bushmen a stone-headed arrow consisting of two pieces of reed, fastened together by a hollow bone. At one end was a lancet-shaped stone head made of crystal cemented into a narrow slit; an inch further up a barb of horn was inserted, and three inches from the head the shaft was coated with clay, to give weight to the fore end and prevent the reed from splitting. Schinz saw stone arrows in use among the Bushmen of the Kalahari desert. But among the Kaffirs of eastern South Africa the iron industry is highly developed. Various Galla tribes use splinters of obsidian in peculiar ring-shaped handles for scraping hides; of this we have certain evidence in the case of the Nouris. They are said also to

use them in shaving. Circumcision is performed with knives of either stone or cane.

The stone implements which have been discovered in the most various parts of Africa resemble in material and shape those found in Europe. Here, as in Europe and America, the occurrence of jade implements is perplexing. If we survey the places where stone implements have been found, we have to assume a Stone Age for all the regions which have from this point of view been carefully examined. Thus Africa, which as we know it is in full possession of iron, has had its Stone Age from Egypt to the Cape, and from Somaliland to the Niger.



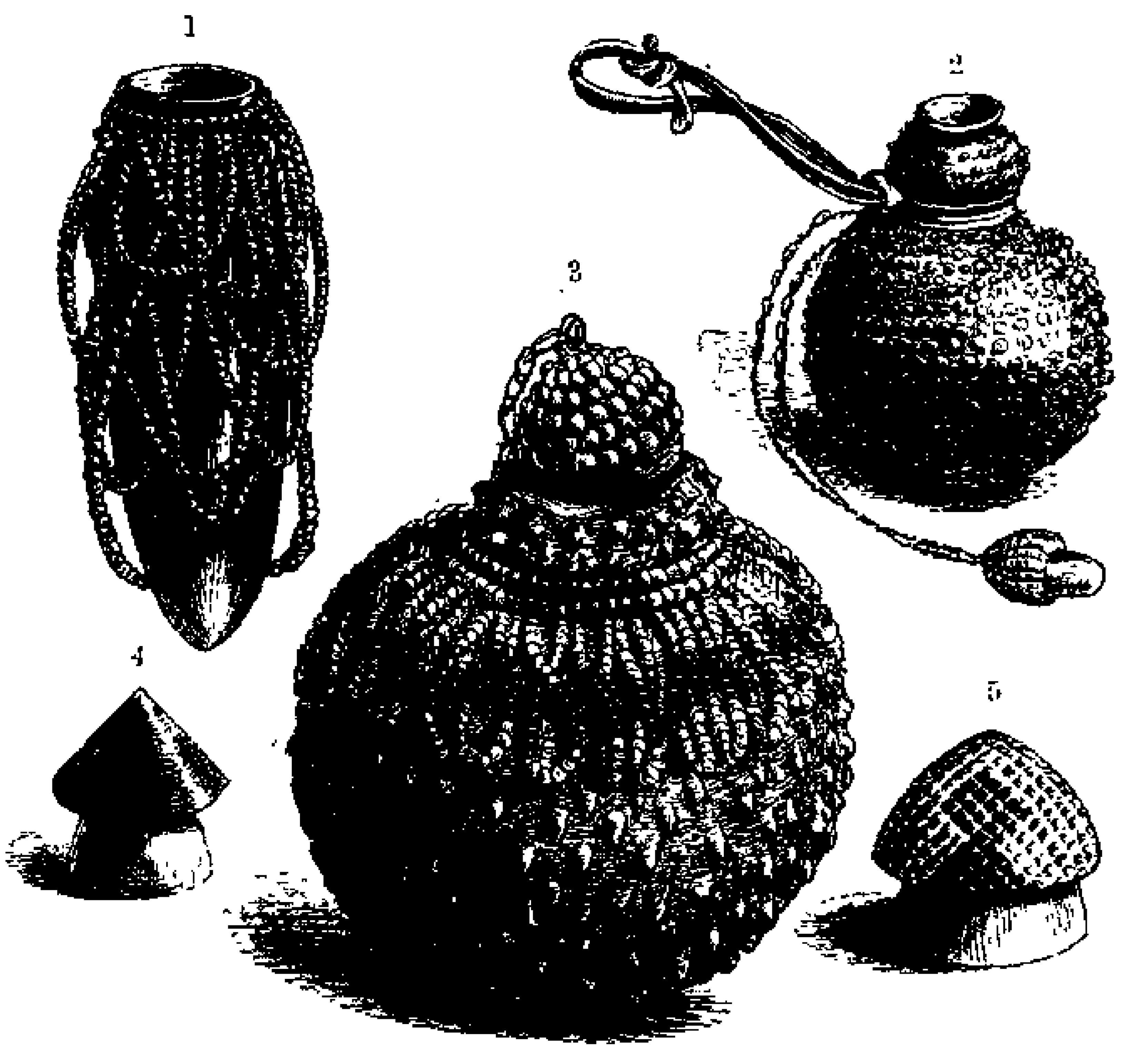
Kaffir skimming-ladle—one-third real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Monbuttu earthenware, comb, and rattle—one-sixth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Strangely enough, in Africa as elsewhere a certain reverence is paid to these relics of an older stage of culture. On a gate-post of the palisade which surrounded the village of Ponda on Lake Moero, once the abode of Tippoo Tib, Livingstone saw a stone of red porphyry flattened at one end and with a hole

through the middle. The people saw in this a charm, averting evil from the village. The same traveller found a precisely similar stone stuck up in the same way on the gate-post of Cazongo's village. Oscar Lenz reports that the Tuaregs attach a supernatural value to stone implements; and we hear the same from West Africa. They are believed to have fallen from heaven, or regarded as the weapons of larger and stronger men of old time; or else healing powers are attributed to them. The Monbuttus hold a similar belief with regard to the polished axes and rings of pure specular iron which, being at the present day quite unable to make them, they hold in honour. We would not, without further evidence, look upon this as a sign of the great antiquity of the Iron Age; it reminds us rather of the awe felt by all negroes of what has come down from of old. No negro will lightly venture to steal any old possession of the family or the tribe, though he regards any newly-imported article, especially if of European origin, as public property, not being so closely bound up with its owner. In any case, the Stone Age is so remote that even when iron is lacking, stone is no longer employed. You see the Bechuanas or Batoka on occasion till the ground with wooden hoes, never with stone ones. If iron were something new, its distribution would show gaps of quite another kind. We know, no doubt, races that bristle with iron, others that have little. Bows and shields are seldom guarded or ornamented with iron; this occurs only in the East and on the Upper Nile. But when we consider how in the countries where iron is most plentiful and industry most active, in the Batoka country or among the Manganja on the Upper Rovuma, after a slave-raid hundreds of smithies lie deserted, we may well be amazed that the thread of tradition has not long ago been broken, and that this trade does not belong to the lost arts. Its salvation was that it was frequently carried on by special tribes of wandering smiths, often, too, a despised caste, as are still the smiths who live in separate villages among the Fors. Progress also was made in the direction of an industry with fixed traditions; as when, among

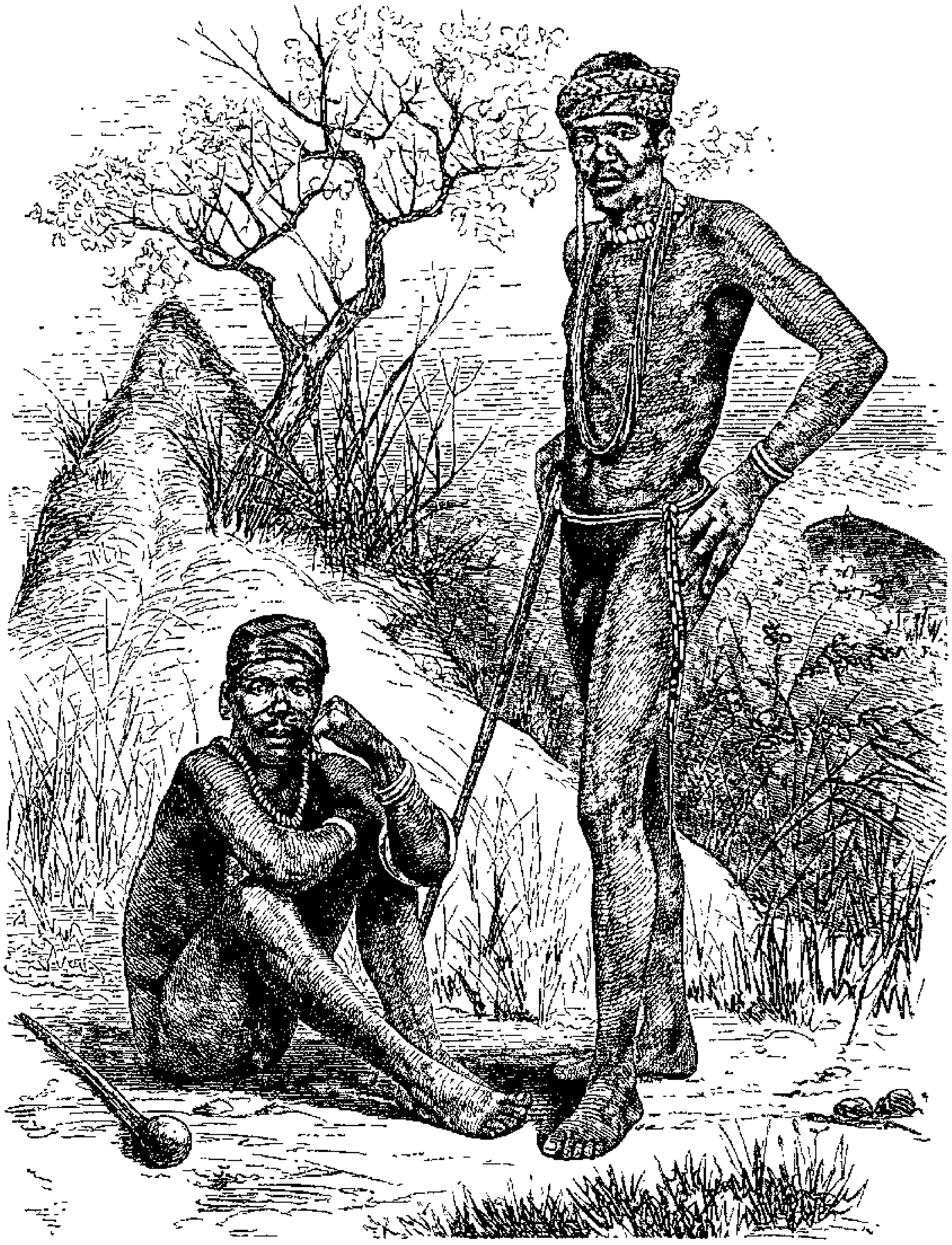
Earthenware vessel from the Lower Niger. (Church Missionary Society's Museum.)




Kaffir snuff-boxes: 1, of horn; 2, 3, of blood, clay, and webbing; 4, 5, wooden ear-plugs, Zulu and Natal Kaffir—one-half real size. (Berlin Museum.)

the Malinka the furnaces 10 feet high are, on a day (which is at the same time a village festival), filled with layers of iron and charcoal, and set in blast with several bellows simultaneously. We know again that the Jaggas forge excellent weapons, and even understand wire-drawing. The Baluba iron-blades, damascened with copper or brass, are not only very serviceable, but also beautiful pieces of work.

On the whole, however, both the manner in which the iron industry is carried



Kosa Kaffirs. (From a photograph belonging to the Berlin Museum.)

on, and its productions, are the same all over Africa; we find ourselves in presence of an art which had a definite point of origin. Where this point was, it is now difficult to say. Not in South Africa, since her iron-forging was unknown to the Bushmen in historical times. Taking everything together, the races of Equatorial East Africa, and of the Upper Nile are certainly the best smiths, and iron is here found in larger quantities. Thus then an eastern origin is indicated for this art also. We have already (p. 251) called attention to the Asiatic features in iron utensils.

The only metal besides iron which the negroes smelt is copper; but they

get it and work it in but few districts, whence it radiates far and wide as an article of trade and medium of exchange. Hofrah en Nahas on the Upper Bahr el Ghazal in the northern Equatorial region, Katanga in the southern, have in this way gained reputation and great trade-influence. Yet its distribution has remained limited. Many dialects have only one word for iron and copper. Gold, in spite of the fact that they have it, so that, during the thousands of years' knowledge that we have of Africa, gold-dust has been, together with ivory and slaves, its principal article of export, has strangely enough never been worked by negroes. Gold ornaments are found only in the parts touched by Moorish influence. In like manner silver occurs only in the regions inward from the East Coast which have been definitely controlled by the influence of Arabia and India. Somalis, Danakils, and Abyssinians are the only African races at all approaching the negroes that wear silver ornaments. All the tribes of the Upper Nile are ignorant of the precious metals, in spite of the comparative proximity of Sennaar with its abundance of gold, and Abyssinia with its silver. When Werne went to the Baris in 1840, they knew nothing of silver, and valued gold no higher than copper.

Negro earthenware vessels are almost always without handles. Among the chief exceptions are the handsome Monbuttu vessels in the Berlin Ethnological Museum, as well as clay vessels from the Soudan. Those of the Soudan, like those of almost antique shape brought by Flegel from Jen in Benue, unquestionably came into existence under Arab influence. Such handled vessels also occur in Ujiji. The ornament is scratched in. The wheel is universally unknown. Similarly, no mineral glaze is known, only varnish; but with this the Wanyoro, for instance, can give a beautiful dead-black lustre. Even this, however, is unknown to many tribes, among whom use and dirt are relied on to make the things water-tight. The burning is, as a rule, feeble.

Among the processes unknown to the Africans of the interior is any for attaching one piece of wood tightly to another. The climate is perhaps against the use of glue; but that no kind of fastening is known by means of grooving or rabbeting or even nailing, may be thought all the more remarkable when we consider the time and labour expended upon wood-carving. This is executed with special tools. Among the Hereros the chiefs superintend this work, and seem especially to consider the manufacture of the pails for milk and drink as something for which they are responsible. Wooden ornamental rings with pegs of polished silver or brass are conspicuous.

Plaiting, weaving, and the kindred arts are highly developed. In a climate which makes tying appear the most practical mode of fastening, these are of all negro industries those whose productions most astonish us by their perfection. String is twisted from sinew, the fibre of palms and aloes, and lianas. From the reports of the Portuguese missionaries in the sixteenth century it may be gathered that on the West Coast the art of plaiting stood higher formerly than it does to-day, just as that of weaving once produced mats of *raphia*-fibre with elegant designs, fringes, and even a velvety texture, which now are found only far in the interior.

A striking fact about these people so rich in herds is their ignorance of tanning. It is found only in regions of Moorish influence: in the Houssa countries it may even be said to flourish. The negro pastoral races are very clever at preparing ox-hides for cloaks and coverings, making them as soft as

cloth by beating with clubs, shaving the inner parts, and working the outside with a tool producing a carding effect by means of inserted iron spikes. The Bechuanas especially understand this art, and the Wahuma yet better; among whom we find skins of wild animals as soft as glove-leather worn by the best classes. It is curious that exactly in East Africa where from time immemorial the sheepskin or goatskin wrapped round the loins has formed part of the national costume,

A weaver in Ishogo. (After Du Chaillu.)

where among some tribes hides serve to cover the huts, the population has neither discovered nor learned from others the principles of the most primitive tannery. Even the mimosa-bark, procurable in abundance, has not shown them the way to it.

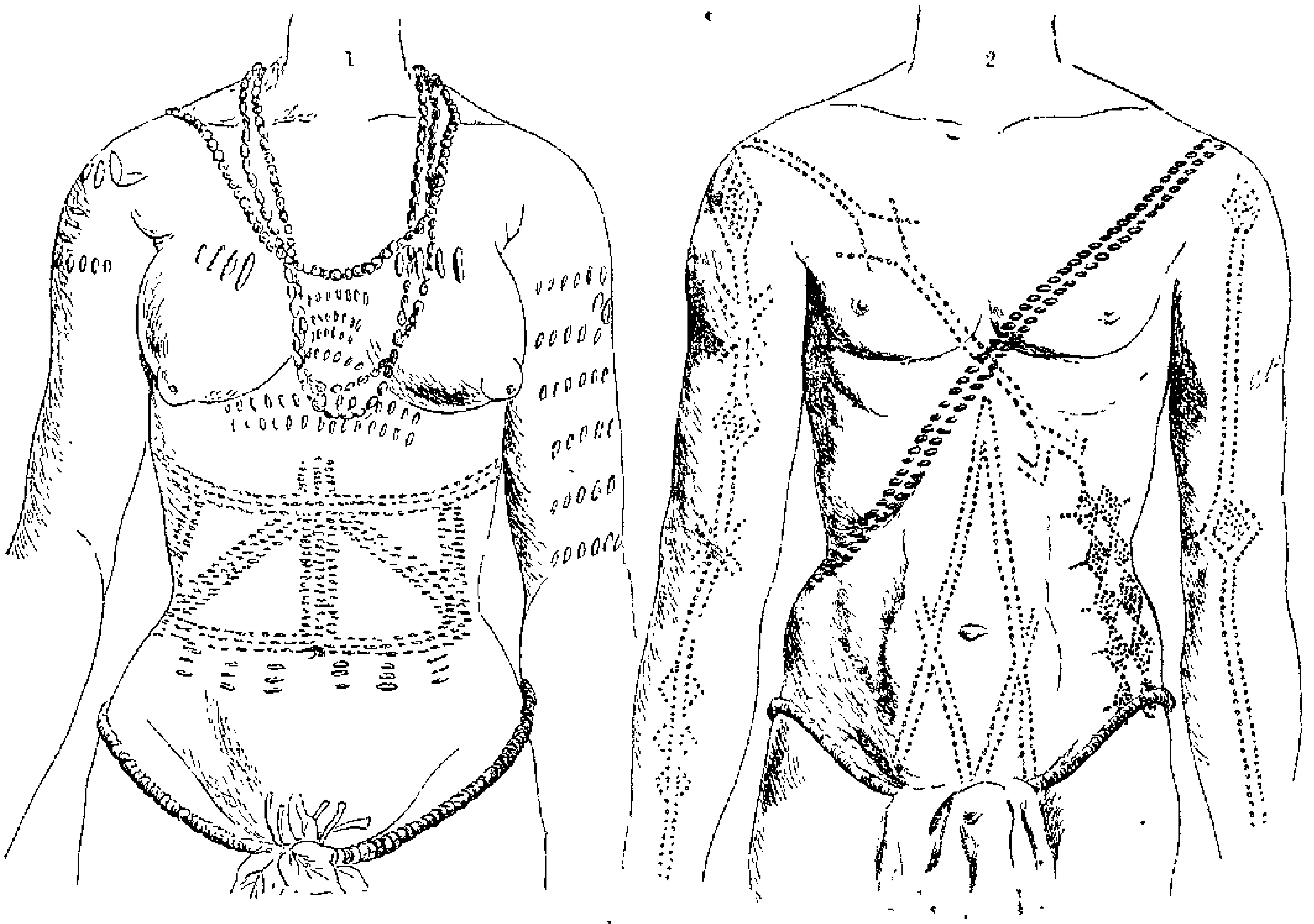
Cotton is grown and manufactured in a great part of East and West Africa, of the Soudan, and of the Zambesi district. A primitive loom, like the Egyptian and Berber, in which the threads are stretched vertically, is never absent. The Mandingoes have a dexterity astonishing even to Europeans in weaving narrow

strips of calico. Yet the negroes import by far the greater part of the cotton fabrics required by them. These are in many places oiled in order to make them resemble the skins and bast-cloths which they have supplanted. Only among the majority of Central Africans is the principal wear a cloth woven of palm-fibres, and together with this the inner bark of the widely spread fig-tree, *Ficus indica*, a bark-cloth which is worn by the most various negro-races of Africa. It is found on Lakes Nyassa and Victoria, and even in the sixteenth century the missionaries saw it on the Lower Congo. A belt of bark is detached, the outer surface is carefully removed, and the bark is then laid on a wooden block and smartly beaten with wooden or ivory mallets, which might be mistaken for those used by the Polynesians. The grooves of these mallets give the stuff a ribbed appearance; the bark expands under the beating like gold under the gold-beater's hammer. When it is beaten thin enough, which usually means a day's work, every hole caused by the hammering is mended with the trimmings of the edge. The *mbugu* when new is of a yellowish-brown colour, and looks almost like freshly-tanned leather; but some of the finer sorts show a dark brick-red tone. There are very various qualities; the best are wonderfully soft. The chief fault of this material is that it is easily destroyed by rain; but the supply is more than sufficient. From the old worn-out stuff excellent tinder is made, which the Waganda twist into a cord and carry with them on a journey to light their pipes. In this condition it will smoulder for hours. Banana leaves are laid over the wound in the tree and bound on tightly; after a time the bark grows again.

A Loango negress. (From a photograph belonging to Dr. Pechuel-Loesche, Jena.)

After our enquiry into the dress and ornament of the negro the first thing to be mentioned is the extraordinary variety in hair-dressing, for which the stiff, up-standing hair offers an opening. The way in which it is dressed often expresses the owner's whim, humour, or sportiveness. More rarely it takes, as among the Zulus, a definite national character. The most cultivated negro tribes, such as the Waganda, do least in the way of hair-dressing. Tattooing occurs now but rarely in any considerable extent, or in the Polynesian fashion, covering the whole body. Like all other forms of disfigurement it is lacking among those who, like the Waganda and the Fors, come into closer contact with Gallas and Arabs. The Tushilang tattooing alone has been compared with that of the New Zealanders;

it is at all events the most complete to be found in Africa. Virchow compared even the tracing of the lines with that of the Maoris. On the other hand, scars symmetrically arranged on body and head, often in great numbers, are universal. They are produced by incision and cautery. They also serve frequently as tribal marks. The Wakamba wear scars on the temples, the Makua on the cheeks. The extreme of this deformation is found in the cicatrices drawn up into a button-shape, standing out like great warts or growths on the face. In the so-called 'button-scars,' a row of button-shaped warty scars runs from the edge of the forehead to the tip of the nose; this is found both on the Congo and on the Zambesi.




Tattooed bodies of (1) a Mondu woman, (2) a Monbuttu man. (From life, by R. Buchta.)

Painting is casual in the far interior, or by the Azandeh and Monbuttus. Piercing the ears, the nasal alae or septum, and the lips, in order to insert ornaments, which however, in spite of the perforation, are not always put in, occurs among tribes on the Zambesi and Lake Nyassa, and again on the Upper Nile. Some tribes wear artistically polished cylinders of calc-spar in their lips. Quantities of rings—ivory, iron, brass, or copper—are worn round the shin and fore-arm, others round the neck. Strings tied tightly round the body, the chest, or the thigh are worn, as among Malay and American races. In this the amulet notion comes into play, especially in the highly-valued rings made of hair from the elephant's or giraffe's tail. Circumcision, performed almost exclusively with stone knives, is strictly practised by many negroes, but unevenly distributed among closely-related tribes, Infibulation seems to have first made its way into certain East African tribes from the Abyssinians and Gallas. Finally, the filing, knocking out, or drawing of certain front teeth, and often also of the eye-teeth, or of all together, is found

Patterns of Scar-tattooing found among Negroes.
(From drawing by A. Rugendas in the Munich Collection of Engravings.)

among most negroes. It is not the case that only cattle-breeding tribes show allegiance to this custom.[1] Many races even knock out the front teeth of their captives in war.

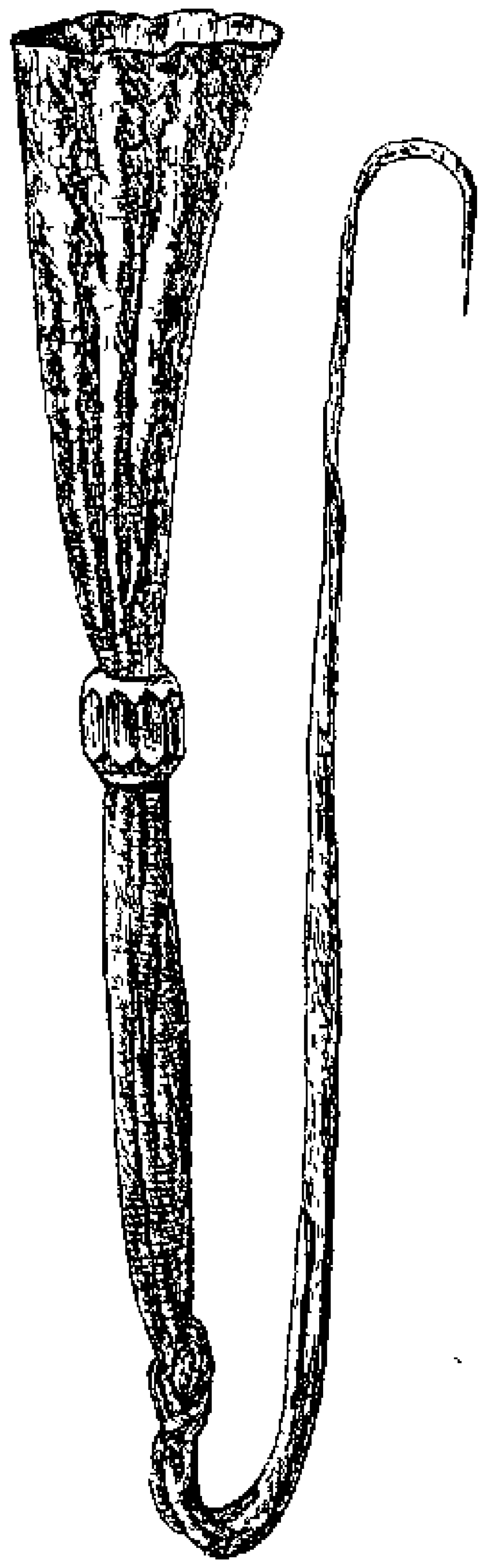
The negro dress is of many kinds. Skins, bark-cloth, stuff made from palm-fibres, and native or foreign calicoes are the clothing materials; but on an emergency a palm-leaf or a bough suffices to cover their nakedness. There are but few races among the negroes who habitually go quite naked; and then the fashion extends mostly to the male sex only, as among the Dinkas or some Nyassa tribes, more rarely to the women, as with the non-Mussulmans of the Houssa states. The Fan women and those of the Upper Congo deck themselves with little bells; Kaffir men wear remarkable sheaths. Children, however, up to a certain age almost all go naked, and so do grown-up people when at home, for comfort's sake. Among the negroes of the south and centre, as well as on the Upper Nile, the regular clothing consists of an inner and an outer apron, or even of a leaf only, worn as decency demands. Over this the pastoral tribes often wear skin *karosses*, cunningly put together of pieces of skin of various sorts. The races that prepare ox-hides possess in them a material in all cases light, and obtainable in large pieces, and therefore are the most completely clothed of all, especially the Wanyoro and Waganda. Where cotton stuffs are to be had cheap, as on the West Coast, the men wear petticoat-like garments, while the women fasten theirs under the armpits. Head-dresses are used in war, in dances, and at religious festivals. Primitive sandals are in general use on the march. An universal practice, overdone among the pastoral tribes, is the greasing of the body and the hair. The process is completed by powdering with flour, coloured and scented, or by rubbing on red sawdust. Painting in gay

A Satchel of woven grass from Calabar. (Stockholm Ethnographical Collection.)

[1] [From a supposed wish to resemble their own animals, says Livingstone.]

colours is part of the military costume; red and white in the most venturesome patterns are usually employed. Head-ornaments of feathers are likewise customary here. Feather ornament, however, is not found in the perfection and abundance that it attains in America and Polynesia; for the most part it is simple tufts and bunches. Personal cleanliness is very considerable among many tribes. They do not only wash and bathe, but clean their teeth and scrape their tongues, like the Baluba. Among the Monbuttus and Wambuba latrines are found, which may, however, have been introduced by the Arabs.

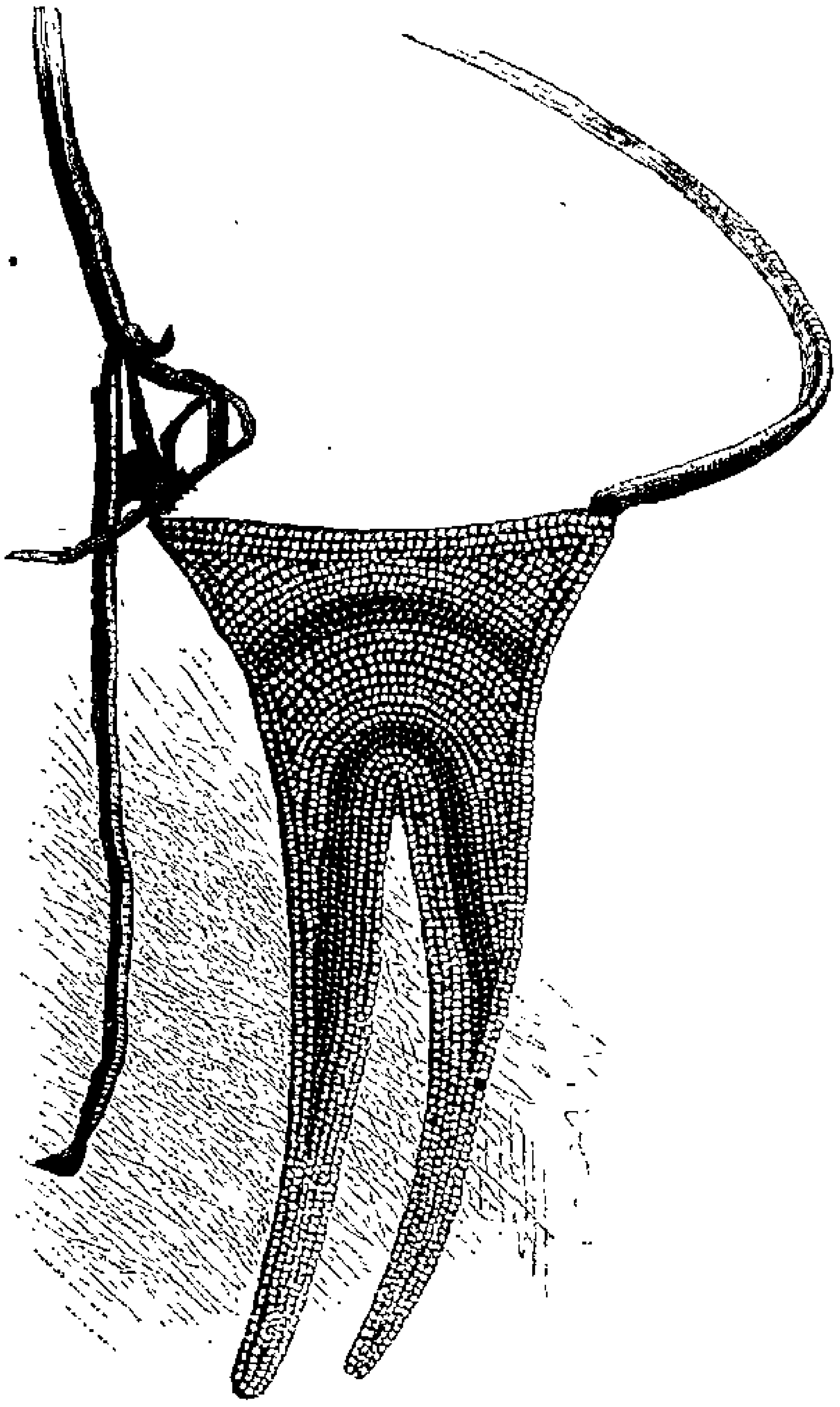
The domiciles of the negroes, in the widespread tendency to grouping round a central point, and to fencing, as well as in the prevalent light construction with grass, reeds, stalks or boughs, show a principle due to nomadism. Genuine nomads build temporary huts of brushwood, which they protect by laying mats or skins over them; a construction which extends from the fish-eaters of the Red Sea even to the Hottentots. The only firm part of these huts is some kind of stone wall carried round them to prevent the rain from washing away the sand, and the water from pouring into the house. These huts are seldom used for longer than a year or two, being often deserted on account of the vermin before they are in ruins. Then everything soon goes to decay and is washed away by the rain; and the utmost evidence that there was once a human habitation is given by the stone circles, and a few fire-blackened stones on the hearth, together with the ash-heap. A fresh dwelling is seldom established on the same spot; even when the herds on their periodical wandering come back to the same spring, they look out for a new site. Thus among the Hereros the name for the village means nothing but a place where there is milking; while among their agricultural neighbours, the Ovambo, the villages are called places where something is kept. New settlements spring up with extraordinary quickness. When Zintgraff returned from Batom in February 1888, there was no village between Kombone and Babi ba Nyussi; only some people were engaged in bringing a space of the primeval forest into cultivation. Three months later a little village of fifteen huts stood here, with comparatively extensive plantations.



Sheath, made of an animal's tail, worn by Kaffir gentlemen. (Berlin Museum.)

Among the pastoral races the individual huts are usually placed in a circle round an open space, into which the herds are driven at night. Larger villages often contain several enclosures, hedged or palisaded, for herds and flocks; and the whole settlement is finally once more surrounded by a large hedge. This main hedge is further strengthened with a stockade, and in the agricultural villages a ditch is added. All the Babemba villages are thus fortified. But a chief point in laying out an African village is to make the approach difficult. This is defended, as for instance by the Fans, with poisoned splinters of reed stuck in the ground just after the Borneo fashion; or, in extreme cases, is placed in a forest stream, in the sand of which tell-tale footprints are quickly washed out. The

need of protection strongly affects the negro's places of abode. It is shown in his choice of localities; islands, peninsulas, elevated spots in the bights of rivers, hill-tops, are very usual. But with these views as to fortification, the stronger construction of the house itself does not seem to occur to them. Except by inducement from without, no house of more than one story was ever built in negro territories. When the Makololo saw Livingstone's house at Kolobeng, they said: "This is not a hut, it is a mountain with many caves in it." The dwellings of the agricultural tribes stand amid their fields, grouped together into a village. For this purpose a space surrounded by the closest thorn-thicket is selected, and this is made closer by the addition of prickly boughs, and even palisades. In this way a practical defence is prepared against an attacking enemy; all the more so that this fort of living thorns is not liable to be carried with the aid of fire. In course of time it often forms a ring of forest around the village. The single approach leads through rows of palisades, and at night is closed by a gate. A few shady trees in and near the village are much liked, and they are often surrounded with groves of oil-palms and *Ficus indica*.

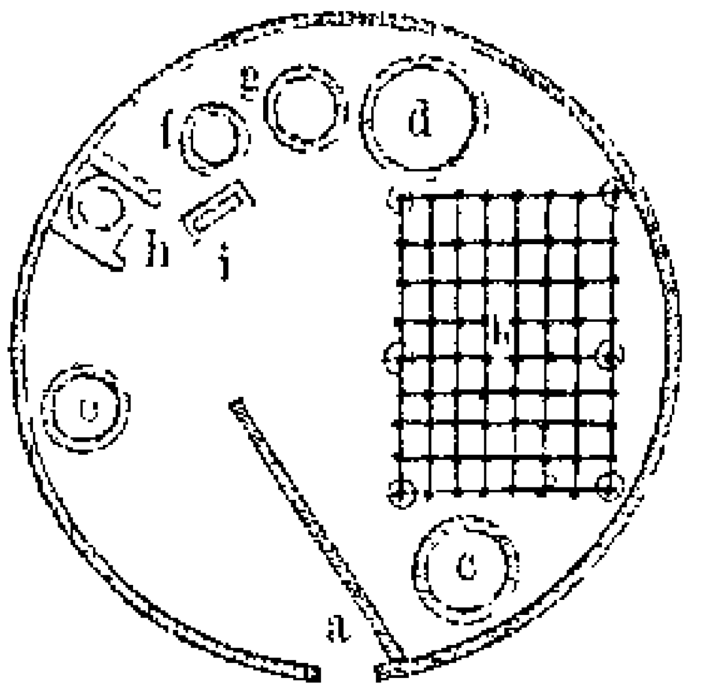


Bechuana woman's apron, trimmed with beads—one-fifth real size. (Stockholm Collection.)

The conical style of hut-building prevails among nearly all the negroes of Africa. The plan is circular or oval, the elevation conical or bee-hive shaped, with the entrance low; the height being that of a man, and the diameter twice as much. The bee-hive shape is the most frequent. Even the large handsome palaces of the Waganda and Wanyoro, or the regular huts of the tribes on the Upper Nile, are nothing else. Around this type are grouped the huts from the Niger to the Nile, and from Suakop to Sobat. Roomier and more comfortable huts are found especially in the Upper Nile district; as among the Bongos, whose huts run to 24 feet in height, or the Jurs; but however commodious the internal dimensions may be, the door is always low, and, as a rule, there are no windows.

While the round or scattered arrangement of the village harmonises with the circular plan of this style of architecture, rectangular huts result in its being laid out in streets. A band of rectangular hut-building passes from the Manyema country through the northern Congo basin to the Cameroons. Here two rows of dwelling-huts form a street or row, closed at the two ends by council-houses,

or similar "public buildings." The ingress and egress are in the longitudinal sides. The houses of one side often lie under one common roof, so as to produce two "long houses" lying opposite to each other. In this we may perhaps recognise the earlier state of things out of which the rectangular single premises have grown. We are still more reminded of the American or Polynesian "long houses" by the sleeping quarters for unmarried men, which are found, from the Madi country westwards, through the whole region of rectangular building. In West Africa the little round huts of the restless Babongo are found intermingled with the rectangular Fan huts.



Ground plan of a house in Mubi: *a*, doorway and cross wall; *b*, bedplace; *c* and *d*, corn-bins; *e*, water-jar; *f* and *g*, earthenware stands for pots; *h*, hearth; *i*, stool. Real diameter, 12 feet. (After Barth.)

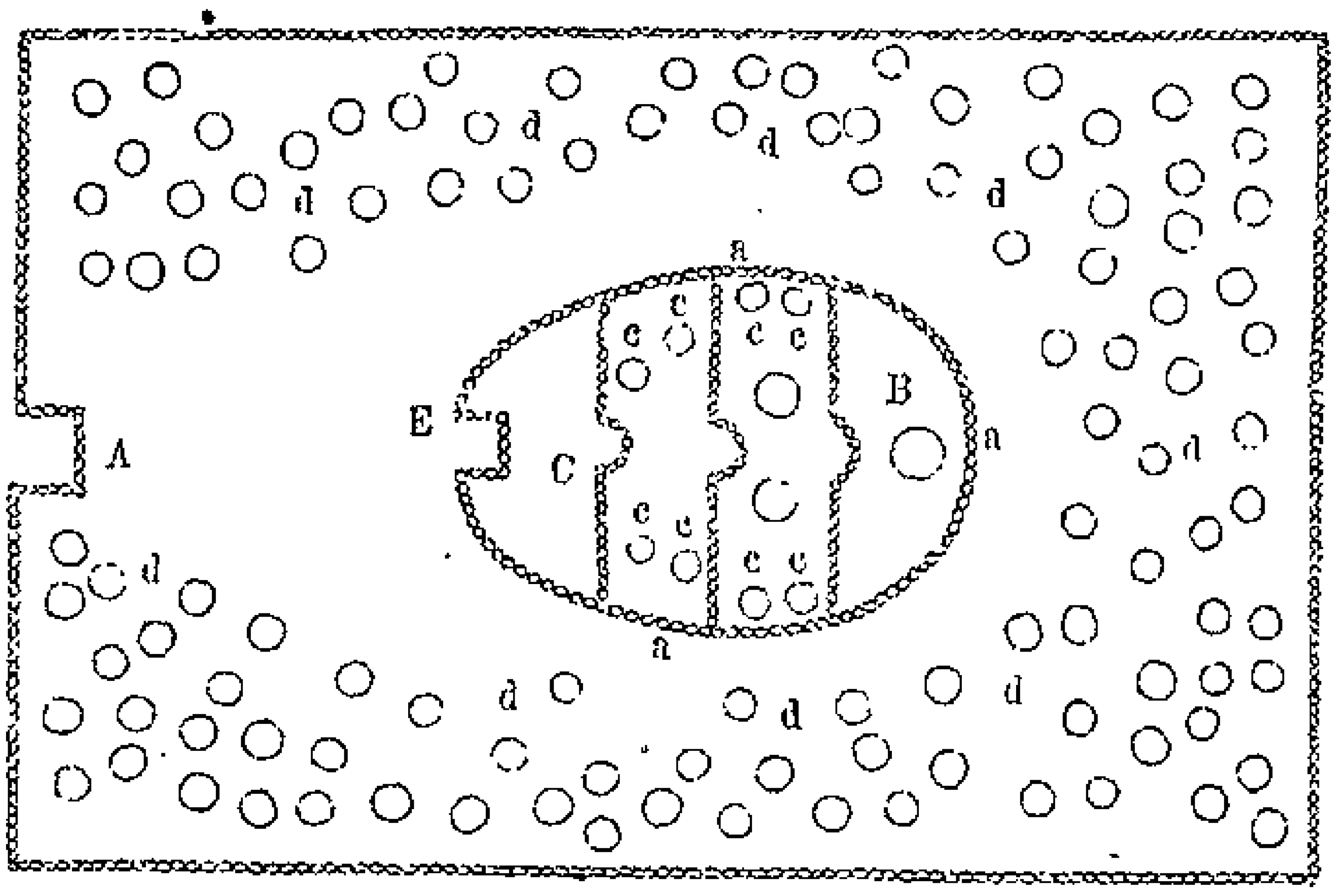
From the Fish River to Uganda and Liberia, Africa, devoid of cities, shows only slight variations in style of building and arrangement; and these are due partly to the material, partly to transmitted customs. South of the Zambesi the building is not so good because material is less abundant, and quite the best building is in the north-east; but the work is everywhere transitory, because straw, reeds, and mud are used by preference. In Marutse-land huts are found more spacious and more carefully built than among the Bechuanas, or in the *ekandas* of the Zulus. But among the Bechuanas, the Batlapins and Barolongs were long ago noted for their superior mode of building. Among the Lunda peoples the conical form passes into a structure like an oven, the covering with quantities of guinea-grass allowing the roof almost to reach the ground. Even the settled agriculturists on the Lower Congo build so slightly, that in the conflicts which the International Association (afterwards the Congo State) had to carry on there, the destruction of a negro village soon came to be recognised as a hardly perceptible penalty. In Uganda, as among the Bongos and Jurs, the buildings are larger and demand much skill to make; but the conical or bee-hive shape still remains, as well as the doorway adapted to a crawling posture, and the absence of windows. Mtesa's palace at Rubaga, to which Wilson assigns a length of 90 feet or so, was yet only a barn-like edifice of grass and straw.

Larger buildings, used as palaces and assembly-houses, are executed in both styles. The palace-huts of the Wahuma chiefs, which are over 30 feet high, and have an arched entrance 12 or more feet high; the palace-hall of the Monbuttu king, described by Schweinfurth, 50 feet high, 65 feet wide, 165 feet long, are mighty edifices for the circumstances of Central Africa. The "palaver-huts" of West Africa do not fall far short of these. Cholet found the hall of a small chief in the trading village of Kosso to be 130 feet long and 65 wide. Buildings of this kind are decorated with colours, usually black, white, and red, and with wood-carvings. Here, again, South Africa is behind the northern Equatorial region.

Africa possesses no permanent tree-dwellings such as are found in Sumatra or New Guinea; but temporary fortresses in the crowns of giant trees are not lacking, as, for instance, on the Upper Congo, even in connection with pile-dwellings. These latter are found, both in the east and the west, in a well-defined form. On the small lake Morya, in the Upper Lualaba country, Cameron found a whole population of pile-dwellers in small square huts raised on lofty piles. They go about in dug-out canoes, and cultivate fields on the shore. The

steps to the hut are represented by a pole furnished with projecting branches. Not far from here are other people living on floating islands, fragments of the matted covering of plants which densely shrouds the edges of these shallow lakes on the high plateau. Piles are firmly rammed into these fragments and then carry the islanders' huts. They even plant bananas and keep goats and fowls on them; while they also cultivate fields on shore. Rohlfs describes equally distinct pile-villages on the Lower Benue. In the Upper Nile country, pile-buildings are found on dry land, obviously for protection against beasts of prey, perhaps also on account of the damp ground.

Among the pastoral peoples, on plains where water is scarce, the dwellings of a whole tribe are packed close together round the folds of the chief. The proximity of water, of pasture, of wood —"a Bechuana tribe," says Lichtenstein, "always chooses its stopping-place in the middle of a large mimosa wood, for the stems of these trees are the first and most essential building material" —the need of a large clear space all round for the herds, and not least, the organisation of the tribe, cause the dwellings to be assembled at the one favourable point. In the reports of the older missionaries and travellers we read that there were, especially in the interior of South Africa, "cities that could hardly be seen across," of the Murolongs, Matsaroques, and other extinct tribes. In 1801 Früter and Somerville ascribed to Litako 15,000 souls. According to Lichtenstein's estimate, Kuruman in 1805 had 600 houses and 5000 inhabitants. Sekomi's town, as stated by Chapman in 1852, was inhabited by nearly the whole Bamangwato tribe, and extended nearly a mile and a quarter up the mountain.

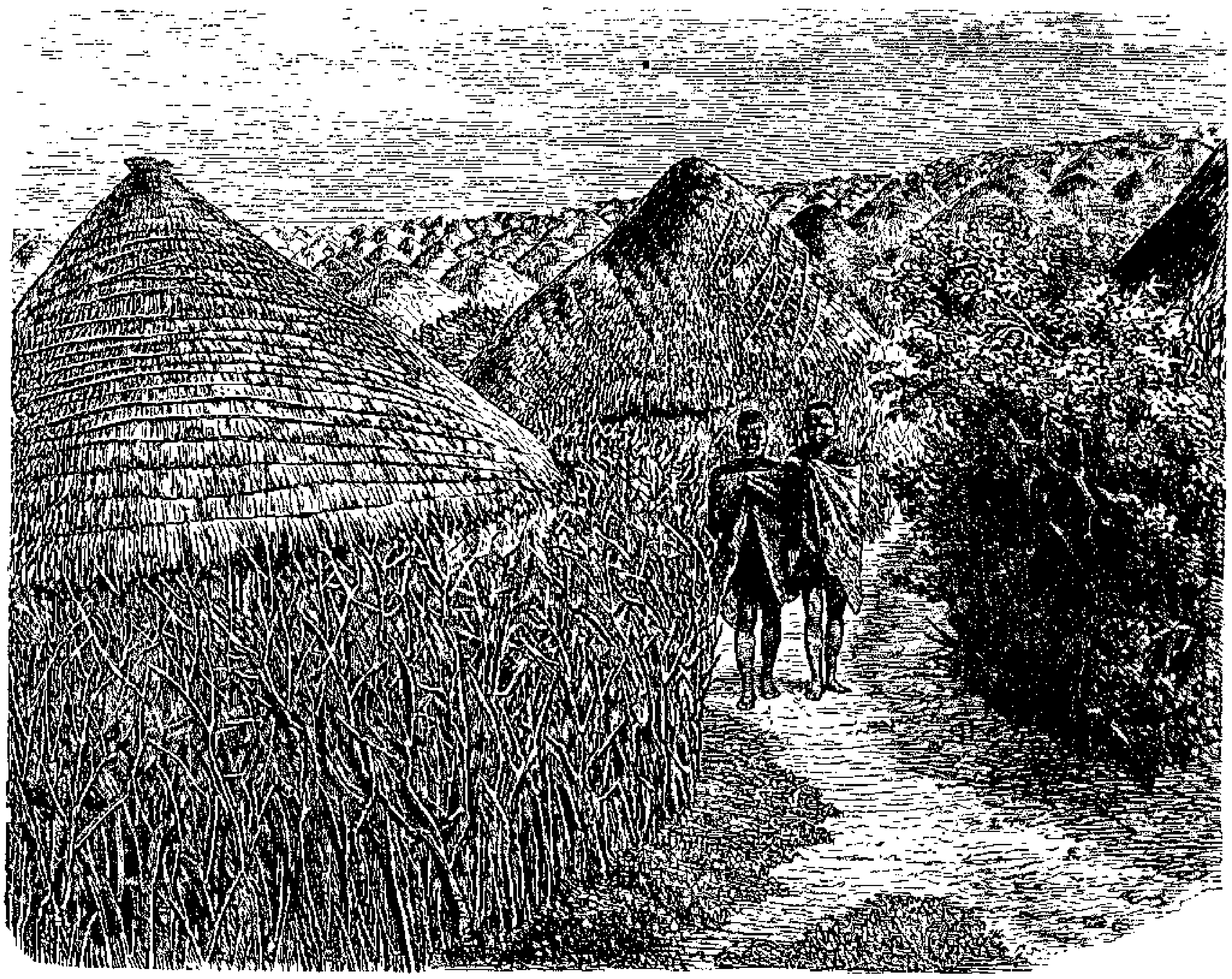


Plan of a fortified village in Bihe; *A*, entrance; *B*, conical hut in which chiefs were interred; *C*, skull-trophy; *a a a*, fence, and *E*, entrance to the chief's dwelling; *c c c*, huts of chief's wives; *d d d*, people's huts. (After Serpa Pinto.)

In East Africa we find the mud-huts, often half underground, surrounding a large rectangular court, known as *tembe*, and in transition-regions like Darfour, we see stone and mud houses mixed with the conical huts; but wherever Moorish and Arab influence in Africa has not led to stone-building, and so to the ornamental style, the village-premises in Africa are of little compactness, and correspondingly small and perishable. The over-estimate of its population comes in great measure from overlooking this fact. People counted the villages instead of the houses or huts in them. The "towns" on the Congo, the "residences" on the Cameroon or on the Kwango, contain at a high estimate 2000 souls. And this number is, as a rule, only reached by a row of several villages in succession. The "great town" at Vinyajara, on the Middle Congo, of which Stanley speaks with such pomp, reduces itself to a row of villages running in a uniform line along a high bank. In certain districts the villages are placed by preference in groups,

as among the Bateke of the Ugowe. Dwellings of the nature of homesteads or hamlets occur as an exception; for instance in the Bari country, where every family possesses a detached hamlet, consisting of several round huts, and a *zeriba* hedged with euphorbia for the cattle. And among the Arabs of the Soudan, no less than among cattle-breeding negroes, the population is here and there distributed among a number of small hamlets, forming a village community. In all these cases the sparseness of the population on good pasture-land obviously tends to prevent that dispersion which is often only a transition to pastoral nomadism.

One great fact of African ethnology is the cognate character of the languages



A street in the Bechuana town of Kuruman. (After Dr. Fritsch.)

from the southern limit of the Kaffirs away to beyond the Equator. These have been called Bantu languages. The difference between this group and those of the Hottentots and Bushmen is considerable. The view adopted almost simultaneously by Bleek and other philologists, and strongly supported by R. Lepsius, that the Hottentot language belongs to the North African group, may throw further light on affinities and the contrary among the African races, but can at present be regarded only as a hypothesis. But so far as concerns the nature of the Bantu languages, the following characteristics, showing an almost equal number of differences from the Hamitic languages, may be cited as those most conspicuous in these tongues, which are generally to be reckoned among those of the agglutinative group. In the Bantu languages prefixes play a great part. Every substantive has a prefix before its root. Of these there are from seven to ten, distinguishing and denoting an equal number of classes: men,

animals, plants, tools, and so on. Most have a special first syllable for singular and for plural. Thus, in the speech of Uganda, *lungi* = good; *muntu mulungi* = a good man; *bantu balungi* = good men.

In verbs, too, a syllable is prefixed to those which denote person and tense, and stand for relative pronoun, subject and object. The root of the verb comes last, so that the Bantu languages often express in a single word what would with us require a sentence or great part of one. An example from the Swaheli will make this clear. "He who wishes to give him the knife," is rendered by *atakayekimpa kisu*, where *a* = he, *taka* = wishes, *ye* = which, *ki* = it, *m* = him, *pa* = give, *kisu* = knife.

An Ashira village. (After Du Chaillu.)

While the difference between animate and inanimate, and even narrower class-distinctions, are strictly maintained by these prefixes, the contrast of gender is left out of consideration. There are, indeed, special words for "father" and "mother," but not for "son" and "daughter," "brother" and "sister" (*mona*, *pange*, are to be rendered more or less by "child," "child of same parents"). No noun again for "uncle" and "aunt," "nephew" and "niece," "he" and "she." On the other hand, the Bantu goes beyond us in having separate names for elder and younger brethren—*kota* and *ndenge*; and comparison is made only with these words. Naturally there are only prepositions, no "post-positions." Agreement by similar or euphonically modified prefixes plays a great part. The order of words in a sentence is subject, verb, object; but the last is anticipated by an abbreviated pronoun before the verbal root. It is characteristic of Bantu phonetics that every syllable ends with a vowel. On the other hand, the consonantal opening is often lengthened by prefixes, mostly nasal. Lastly, the intonation, indicating quite different ideas, according to the higher or lower pitch of the voice, by words of similar sound, is a Bantu feature.

But the surprising uniformity, with some variations of pronunciation, of those unwritten languages over so wide a territory is certainly remarkable. We now know enough of the language of Uganda to appreciate its far-reaching similarity with those of the Zulus and Hereros. Bleek makes the South Equatorial Bantu

languages consist of a large central portion, embracing nearly all the races known between the southern tropic and the equator, and two more detached branches, one of which belongs to the south-east, the other to the north-west. The central section falls into an eastern and a western half, each of which contains at least two families of languages. Similarly, the south-eastern branch may be again subdivided. In this branch the Kaffir language, with its variety the Zulu, possesses the most complete and original forms, and is the most euphonious. Sichuana is more guttural, with less clear vowels and more slurred consonants; Teketsa is broader. In Sichuana more dialectic difference is found than in Kaffir, to which the most eastern Sichuana dialects bear more resemblance than do the western. But of all these differences, what Max Buchner said of the languages heard by him in Angola and the empire of Lunda seems to hold good: "Whether these forms of speech are to be regarded as real languages, or only as dialects of one and the same language, is immaterial. If one may venture on a comparison with European differences, I might say that the two extremes more accurately known to me, Angola and Lunda, do not differ more from each other than Dutch and High German. Kioko, Shinshe, and probably also Minungo, are almost identical. Between Angola, Bondo, and Songo, as between Bangala, Bondo, and Songo, transitions are everywhere to be found on the frontier, since these tribes have long been in neighbourly contact. Kioko and Lunda are sharply distinguished, although the villages of the two tribes lie all mixed up together. Here, Lunda will be spoken; there, perhaps only half a mile away, Kioko. The Kiokos, foreign intruders from the south, have been living only a few years on the soil of Lunda." Over all these numerous little detached branches, the variety of which is in its way not less significant, there spreads, in the words of the same student, "a surprising similarity"; and this characteristic is not removed by great differences in culture, and remoteness in locality. The Ovaherero are poor cattle-breeders in South-West Africa; the Banabya well-to-do agriculturists in the Middle Zambesi country; the Makalaka a cross between shepherds and tillers of the soil, like the Bechuanas. Yet Chapman, who travelled from the first tribe to the others, found the three languages so similar that, without more ado, he could understand one as well as the others.

In the numeral system, a hundred is the highest denomination. Above that they generally reckon with foreign numerals,—Arabic on the Upper Nile, Portuguese in South-West Africa—*mil* being changed to *miri*. Various indications point to an original quinary system of counting. Twenty, thirty, etc., are "two tens," "three tens," and so on. "Ten" has a substantival value; not only has it a plural, but it can occur as a collective unit, like our "dozen," for example, *dikuini dia hombo*, "a half-score of goats," where the notion of each parcel remains in the singular.

Sensations of taste—as sweet, sour, bitter—have to be described by a periphrasis involving the same adjective, which means something like "piquant"; "piquant as sugar-cane," "salt," or what not. So with colours, for which only three genuine terms exist, namely black (including blue), white (including yellow, or generally anything bright), and red. It in no way follows, however, that the negro is less perceptive of various colours than we. Apart from the distinction of singular and plural, there is no real declension, unless the general particle of dependence, *a*, which most corresponds to one genitive and is best rendered by "of," be regarded as an indication of such. The interjections are uncommonly rich in

sonorous modulations. *Amá*, equivalent, says Buchner, to "well now!" *coa*, "dear, dear!" *aiae*, "hurrah!" may be heard every day and hour. As especially common asseverations, one notices "Death!" "Your truth!" "Verily!" A question is expressed by a falling tone, and does not alter the arrangement of the words. In accordance with the great, often awkward, simplicity of expression, all complicated turns of phrase, almost all subordinate clauses, are lacking. In the other direction this simplicity corresponds to a great regularity and sequence of thought. While with us the exceptions so predominate that the rules are hardly recognisable, the contrary is the case there; which makes analysis unusually copious and enjoyable.

The distribution of the Bantu dialects over so wide a region is a fact of the greatest significance for the history of the African races. The small divergences that have taken place between them do not allow us to assume a high antiquity for their separation. Every one of the languages, far more limited in area, spoken by the negro races of the Soudan, is divided from its neighbours by greater differences than are the most remote and largest Bantu dialects. This allows us to infer narrow limits both of space and time for their origin. They must have proceeded from a common stock closely held together, and no great time can have elapsed since their separation. The wide distribution of the Bantu languages corresponds with the distribution of a number of ethnographic marks over the same wide region. The latter, however, are yet more widely distributed, since for the most part, indeed, they recur among the Hottentots, so widely separated in language; and also belong to the negroes of the Soudan, whose language is quite different. They do not alter so easily.

The position and the formation of the region occupied by this linguistic stock, does not include the north and the south of the continent; there other families of language hold sway, between which the Bantu tongues stretch in a broad belt. But is their source to be sought in the east, the west, or the centre? The history of the Bantu races shows us, within the period of history taken notice of, migrations in a northerly, a southerly, and a westerly direction, but none of importance to the eastward. One is disposed to assume with Schweinfurth, that the east of Africa gives birth to races, the west swallows them up. We may, however, object with some justification that the period to which the notices of missionaries, travellers, and others concerning such movements, refer, is too short, and that the notices themselves are incomplete and of unequal value. The older ones can speak from immediate observation only of events which took place on the coast; what gave the impulse to these, far in the interior, is only given from hearsay. Such ethnographical testimony as one can call is in no case to be found in deep-seated general differences, but has had to be sought in details only. But the most important fact here seems to be that the Bantu peoples form no close ethnographical group, but agree essentially in the sum of ethnographical details with the rest of the negroes. Bodily mutilations, clothing, weapons, are essentially alike. Thus in hunting and fishing both implements and methods agree. In hut-building there are individual speakers of the Bantu languages who differ more among themselves than they do from the negroes of the Soudan. Agriculture takes more various developments among the various negro stocks; but even its material symbol, the clay or wicker-work receptacle for grain, goes from Nubia all the way to the Basutos.

The languages of the Soudan negroes, Lepsius's hybrid negro languages, fall geographically into two great groups; one embracing the Guinea tribes from the Calabar river to Senegal and reaching far into the Soudan, while the other has its quarters about the Upper Nile and the Congo. A northern branch of this shows the Shillook, Nuer, Dinka, and Bari languages, which F. Müller classes together as languages of the Nile. The two last are related as higher and lower stages of development; the Bari represents a development from the Dinka. The character of both is absence of forms with a tendency to agglutination. In the Dinka language the verb lacks mood, tense, and person, while in the Bari it has formed a reduplication to express duration of time. The numerals are based on the quinary system. The Dinka and Bari languages are both euphonious; but of the Madi language, as to which nothing more is precisely known, Felkin says that it is spoken with clicks like those of South Africa. Bongo and Momfu seem also to belong linguistically to the Nile languages, from which a more distant line of kinship runs through the Wakuasi to the Masai, between Bantus and Gallas. From Monbuttu, Azandeh, Abarmbo, Amadi, Abangba, Krej, and Golo, Müller forms an Equatorial family of languages with which other tribes not yet accurately known, further to the west, have probably to be co-ordinated. This family stands in some sort of connection with the Bantu; but it will certainly have yet to be more precisely established.

On the west coast, from the Niger to the mouths of the Senegal, the languages of smaller negro tribes form the transition from the Bantu languages, of which this is the most northerly limit, to the Hamitic idioms of North-West Africa. Of these the Efik, Eboe, and Yoruba languages resemble the Bantu in important points; like them they are above all prefix-languages. To them are linked more specialised idioms like the Ewe of Ashantee, the Ga of Accra, the Tshi; these Lepsius regards as an interdependent group, which, starting from the ground of the Bantu languages, has retrograded to poverty of forms. The Kroo and Vei languages resemble them, while the Temne and Bullom of Sierra Leone again stand nearer to the Bantu type in their nominal prefixes and classification of conceptions. Even the more modified widespread languages of the Wolofs and Fulbes seem not to be wholly without traces of Bantu affinities.

Of writing properly so called neither do the modern negroes show any trace nor have traces of older writing been found in negro countries. The drum-language referred to above and "message-strings" occur also among negroes. Among the Jebus these are completed by having objects knotted into them; for example cowrie-shells placed face to face denote friendship; coals, death; an arrow, or more recently a bullet, war. The negritos of the Pacific, the North American Indians, the Hyperboreans, are, with their picture-writing as a means of noting memorable events, superior to the African negroes, who possess to our knowledge only the merest rudiments of this in the shape of notched sticks and marks of ownership, such as those shown on p. 36 of vol. i.; while anything written is looked upon with superstitious dread. Creditors and debtors note down the amount of a loan by incisions in a stick according to the number of units of value. Similarly traders or porters, when on a journey, record the number of camps on their staves, and indicate specially important occurrences by increasing the size or modifying the shape of the notches. If a conspicuously fine gourd comes up, promising to be a desirable vessel for water, the owner makes haste to assert his title to it by a

recognised mark, notched upon it with a knife. Does not this remind us of ancient Germanic customs? Perhaps, too, a superstitious sentiment plays a part. At the same time the often-quoted construction of a special writing for the Vei language, by negroes of that tribe, has shown that under certain impulses the negroes' talents are equal to this undertaking.

## § 2. THE PASTORAL RACES OF EAST AFRICA

Herdsmen and tillers—The political part played by pastoral tribes, and their military organisation—Cattle-breeding—Oxen, sheep, and goats—Influence of herds upon property and society—Management of cattle—General ethnographic correspondences.

If it be the task of descriptive ethnology, by means of division into stocks and groups, to facilitate a survey of the confusion of races, it is harder to attain this aim in Africa than anywhere else. If language be in the first place considered, we can at any rate succeed in forming, in the centre of the continent, the large—unfortunately only too large—group of the Bantu races; and one division on the lines of physical characteristics can at least in some measure be brought into harmony with this. But then another comes forward with irresistible force, arising from the mode of life, and resting ultimately on the nature of the soil as well as of the climate. The distinctions between the settled agriculturists in the west and in the interior and the restless cattle-breeders of the south and west, are far more sharply conspicuous than the dissolving boundaries between the dialects of Africans or between the characteristics of their anatomical structures. The pastoral races of the continent are of essentially similar nature; their life and conduct, the world of their thoughts and dreams, are developed on similar bases; their collective stock of culture, both real and ideal, shows common features. This affinity of pastoral races extends far beyond the borders of Africa. To the Aryan of ancient times the weal and woe of his herds formed a centre of interest no less than to the Zulu of our own days, and the old familiar Bible-history stands out from the same background of pastoral life as do the legends of some wandering Galla tribe. It was no doubt something external that welded these pastoral races into unity; but who can say how many racial characteristics which we now might regard as original owe their impress to external conditions, climate, mode of life, and the world of ideas generated by these?

Going south from the 6th parallel of South latitude to the south-east point of Africa, we find members of the Bantu family maintaining the sharply-defined connection between the pastoral and the warrior life; and from the same line to 5° North three distinct groups of races lie in comparatively narrow districts side by side, all keeping the same form of culture. There are, in the east, the Hamitic Gallas and Somalis; in the west, members of the Masai-Shuli group (Masai, Wakuafi, Turkanas, Sukus, Langos, Shulis, Baris, Dinkas); in the south-west, Bantus (Wanyamwezi, Waganda, Wanyoro). Nowhere does so profound an ethnographic agreement appear in conjunction with so great racial and linguistic differences. It is a gradual and slow stage from the Indian Ocean through the Arab colouring to brown and deepest brown, from the Caucasian to the negroid type the languages are far apart, and yet all these races are shepherds of one and

the same stamp, and all alike maintain a similar military organisation. The total of correspondence between these races and the negroes is so great that, when the two are set close together, it is often only colour and language that can sustain any distinction. From the Nubians to the most southerly Kaffirs with a prevailing absence of bows and arrows, there is the possession of the leather shield strengthened by a bar, and of the thrusting or throwing spear ; the expression of a military organisation which again shows striking points of agreement from the most northerly Gallas to the most southerly Kaffirs, more especially in the practice of setting apart a warrior-caste of unmarried men, with all possible privileges to counterbalance the burden of military service, in the tactics, even in the fighting finery. The development of a military aristocracy out of a race, rude and vigorous in itself, has been, from the point of politics and culture, the most important occurrence for the whole of East Africa. It has not stopped with the race from which it emanated, but has bound many races from the Fish River to the Blue Nile more firmly together for protection, conquest, and plunder. We meet with it, essentially alike in character, throughout the whole region. A portion of the men of the tribe separate themselves into a caste, refuse to marry, live only on meat, blood, and

Masai warrior in full dress. (From a photograph by Dr. Fischer.)

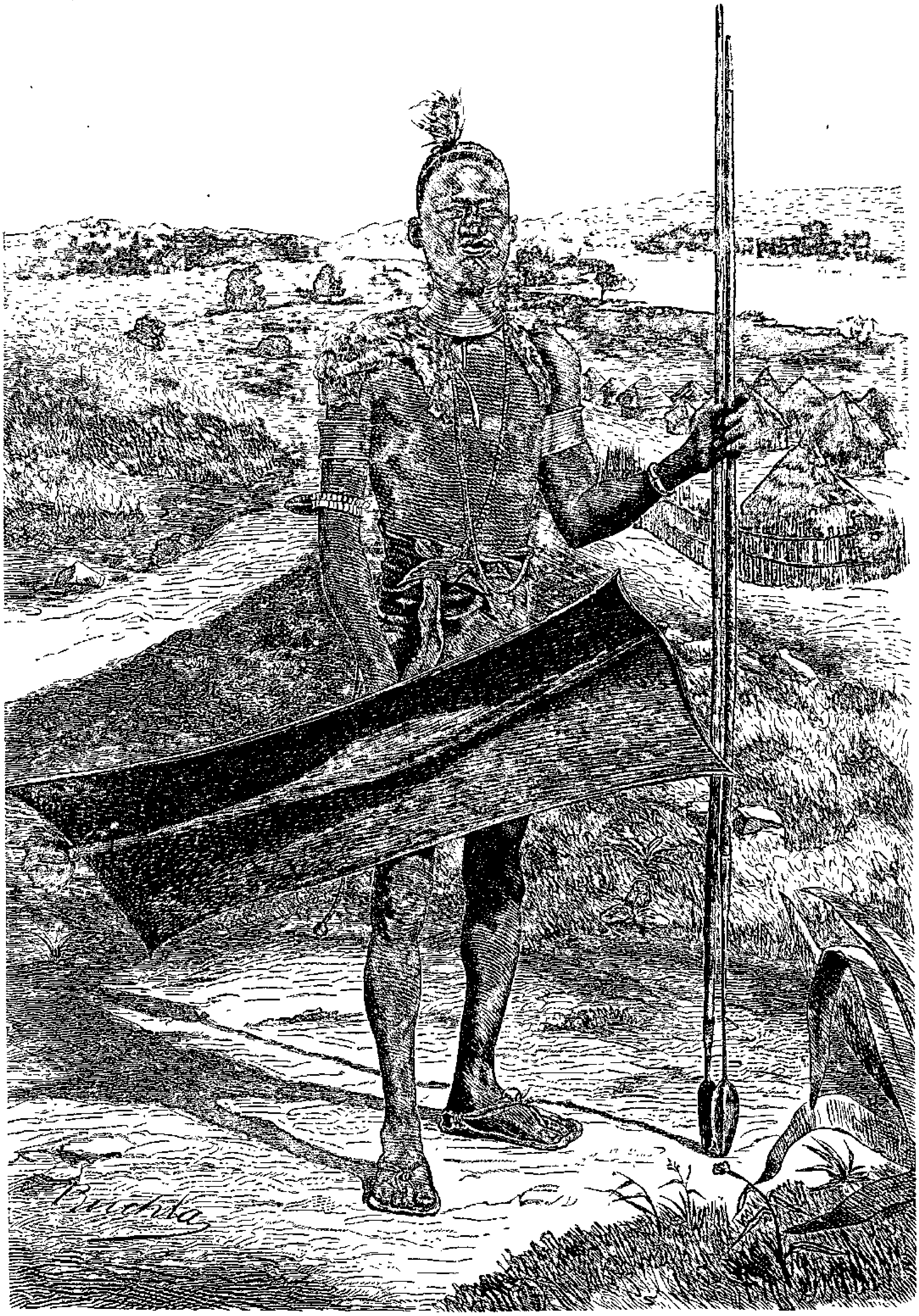
milk, and go about naked or nearly so, preferring to every other covering the oval shield cut from an ox-hide and gaily painted, and the head-dress of feathers or pieces of leopard skin. Bows they put aside; the thrusting spear, often supplemented by a bundle of throwing spears, is adapted to the tactic, in favour with the warriors of all these races, of a bold advance in close masses.

We may pass over many points of similarity or agreement to which our detailed description will bring us back, and need only in conclusion mention some accordances in funeral customs. Among all African pastoral peoples burial in the cowhouse is found. Speke's follower Bombay, again, recognised a custom of his own tribe, the Wayao, on the Rovuma, in the Wahuma practice of keeping the navel-string through life, and burying it outside the hut in the case of a woman, inside in that of a man.

Warrior of Unyoro. (After a photograph by Richard Buchta.)

Negro cattle-breeding finds its great development in the east of the continent, which from the Middle Nile, about 12° North latitude, to the southernmost point, is inhabited exclusively by pastoral tribes. Oxen are the principal stock; and next to these goats, pigs, sheep, dogs, and lean fowls, come into consideration as domestic animals. In this more general survey we pass over the tribes that combine a little cattle-breeding with a predominant agriculture, and contemplate only those who live almost exclusively by the former. These pastoral tribes, which in the Soudan reach right across Africa, and extend almost without a gap on the eastern highlands from the Dinkas on the Upper Nile to the Kaffirs at the southern point of Africa, with whom one must further reckon the Hereros in the west, and in a certain sense even the Hottentots are one of the most important phenomena in the national life of Africa. Some of them despise every kind of agriculture; but even to those who do something in that way, it appears as a burdensome necessity. The herds form the centre—the centre of gravity—of the whole physical and mental existence. Among races who are pastoral and nothing else, the stock accounts for 99 per cent of all conversation. Thus Büttner says of the Hereros: "While they have not found it in any way necessary to establish separate words in their language for the colours of the sky and the grass, every tint of their beloved oxen, sheep, and goats, can be defined with the utmost precision." Schweinfurth, too, has called attention to the wealth of terms for the shades of cattle possessed by the Dinkas. If a beast is lost, the herd who is looking for it will so describe its colour, its gait, the size and shape of its horns, to every one whom he meets, that any one

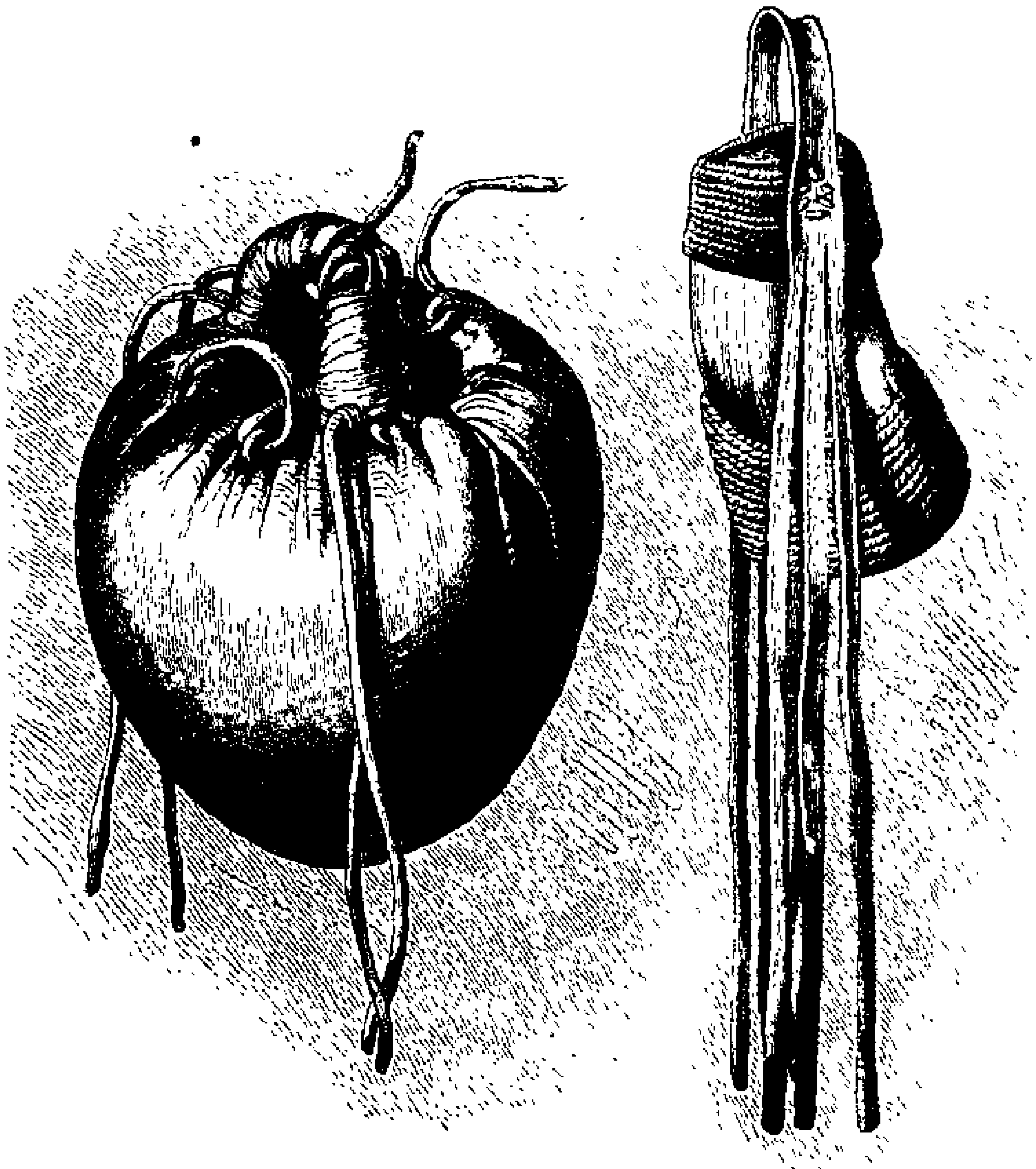
who knows his business cannot fail to pick it out among thousands. Again,



Shuli warrior fully equipped; village in background. (From a photograph by Richard Buchta.)

when they are merry and in good spirits, it is in the first place the cattle whose ways they imitate in their dances. Cattle-lifting on a large scale makes it

necessary to look carefully after the rights of ownership, and thus every herd of cattle bears its owner's mark branded on or cut in the ears. It is told of the Dinkas, the greatest cattle-breeders on the Upper Nile, that their love for their herds is often greater than for their family; so that when the Baggaras and their allies are on a slave-raid, they only need to drive away the herds, in the certainty that the owners will follow them. In the Kaffir and Bechuana wars of the English and the Boers, driving away the herds played an important part as the most effective means of coercion. This attachment explains also the dislike of the pastoral people to reduce their herds by slaughter; though it is strange to find these extraordinary lovers of meat and fat so abstemious. Even a herdsman who is serving a European for hire will not, without express orders, kill the best beasts for his master's table, but rather wait till they die of themselves, or are at the point of death. For this reason one may always see in the herds animals of great age; and in the dry season these perish miserably for want of teeth. To give any of the herd away without compulsion is quite beyond the reach of a black cattle-breeder's ideas. When the Basutos first began, in the 'thirties and 'forties, to go to the Cape as hired labourers, and then brought back thence the cattle that they had earned as wages, the notion of a voluntary present of cattle on the part of an owner of herds seemed so impossible, as Casalis tells us, to their chief, that he suspected they had committed a theft, or rather feared that some one had been laying a trap for them. This property, acquired counter to all his notions, looked to him to be not quite lawfully acquired. May not this way of looking at it have been based upon the fear that the great influence of the chief as principal owner of all herds might be undermined by the acquisition of this property independently of him? As a matter of fact, the increase of private property among the Basutos has had this effect; the chief's property in the herds is the strongest source of power and influence, and he is constantly thinking how to increase it, if necessary by plunder. Schweinfurth thinks that in view of the almost religious love, as we may call it, of the Dinkas for their herds, we might



Herero grease-pouch and horn—one-quarter real size. (Berlin Museum.)

feel reminded of the cattle-worship of the Todas, were it not that the Dinkas when feasting with strangers devour without scruple the beef which in their own herds they carefully spare. It is just the worship of their own property.

The sheep may be regarded as an animal to be killed, though it equally is spared as much as possible. At sacrifices a sheep is, as a rule, slaughtered. The Herero witch-doctors take auguries from the coils and glands in the mesentery of a slaughtered wether, like any Roman *aruspices.* A fat sheep forms a whole

Bechuana wooden vessels and spoons. (Berlin Museum.)

burnt-offering when rain is wanted in time of drought; the black smoke goes steaming up to heaven, and forms the clouds which pour down the rain. At great festivals, on the other hand, or at circumcision or funeral solemnities, cattle are slaughtered.

The third element of the negroes' herds—the goats—which, as in Europe, are left to themselves, would seem to represent a later addition. They have spread with unusual vigour only in the northern Equatorial region, where from the back country of the Cameroons to the Upper Congo districts they are the most important domestic animal. It is striking, however, that no goats are used in religious ceremonies. The pig has penetrated, in different directions, far into the interior

from European settlements; Cameron saw one tied up by almost every hut west of Nyangwe in the Kifussa country. In the east, Islam keeps it out.

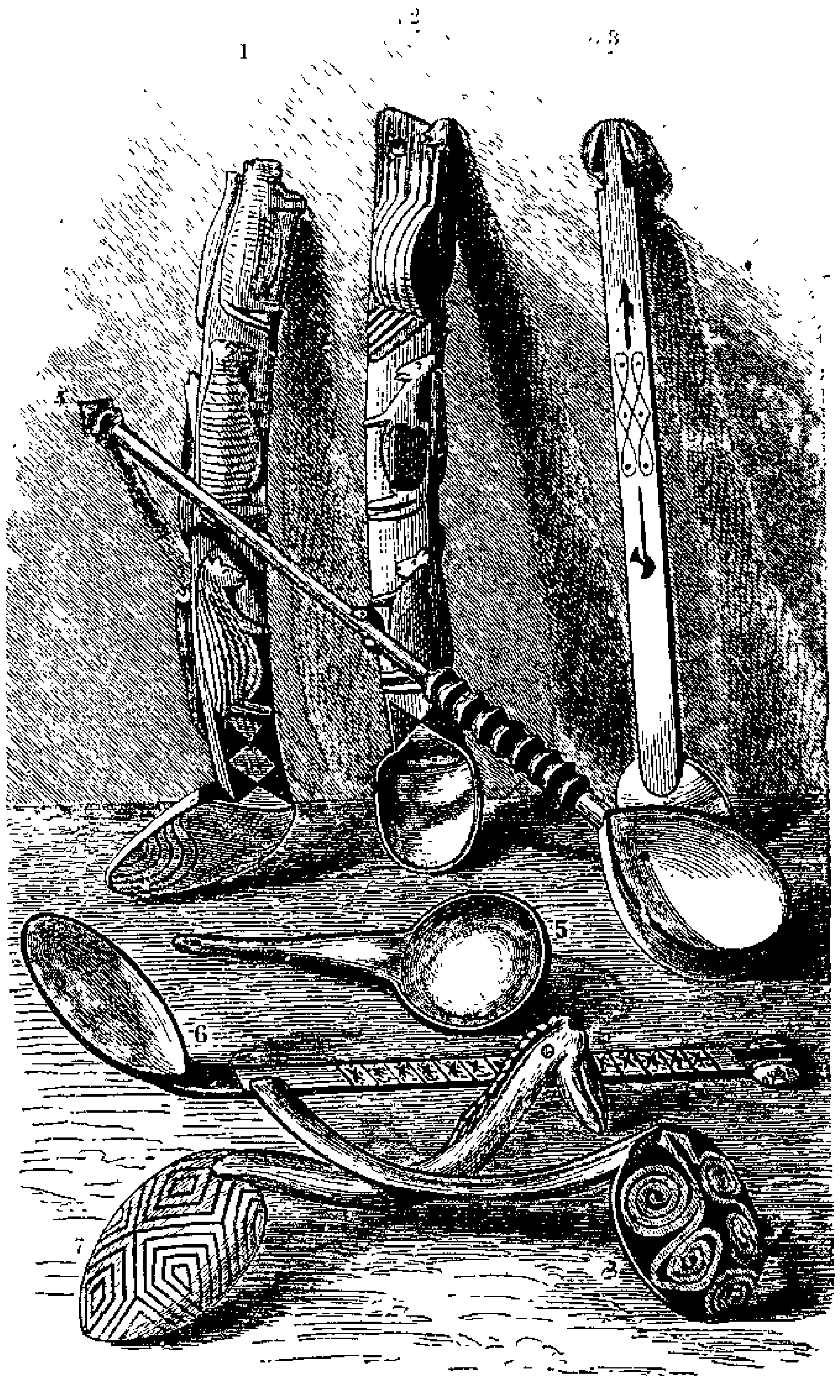
No Bantu language seems to have a word of its own for "horse." This fact is of very great historic significance; and the question has often been very justly asked how it comes that this domestic animal, which has for thousands of years been cherished in Western Asia, was not brought by the Arabs in the course of trade to the east coast, and thence into the interior. In many districts of South Africa the ground is very favourable for the use of the horse. As in North and South

Zulu wooden vessels. (Museum of the Berlin Mission.)

America, it would have fundamentally modified the natives' whole mode of life and their distribution. We may even regard it as probable that their capacity of resisting the advance of the white man would have been as much increased as in the prairies of North, or the pampas of South America. Whether the cause is to be sought in the *tsetse* fly, or in the influenza-like disorders which have often carried off 70 per cent of the horses in parts of South Africa, it is a fact that no negro tribe has ever been seen to evolve itself into a race of horsemen. No riding people before the Hamitic Gallas ever made their way across the Equator. Nor have the negroes become eminent as horsemen even where Arabs long ago introduced horses and horse-breeding, as in the Central Soudan, or on the Swaheli coast. Many tribes ride on oxen; while others, great breeders of oxen, like the Hereros and Dinkas, know nothing of this custom. On the other hand, oxen are universally used as beasts of burden. The ass has become domiciled only in the domain of Arab and Abyssinian culture. On the much-discussed question of

taming the African elephant, no decisive light is thrown by negro language or negro tradition.[1]

The dog goes all through Africa, as through the rest of the world. Everywhere he is the companion in the house or on the hunt. He does not, even among the most pronounced pastoral tribes, interest himself in guarding the flock, but he serves to keep off beasts of prey. Negroes' dogs, which lounge about every village in large numbers, are of hardly specifiable breed, for the most part ugly, bristly, and lean. There are slight peculiarities among the dogs of certain peoples, but not enough to mark breeds. As the negro never gives his dog sufficient food, these friends of the house are thievish in the highest degree; among many objectionable qualities they have one that is permanently useful, being full of the bitterest hatred to all hyenas. Some negro tribes, particularly in the interior, breed dogs to eat, like the Malays and Polynesians. The Mandanda, who are, according to Erskine, also dog-eaters, give as their reason for it that the Zulus do not like dog, but do like goat, and that if they kept goats instead of dogs, they would soon be robbed of them by their oppressors. Rats also, which are found in abundance, are eaten by these tribes as well as goats; and generally many small mammals are eaten, and reptiles and insects as well.



Spoons: 1, 2, Mambunda; 3, 4, Zulu; 5, 6, Bechuana; 7, 8, no certain information—old pieces from the Lichtenstein Collection. (Berlin Museum.)

The field ministers to necessity, the herd to luxury. The man who has no cattle belongs to the lower class, though he garner never so much corn or millet; for only with cattle can he buy things which extend beyond his immediate wants. It is only he who has cattle who can woo a wife, or offer sacrifices of traditional value, heal diseases, or attend funerals. Hence the great political part played by cattle-breeding and the respect paid to it. A Zulu or Wahuma king is the

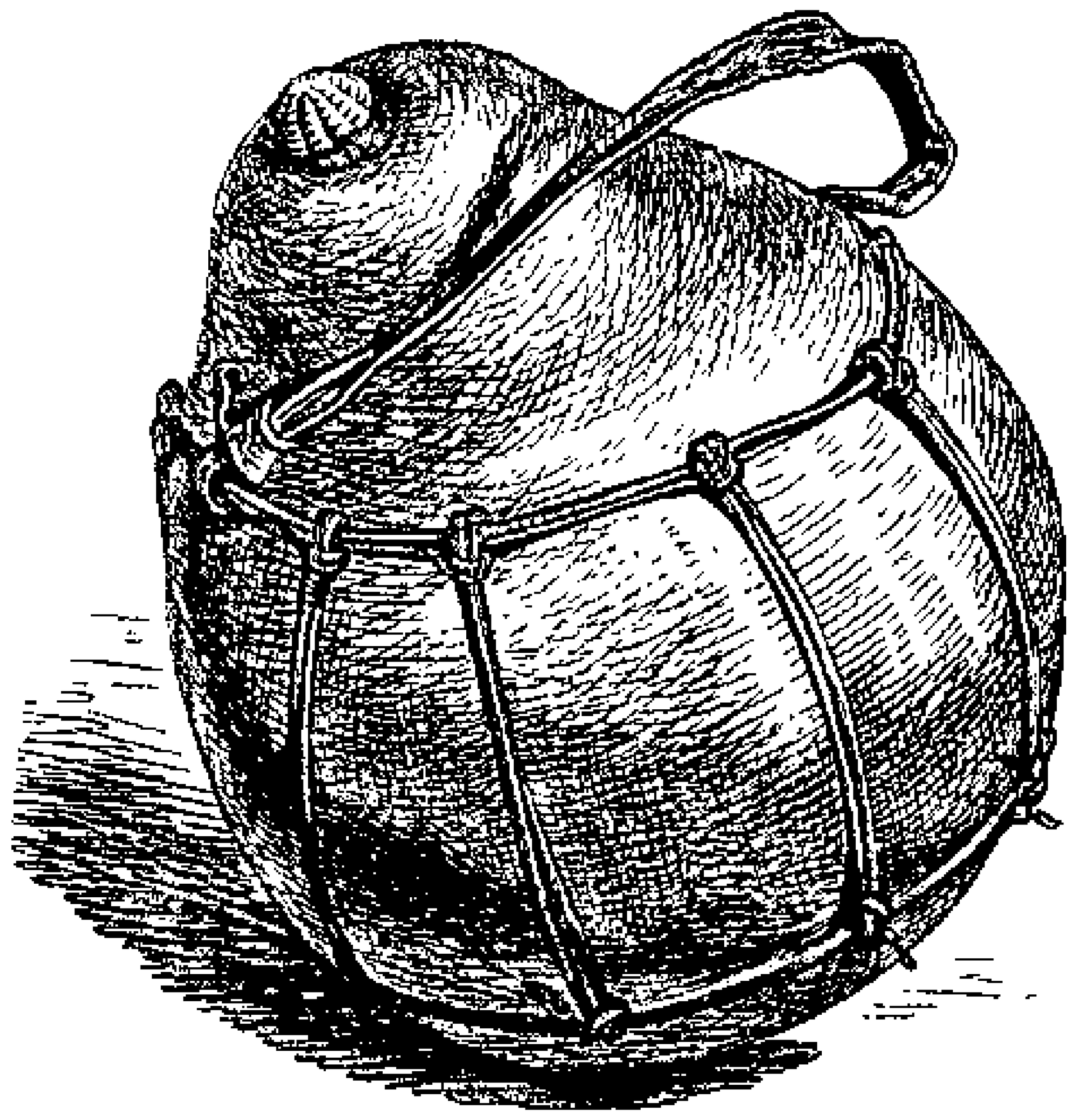
[1] [Roman coins, however, are said to show that the elephants familiar in invasions of Italy were of the African species.]

administrator of a national treasury of herds, and, with his chiefs, looks upon the tending of cattle as a noble sport. One of his most important occupations is to receive every morning a report on the condition of the herds, the sickness and the death among them; in which colour, shape of horns, and the like are not forgotten. Then he inspects a herd and selects his provision for the day, six to ten head, it may be. From these herds the army is victualled and material supplied for its shields. The primary object of nearly all the raids or campaigns made by the Zulus is the capture of herds; handsome oxen are the most welcome and most honourable trophies that the returning army can show. Men alone enter the cattle-kraal. They milk the cows, lead the herds to pasture and water, and the sheep and goats as well. They delight in performing this work. The herdsman knows every beast in his herd, and calls it by name.

The owner often does not confine himself to the affectionate observation of all his animal's peculiarities; just as he likes to show off his own body by ornaments and many a grotesque disfigurement, so does he make his oxen a subject for art. All Kaffir tribes seem to have a fancy for idle amusements of this kind. Livingstone says, speaking of the Makololo: "They spend much time in ornamenting and adorning their cattle. Some are branded all over with a hot knife, so as to cause a permanent discoloration of the hair, in lines like the bands on the hide of a zebra. Pieces of skin two or three inches long and broad are detached, and allowed to heal in a dependent position round the head. . . . They are in the habit of shaving off a little from one side of the horns of their animals when still growing, in order to make them curve in that direction and assume fantastic shapes. The stronger the curvature the more handsome the ox is considered to be, and the longer this ornament of the cattle-pen is spared to beautify the herd." At the same time the predilection of the tribe for their cattle is not confined to the production of these arabesques, but they try as much as possible, at least when they have come in contact with Europeans, to further the welfare of their animals.

Cattle-breeding is equally the basis of life and sustenance for all Bechuana tribes, but in varying degree. Those who live in the direction of the eastern hill-country make copious use of the opportunity for agriculture afforded by the well-watered valley-bottoms, while those who have been pushed out towards the Kalahari desert are no longer able to keep herds of cattle. The care of their small flocks of sheep and goats they leave to the women, and consequently throw themselves with all the more delight and ability into the chase. But still a flock, be it ever so small, remains the basis of their life and the foundation of their food supply. The herds of the tribes who live in better districts often reach high figures; for example, the cattle of the Basutos before their last war with the English were estimated at 200,000 head. The southern Bechuanas have a large-horned, middle-sized breed, while among those of the Zambesi region a smaller kind is found as well; this is called the Batoka ox, and was got by capture from the Batoka tribe. Livingstone and Chapman have described these interesting breeds; according to them the Batoka beast is not larger than a yearling calf, a good milker, and very tame. Its meat is excellent. None of the South African pastoral tribes has its whole existence based on the possession of herds to such an extent as the Hereros in West Africa, whose land is anything but propitious to the growth of cultivated plants. Their ox, the so-called Damara ox, is described as closely akin to that

of the Bechuanas, but less sturdy, slim, with small, very hard hoofs, short-haired, and with a tassel-like tail reaching almost to the ground, which plays its part as an ornament. The Damara oxen are specially valued for riding. The Hereros value their oxen in proportion to the bulk of their horns. They like teams of one colour, and, like the Namaquas, prefer the brown, regarding the light-coloured as weak. The cows are poor in milk; according to Baines it takes twelve Damara cows to give as much milk as one European. Upon their social relations the herds exercise an influence that is absolutely autocratic. The man who has no cattle is worth nothing. From their very earliest youth thought and eye are fed on the forms and colours of the animals. The smallest children forget their games to squabble over the value of this or that ox; one of their principal delights is to model oxen and cows in clay, and they attain to great perfection in this. It is no wonder then if from their youth up their whole power of imagination is diverted towards this idol, and if the tending of the herds is an occupation which the most respected men deem it an honour to perform. The sons of the most powerful have to lead for a period the life of simple cowherds. The chiefs themselves return now and again to the occupation of their youth; and this is especially the case when distant pasturages are taken possession of. It oftens happens that a respected chief superintends his herd for weeks together, living on simple food in still simpler quarters. Hence comes their amazing acquaintance with those matters. As their life in general, so their knowledge in particular, here reaches its culmination. As hardly any beast is specially marked, and no written inventories are made, the owner must keep the whereabouts of his cattle accurately in his head. He must, says Büttner, be always on his travels inspecting his cattle-stations, and by constant practice his power of recognising and remembering his cattle reaches an incredible pitch.



Kaffir gourd-bottle—one-fifth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

The creation of a herd is the staff round which the life of a Herero clings; without that it would be empty. When we see how property of this kind accrues by degrees to the individual, one of the most curious pictures of social life is unfolded before us, a solution in many respects satisfactory of the problem of distribution of property. The child as he grows is soon taught by his mother to ask his father or guardian for a goat; other animals are begged from uncles and aunts, so that the children do not live only on the common property of the family, but acquire their own beasts, to the milk of which they have the sole right. When the flocks come home from pasture of an evening, the children are seen on all sides, running from far off to meet them, catching their own goats, and milking them into their mouths. The kids of these goats belong equally to the children; and as none is killed, as the child grows his fortune grows with him. Presents of yearling calves will then pass to and fro to the lads or the

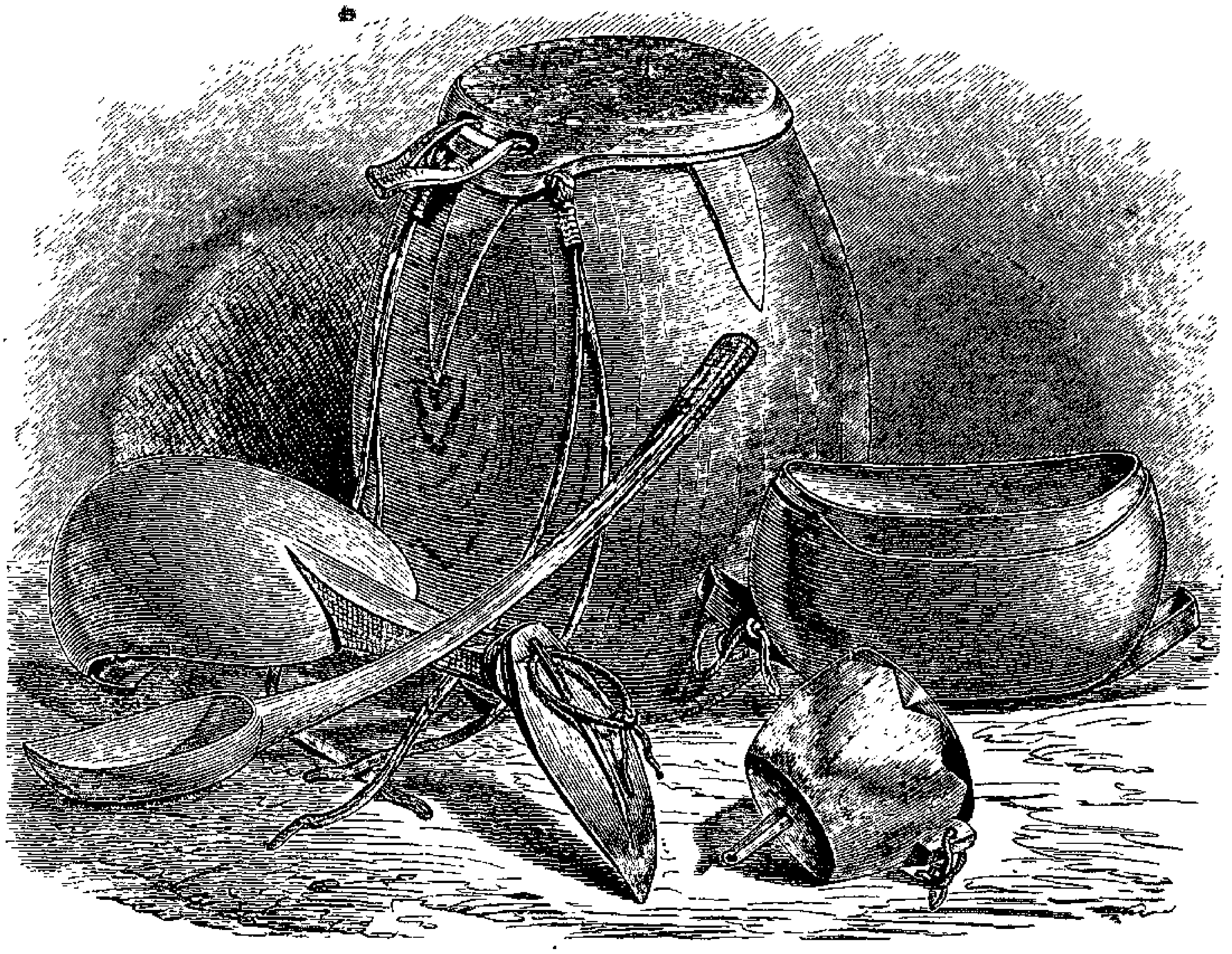
growing girls, and so a little herd is gradually got together. Besides this there are long journeys and constant roaming about, when every man of any fortune, be he ever so distantly related, will be asked for something; and the older and more powerful any one becomes the sooner will he receive a cattle-station either in ownership or in fee. Naturally the station-keeper receives the milk of the cattle which are entrusted to his guardianship, even if he have always to surrender the cows and goats fresh in milk, on demand to his master. The richer the owner is, the better off is the keeper. Then, too, opportunities occur for a further increase of the family splendour by inheritance. If the son is a grown man and already himself the owner of property, some day he inherits in addition from his father's family; then he is at one stroke in the ranks of the grandees. Just as a fortune in herds has the tendency to be always accumulating, so in the same measure is it open to the attacks of communism, from which the most wealthy is least secure. Heirs and servants think they have quite a good right to the wealth, and have to be kept quiet by constant little payments on account, and re-established in their loyalty towards the great father of the whole family.

Among the Ovaherero the whole law of inheritance is intimately connected with the breeding of cattle. If a man dies and leaves heirs under age, the survivors—the wife and children—do not actually inherit anything; but the able-bodied man who is next of kin inherits the whole *familia*, in the Roman sense of the word. Only a man can keep the herd together and increase it. The cattle of the deceased become his cattle, and what is the main thing—the servants become his servants. But also the deceased man's wives become his wives, and the children are now his children. And as it would seem, there is, moreover, no difference thereafter between his own and his step-children. The language seems to have no terms to denote "step"-relations. Even though words for "uncle" and "aunt," "nephew" and "niece" in the wider sense are in existence, these seem now to be used only in speaking of older and wiser people. Even in their parents' lifetime children call their uncles and aunts "father" and "mother"; and first cousins never speak of each other save as brothers and sisters.

This erasing, levelling influence of the herds of cattle and goats goes yet further, and seems to produce no unfavourable effect. Since the increasing herd cannot remain together, a levelling of differences in property and rank appears, as the result of the necessary shuffling that takes place in the stock. Every owner who is at all wealthy is compelled to have, in addition to his regular home-station, or *onganda*, a number of other cattle-stations or *ozohambo*, which are superintended by his younger brothers or other near relations, or failing these, by tried old servants. The Hereros further distribute their cattle in the smallest possible portions, so that an epidemic or a sudden raid of ill-disposed neighbours may not sweep away their whole substance at once. They hand over a few head for custody to their friends and relations, and then take over, partly as security, partly as a return for the service rendered, as many as they can get. Thus at nearly every station cattle will be found belonging to a whole number of owners. Yet it is seldom that the cattle of each individual owner are separately marked. In general each knows his own beasts, so to say, personally, by the form of their horns, their colour, and an endless number of other like signs. Thus, as each man has to a certain extent some of every other man's cattle in his hands and therewith security for his own, peace and at least superficial harmony is

better secured among all Hereros than one would expect from their anarchy otherwise.

We must not, however, forget that this wandering life, this dispersion in company with the herds, this want of settled habitation, breaks up the whole existence, equalises and levels in an unfavourable sense, and in no way conduces to the tranquil unfolding of the germs of culture. It is just the herds that foster the interminable wars, being as they are the most coveted booty. The herds do almost as much harm to salutary agriculture, whenever it has been started, as do the locust-swarms. And above all, by their means, life is set on all too narrow a foundation.



Herero milk-pail, bowl, funnel, and spoons—one-sixth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

In the Dinkas and Baris of the Nile we meet again with pastoral races no less absorbed, one may even say passionate, than the Southern Kaffirs, Hereros, Gallas, Masai, Wahuma. Those tribes, however, are almost consumed by their cattle-breeding; to no other occupation do the men devote so much care and labour. The customs connected with it are similar to those of South African tribes. The men attend to the milking, and take it by turns to mind the herds of the village. Calves live in the family dwelling-rooms. On the pastures the cows wear roughly wrought bells. They are not driven out till the dew is off the grass, for it is considered injurious. Here, again, cows are killed only on solemn occasions; among the Madis at the beginning of harvest. Travellers depict the wealth in cattle of the Upper Nile regions, so far as the stream runs through the Soudan territory with its abundant grass, as extraordinary. Among the Madis, who are

no exclusive cattle-breeders, the average number of cattle owned amounts to thirty or forty; even poor people have three or four. In Schweinfurth's time, in the countryside on the river banks, a few days' journey above Khartoum, "as far as the eye could reach, cattle were scattered on both banks." At the numerous drinking-places herds of 1000 to 3000 head afforded a magnificent spectacle.

Beside the economic, political, and, if one may so say, spiritual motives for holding the possession of cattle in high esteem, the purely physical one of milk-drinking forms a strong bond between the lives of the herdsman and his herd. Milk is the basis of the diet of all negro races who breed cattle to any great extent; and some, like the Masai, despise all vegetable food in comparison with milk, fat, and meat. Milk is taken almost exclusively in a curdled state; only children may be seen refreshing themselves from the udders of their goats or cows. The milk-vessels ought never to be rinsed. In this way a crust soon forms on the wood of the vessels, and milk which is sweet when poured into these old pails, very quickly turns sour in the heat. Similarly, milk ought never to come into contact with metal, if evil consequences are not to follow to the cows themselves. Thus the Ovaherero often object to pouring milk which may have been bought by Europeans, as they go along, into the tin vessels used by these; it is enough to make their cows dry up. After a time the milk is poured out into a calabash or a leather bag. As these calabashes are seldom or never cleaned, and thus always contain some remains of stale milk, when fresh milk is poured in it curdles at once; but the calabash is shaken until the curds and the whey are mixed up again. This is usually the women's business. Then the milk is eaten out of wooden pails with those large wooden spoons which we often find in our museums with their original ornament of animal figures. Owners of cattle who, like the Bechuanas, also till the ground, take it as a rule with millet porridge. Naturally, in shaking the calabash, butter is also formed. Usually it is not taken out, but left till, with the addition of fresh milk and continued shaking, the vessel is nearly full of it, and no more milk will go in. Then the calabash is put in the sun, and the butter when melted is poured for further keeping into special vessels, the horns and bags shown on p. 411. This butter, moreover, is not used for food but for anointing the body. Cheese is made only by Arabs, Berbers, and Abyssinians; the most consummate cattle-breeders of East and West Africa—Gallas, Dinkas, Bechuanas, Hereros, Fulbes—are not acquainted with it.

Milking is looked upon as an important affair, and is among most negro races only permitted to men. Wild as the cattle are, after running loose all day long, it is no easy job. Their hind feet are tied with thongs, the milker squats beneath the cow, with his milk-pail between his knees. But as the cow will not yield her milk unless she sees her calf near her, this has to be let out of the calves' kraal, and must first suck a few mouthfuls from the full udder. Then it is pushed aside and the milker milks, ever and again driving the calf away, till he thinks that he can draw no more without injury to it. Rather than that should happen, human beings would want. With particular cows, which as the Hereros think have the power to suppress their milk at will, so that the milker can entice nothing from the full udder, all kinds of ceremony are employed, partly to induce the cow to be so friendly as to give milk again, partly not to allow the calf to take all the milk for itself.

Next to milk the blood of the cattle forms an article of diet for the herdsmen.

It may also serve as condiment in the prevailing lack of salt. According to some, it has an intoxicating effect and great nutritive power. It is drawn from one of the superficial veins of the neck, which has first been ligatured with a loop of thong drawn tight. Among the Waganda a little arrow, with the point rounded like a table-knife, and bound thickly with string that it may not go in too far, is shot from a small bow into the vein. The blood is drunk by itself or mixed with fresh milk.

Male animals, oxen as well as sheep, are castrated when young, and only the best specimens kept for breeding purposes. There are no professional operators, but people like a lucky hand, and, if a beast dies after the operation, do not care to employ the same hand again. For slaughtering and cutting up they avail themselves of spear-heads.

## § 3. KAFFIRS, ZULUS, BECHUANAS

Situation—Position in the history of South and East Africa—Kaffirs and Bechuanas—Clothing and weapons—Building; villages—Agriculture and cattle-breeding—The family—Burial—Sorcerers and doctors—The chief; the state and the army—Military organisation of the Zulus—Law and justice—History of the South-East Kaffirs, Kosas, Fingoes, Pondos—History of the Zulus—History of the Bechuanas—Basutos, Makololo, Bamangwato, Bakwains, Bakalahari, Baharutse—Northern Zulus—Their participation in the slave-trade.

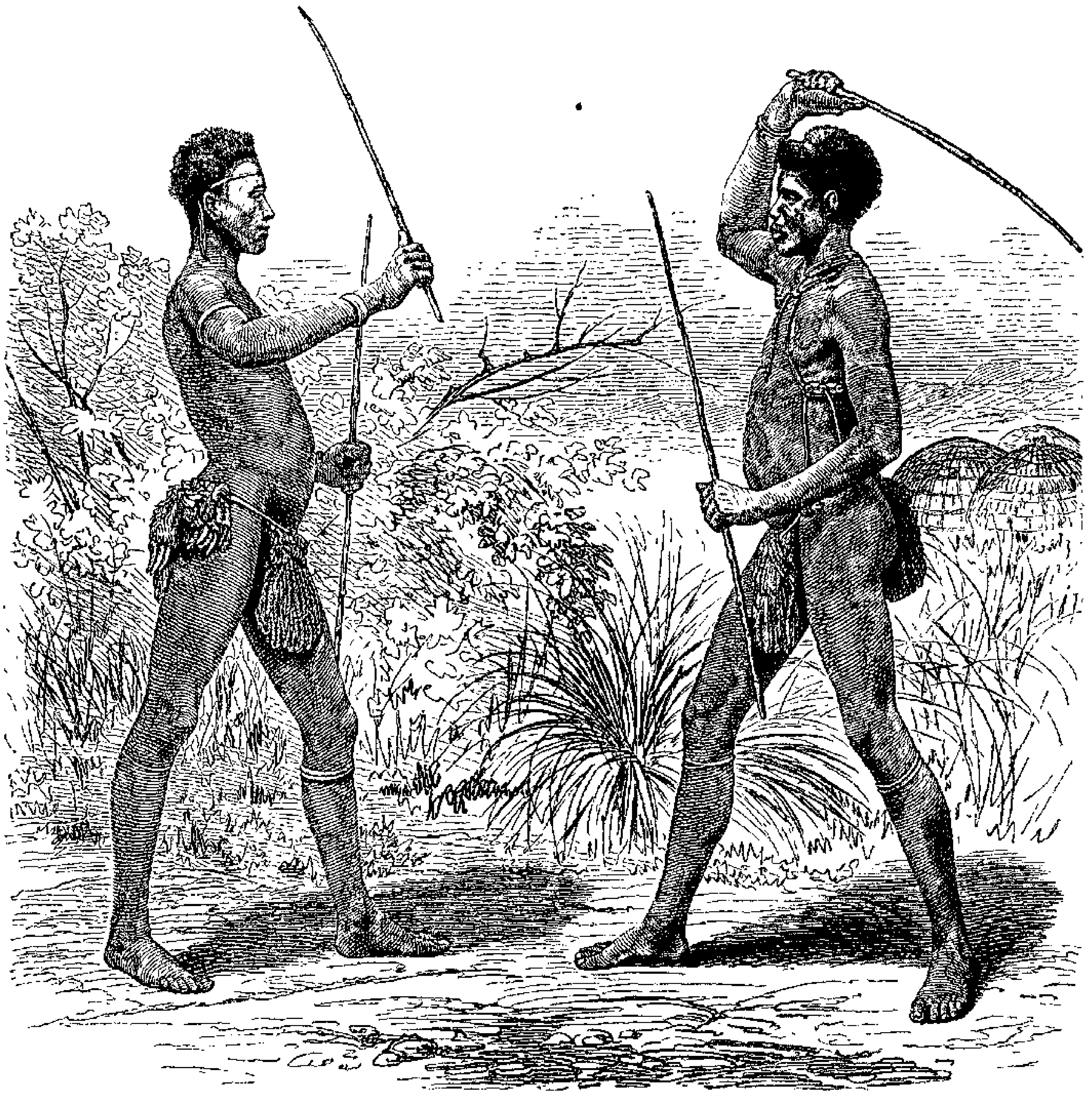
THE traveller from the west, on descending from the highlands of the interior through the mountain fringe of the Drakenberg to the low country on the east coast, at once feels that he is surrounded by a more vigorous and fertile Nature, and by a more independent and active native population. The beehive-shaped kraals of the Natal Kaffirs, in their square enclosure, rise in ever-increasing numbers; their herds are feeding everywhere in the pasturages, and the stately forms that approach to sell the firewood with which the traveller has so long had to dispense, or to deal in other goods, complete a picture which forms a sharp contrast to everything that comes to view of native life and ways in the Cape Colony proper. One notices at once that one has here to do with no indolent breed. The neat build of their huts, the orderly way in which the individual groups are fenced in with wattled work, make a favourable impression. Even if the inhabitants go almost naked in warm weather, one feels that one is among men who lead their lives on a regular footing, among herdsmen who live by secure property and their own labour, not by chance and the uncertain bounty of Nature. Such is the country of the Zulus, historically the greatest, strongest, most permanent power that the Kaffirs have till now founded. But these Zulus are only the most strongly marked, most spontaneously developed type of a group of races whose influence, partly destroying, partly state-forming, has made itself felt in the eastern part of the continent even to the region of the great lakes; and the picture is repeated wherever from the Fish River to the Equator we go up from the westward to the eastern highlands. With the geographical elevation an ethnographical rise in culture is here everywhere connected.

In eastern South Africa, as we go from north to south from the Zambesi to the the southern point, there live the Swazis, the Zulus, the Pondos, the Pondomisis,

Tembus, and Kosas. For two hundred years past the common name of Kaffirs has been assigned to them, no doubt in the first instance by Mussulman Arabs. It is impossible to mark them sharply off from their kinsmen settled more to the north and west; the connection being maintained especially by tribes on the Zambesi and Lake Nyassa. But through local separation, natural conditions, contact with the lighter South Africans and with settlers of European extraction, they have been to some degree influenced in another direction than the tribes dwelling more towards the Equator. Physically they are one of the most powerful negro stocks. In their mental disposition energy is the prominent feature, which has placed them alongside of the most advanced conquering and state-constructing races of Africa. Their chief ethnographic characteristic is the way their whole life is taken up with the interests of cattle-breeding. Without renouncing agriculture, they are principally herdsmen. Their lives and struggles are entirely those of the pastoral races who roam over the highlands of Africa from the Blue Nile to the Fish River. In the arts of settled life perhaps they are behind the tribes of Central Africa; but life in a temperate climate, and habitation to a great extent in elevated regions, embracing at the same time the best tracts of South Africa, and in recent and most recent times contact with white settlers, have contributed to raise these outliers of the African negro races. Contact with the white colonists has led to many bloody fights, in which the Kaffirs have shown themselves redoubtable foes; but it has also allowed the ideas and usages of Christianity and of the higher culture to get about, and prosperity to increase in many ways.

Among the Kaffir-group in the wider sense, we must reckon the Bechuanas. They occupy the middle of South Africa, where they are bounded by the Zulus in the east, the Namaquas and Hereros in the west. On one side the Drakenberg forms a sharp natural frontier, on the other the Kalahari desert is a kind of neutral territory in which the outcasts and landless men of the Bechuanas, the Bakalahari, meet the Bushmen and the most easterly outliers of the Namaqua. In the south-east, generally speaking, the Orange River, where Bechuana place-names occur, may be regarded as their boundary; in the south-west again the Veldt; while the most interesting and most important limit, that to the north, can nowhere be drawn with certainty. It may here be noticed that of all the groups of the Kaffir races, the Bechuanas can be least sharply delimitated from the inhabitants of the equatorial regions. Still in order to get at least a line of demarcation to refer to, the Zambesi may in a general way be assumed as their northern limit; although from Lake Ngami onwards, parts of various other tribes intrude between them and it. Thus, on the whole, the interior of South Africa may be designated as the dwelling-place of the Bechuanas; but at the same time it must be specially pointed out the "Bechuanaland" of political geography, as the term is used in South Africa, embraces a more limited region between the Kalahari, the Boer Republics, and Griqualand. As they nowhere reach the sea, they are everywhere bordered by other tribes, and special reference must here be made to that as a fact of the greatest importance for their history. Not less influential is the fact that the parts inhabited by the Bechuanas everywhere belong to the ill-watered, steppe-like inland regions of South Africa which offer little inducement to agriculture. No large masses of population can here find subsistence, and the first condition of a steady development in culture, density of population, is lacking.

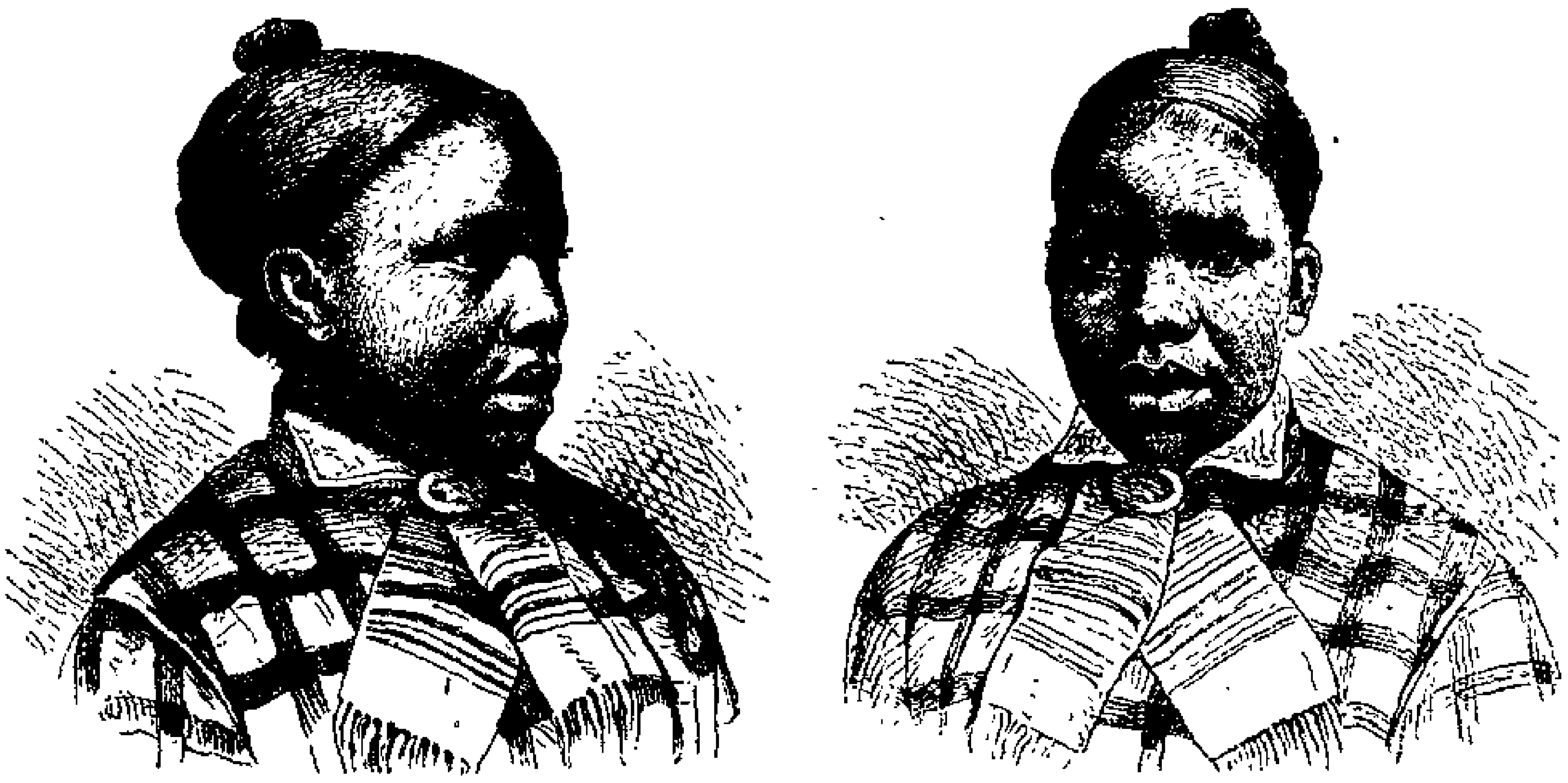
The total number of the Bechuanas cannot be estimated at over 350,000. Spread over a territory of at least 120,000 square miles, this sparse population is not only an element of weakness from the point of view of culture, but also politically very prejudicial to the conditions under which the Bechuanas live; for but few of their tribes are by themselves capable of vigorous warlike action against such powerful neighbours as they have in the shape of the Kaffirs on their east frontier. The remainder are broken up and disconnected.



Zulu lads fencing. (From a photograph belonging to the Berlin Mission.)

In the mobile, warlike, pastoral Kaffir races there resides a power of expansion which needed only an object to call it forth in order to attain a potent effect, and fundamentally to transform the ethnological condition of wide districts. Such an object was afforded by East Africa, which had allowed room for the development of numerous peaceful agricultural peoples, without, like the countries of the interior, prohibiting cattle-breeding by its climatic conditions, and thereby at the outset foiling the nomad's power of impact. Like devastating streams, the wandering Kaffir tribes poured into the fertile lands by the Zambesi and even to the highlands

between Lake Tanganyika and the coast, where in Unyamwesi they fell in with the advance-guard of a wave of Hamitic peoples coming from the north. The older inhabitants of this region have been in part destroyed; part of them cultivate as bondmen the once free soil of their home; while yet another part have not yet given up the struggle, or still dwell undisturbed in settlements which the storm of conquest has left to one side as it surged past. Thus the shock of the Kaffir tribes scatters and alters the agricultural peoples of the east, who far surpass their conquerors in culture and civilization; but this culture begins on its side, in conjunction with the inevitable mixture of races, imperceptibly to transform the nature of the victorious conquerors. In course of time new races will develop themselves, and the origin of the former invaders will in the same way be recognisable only in details of dress, equipment, and customs; such traces as those in which we think we discover on the middle and upper course of the Zambesi the



Christian Basuto girl. (From photograph belonging to the Berlin Mission.)

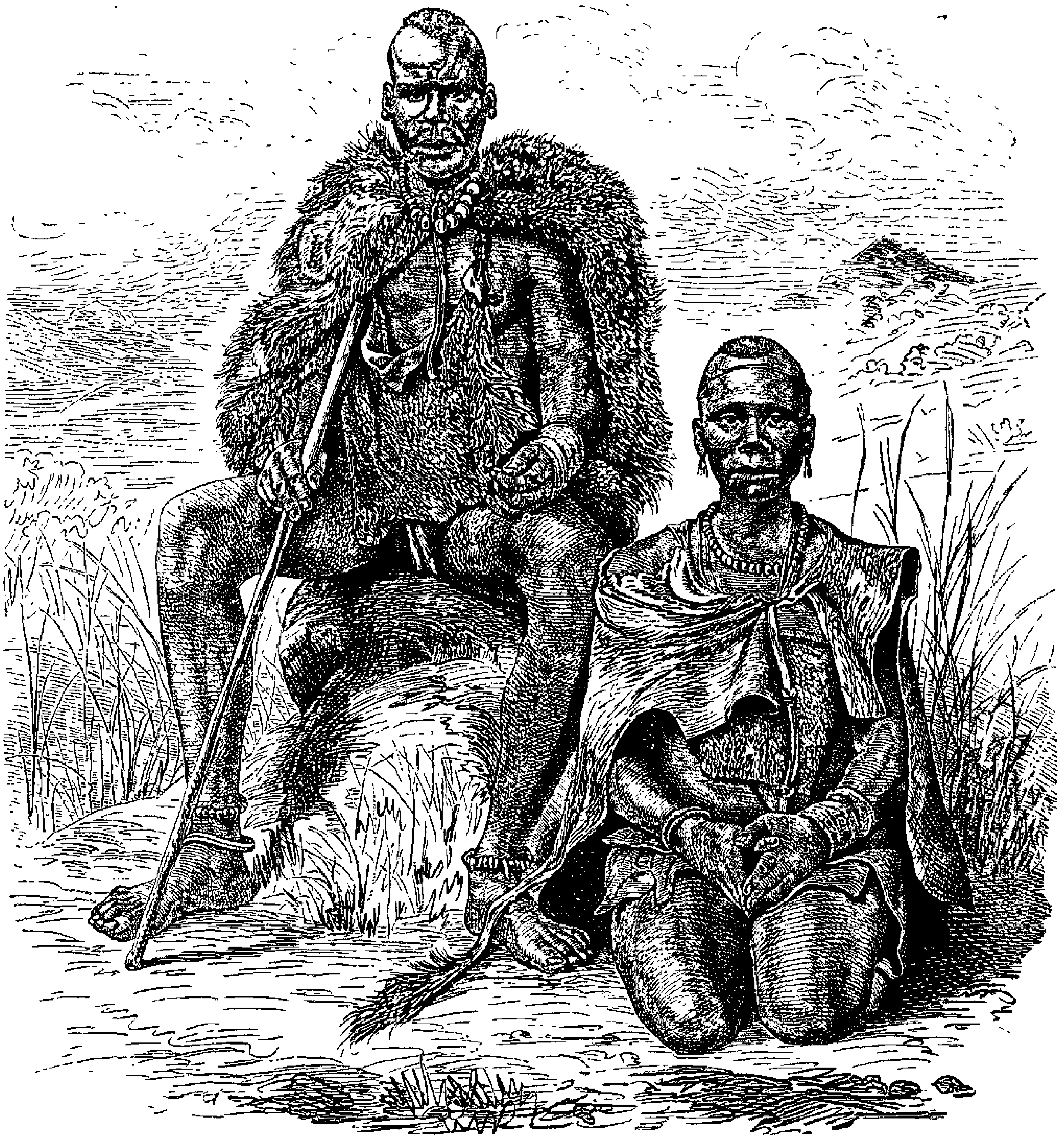
remains of ancient migrations. We can only understand the nature and motives of the Kaffirs when we try to gain a survey of their history development so far as it is known to Europeans. But first let us give a sketch of their physical and intellectual qualities, of their stock of culture and their manners, to show that we have to do with a group of closely connected and peculiar tribes.

We must look for the handsomest and most powerful Kaffirs among the south-eastern tribes, especially the Zulus. Tall, with well-developed muscles and of a fresh healthy appearance, the younger men at any rate not rarely deserve the enthusiastic description of "models for sculptors."[1] With older people a certain flabby fatness often makes the original attractive features grow uglier and coarser with advancing years. In general, however, the Kaffir countenance does not show the animal negro-type, though neither the everted lips are absent nor the broad flat nose. The chin is pointed, and furnished with a thin, in rare cases a thick, black beard, the face rather long, the eyes large and black. Of most tribes the colour is dark brown, of the Basutos rather a greyish black; short black hair, tufted and tightly curled, covers the head.

The Zulu is a Kaffir with more pride, a firmer will, and more rapid decision than

[1] [See vol. i. p. 17.]

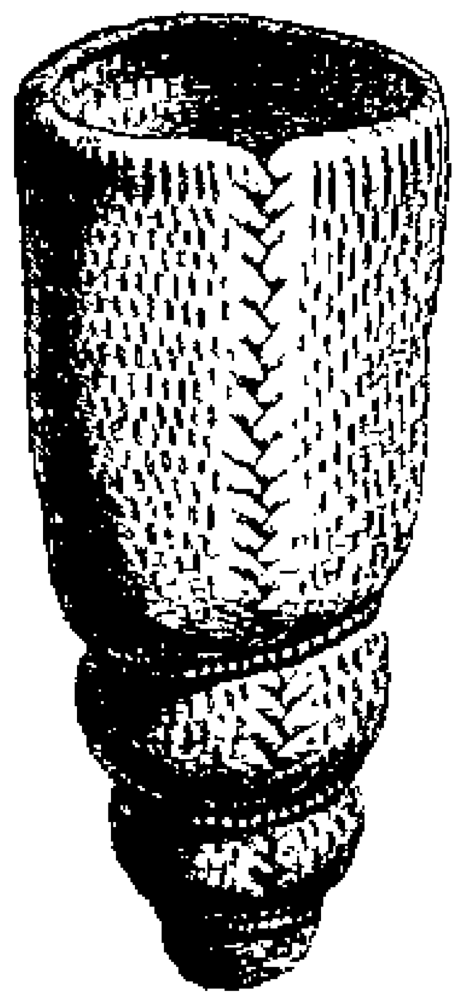
his kinsfolk, but still a Kaffir. A hardy life, training in the use of weapons, and, not least, the abundant food supplied by the herds which raids are constantly increasing, make him higher in stature, more powerful, handsomer, with a greater look of being "all there" than the average Bechuana. Crossing, as a result of the constant importation of new blood by prisoners of war, has no doubt its share in



Basuto chief and girl. (From photograph belonging to the Berlin Mission.)

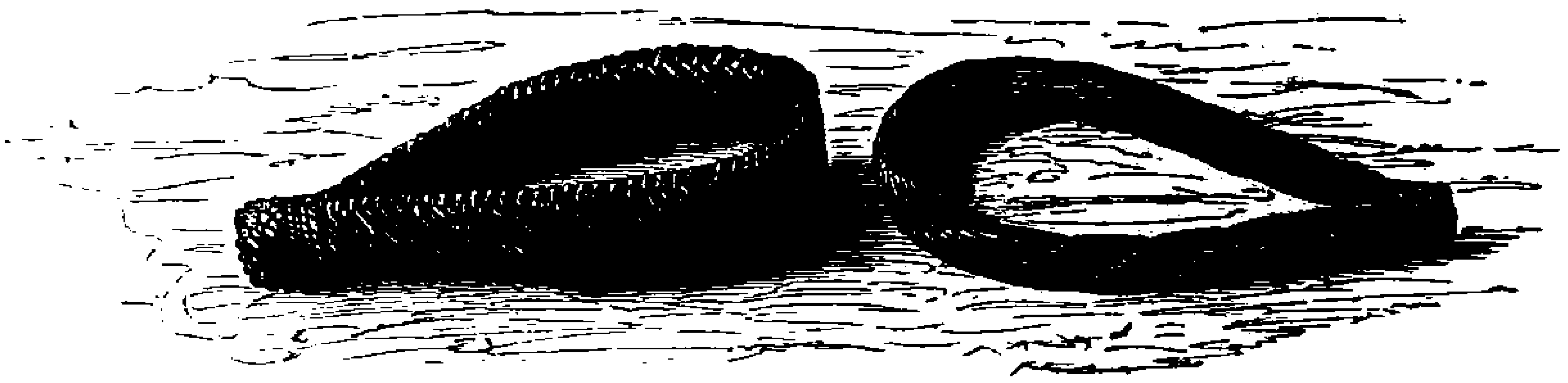
the nobler features, which are not infrequently conspicuous in the Zulu physiognomy. The spontaneity of his character finds a sufficient explanation in his more permanent political organisation, within which he is prouder and more masterful than the Bechuanas; though he will not only grovel in the dust before his tyrant, but will let himself down to beg tobacco from every white man. He displays courage by perishing blindly in heaps, under the inducement of his military organisation, but prefers, when left to himself, to make an onset from ambush; nor has he ever risen to the determination and endurance of the morally more powerful European.

In spite of superior numbers and organisation, the Zulus have never brought a single war against Europeans to a fortunate end. Having grown up amid more vigorous or even coarser ideas than those of a kindred stock, the Zulu is no doubt often more prompt and manly in his dealings, but in words he loves hidden and crooked ways as much as the Bechuana or the Herero. On the other hand, the missionaries think that they have found him more accessible to humane ideas than many other Africans, and place great hopes in his conversion. So long as his passions are not excited, the Kaffir of the south is as merry and innocent as a child, loving songs and dances, and "as sociable as an ant." In this he is as good a negro as the man from the Niger or the Nile. But by his historical position he has been brought oftener than they face to face with serious decision, and has had a heavy burden on him such as those people know not. That he endured one of the most oppressive military organisations conceivable shows strength and endurance in the negro soul. The series of strong Zulu monarchs, from Chaka to Cetewayo—which was no accident; other Kaffirs have produced lines of such men as we see in Mpande and Makoma—seems to guarantee to the Southern Kaffirs, even in the midst of Europeans, the first condition of a historical future, namely, great leaders.


Sheath worn by Bechuanas. (Berlin Museum of Ethnology.)

The Bechuana presents in his outward appearance the softer, more gentle stamp of the Kaffir type. The difference is principally in the expression, which shows more mildness and pliability, while in the Kosa or Zulu the characteristic expression is one of defiance, savagery, and refractoriness. His bodily forms and his bearing are less massive and sharp; his stature is on the average less; he carries himself frequently with something of a stoop, his muscles are only moderately developed. His colour is in general darker than the Zulu's. The Bechuanas are one of the most versatile of the Kaffir stocks, and actively or passively, among those that have been affected by contact with the most various of other races. Hence beside the clumsiest, most thoroughly negro cut of face, we meet with the refined Abyssinian or Nubian physiognomy, especially in children. Here, too, mode of life and surroundings must naturally not be undervalued; at the lower end of this series of tribes, the head place in which is taken by the vigorous enterprising Basuto mountaineer, stand the Bakalahari or Balala, the weakly, small, submissive, improvident Pariahs of the Bechuana race. The capacity for achievement, both in body and in character, is less than that of the East Kaffirs. They may be designated as one of the least warlike branches of the Kaffir races, although under certain eminent leaders they have been carried along to brilliant actions. Enrolled compulsorily in their regiments by the Matabele, they have accomplished warlike feats of which they boast. Yet their strength lies in the occupations of peace. They provided the missionaries with their most tractable scholars, even though their subsequent performances did not always correspond to the expectations aroused by their capacity for learning. They are much fonder than the Zulus of acting as hired labourers for the colonists, and often delight in wearing cast-off European clothes. They are cunning, and look out for easy, and, under certain circumstances, dishonourable ways of making money. Innocent social gaiety seldom ceases among them.

In the clothing of the body all Zulu tribes stand on a very primitive level, not to be explained by the climate or other external circumstances of their place of abode; but perhaps the prevailing nudity, which forms the main feature of their costume, points, together with other facts, to their having come from a tropical region. At the same time, it is only children up to five or six years who go quite naked. For adults of both sexes a leather apron is the principal and often the only article of clothing. The grown man wears, besides the covering immediately prescribed by decency, which has to suffice of itself in hot weather, a leather thong round the loins, from which two pieces of leather hang, that in front 8 to 10 inches wide, the hinder one broader. The former, *isinene*, is with warriors often replaced by a bunch of hide strips, or oxen or wild-cats' tails. Grown-up girls and women also wear these aprons, often adorned with glass or metal beads, over which the women wind round their loins half an ox-hide, finely tanned, in such a way that it falls to the knees. Chiefs' wives, indeed, wrap themselves to the feet in a toga-like robe of the same material, or of cloth of



Zulu arm-bands of grass—one-half real size. (Berlin Museum.)

European manufacture. The Kosa women are better covered. They wear an upper garment fastened round the neck, resembling a Spanish cloak. Married women may not go out except with a special stomacher of leather or twisted bast.

Among the Bechuanas we never find the startling nudity of the Zulus; they modestly cover their nakedness with a leather band, fastened back and front to a broad belt. The women wear a pair of aprons before and behind, or, as a rule, several, one over another. The inner one, adorned with long leather fringes, glass beads, and so on, affords the indispensable covering, while the outer ones hang down to the knee. Girls up to a pretty mature age wear only the inner. All other articles of clothing serve either for warmth or for finery, and are laid aside in the hut as well as in the heat of summer. Here again the skin kaross plays the chief part. Poor people wear simply a hide; richer persons furs of jackals, jerboas, or wild cats carefully sewn together; rich women those of the silver jackal; and chiefs, leopard skins. Fortunate hunters alone clothe themselves in the skin of a gnu or hartebeest, with the tail displayed behind as a trophy. But at the time when game abounded, as when Lichtenstein paid his first visit to the "Beetjuanas," cloaks of antelope skin were universal. The woman's kaross is adorned with eye-like rings of hide which, moreover, appear equally to be found occasionally on them. On the women's cloaks trimmings of cats' tails are attached, not untastefully, in bunches on the shoulders.

A very similar taste prevails among all the south-eastern Kaffir tribes in the choice of ornaments. The beads, which come in ever-increasing quantity and variety into their hands in the way of trade, are hung in superfluity about their persons; strings of threaded fruit-stones, gaily-coloured seeds and shells, are now

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in use only here and there. A certain kind of heavy bronze arm-rings were bestowed by some Zulu kings on the most eminent warriors as a mark of distinction. Bright finger-rings and feathers in the hair are common kinds of finery; while amulets and trinkets, as a rule the same object serving both purposes, are combined in the neck-pendant. In the case of the witch-doctors this attains fantastic dimensions, as in the cuts on p. 365 and vol. i. p. 54. One of the most popular ornaments is a gall-bladder, or a piece of it, stuffed with fat and twisted round the arm; also simple adipose tissue, wrapped round the arm or neck. Painting with grease and red ochre is usual in war and at dances. Plugs, buttons, snuff-boxes, are carried in the dilated lobes of the ear. Beads, however, always count as the chief finery, as the plate "African ornament and utensils" shows. An ointment of a metallic lustre—a mixture of fat and a shiny micaceous iron sand—is characteristic of the Bechuanas, and is often worn in excess. Arm-rings of ivory, metal, leather, or hair, are especially frequent among the same people. The habit of disfiguring the breast by "scar-tattooing" is found among Basuto women. The Northern Kaffirs, too, have made little alteration in their costume, which is at the same time the cognisance of their dreaded race. Among the Matabele, head-ornament is much more varied than with the Zulus. Caps of tiger-cat or zebra skin may be seen, with long bunches of peacock's or eagle's feathers hanging down behind. Others wear globular masses of guinea-fowl's feathers as large as their heads, out of which a great feather or jackal's tail sticks up. Among the Southern Kaffirs the adornment of the head forms a marked contrast. There the hair is allowed to grow till puberty, at which time the Zulus shave the youth so as to leave a ring round the scalp, and the girl so as to leave a tuft upon it. Both are thickly smeared with fat and ochre: and the man's ring is in addition bound with ox-sinews and made hard with a mixture of charcoal and gum, so that it sticks up firm and shiny. Rosettes of feathers on the forehead, and bunches of them in the hair, are popular.

In the weapons they possess, too, similarity forms a bond between the Kaffirs of the north and those of the south; so that the weapons of the warlike Zulus may be taken as typical. Their weapons are spear, shield, and club. The two first are the principal weapons, having attained a greater perfection, and being held in higher esteem, than in any other Kaffir stock. The spear formerly was, and in tribes which have not been drawn into the Zulu military organisation still is, a javelin with a shaft up to 6 ft. long, passing into a narrow iron head some 4 inches long. This spear is light enough to allow of a whole sheaf being carried to battle. It is grasped with the full fist, brandished, and flung in a curve. In thirty throws at 60 paces, Lichtenstein saw only one hit on a target formed by a board 8½ feet high. For this not very accurate weapon, which led to fighting at a distance, Chaka substituted the assegai proper, a two-edged steel blade six inches long and about one wide, attached to a shaft over a yard in length. This kind of pike was used in the attack like a bayonet; and thus acquired in the history of South Africa a significance similar to that of the iron ramrod or the needle-gun in Europe. At the same time equipment with it did not exclude the simultaneous use of the throwing-spear for opening a fight. Next to the assegai, a mysterious reverence is enjoyed by the war-shield, or *ishilunga*, so called to distinguish it from the lighter dance or play-shield.

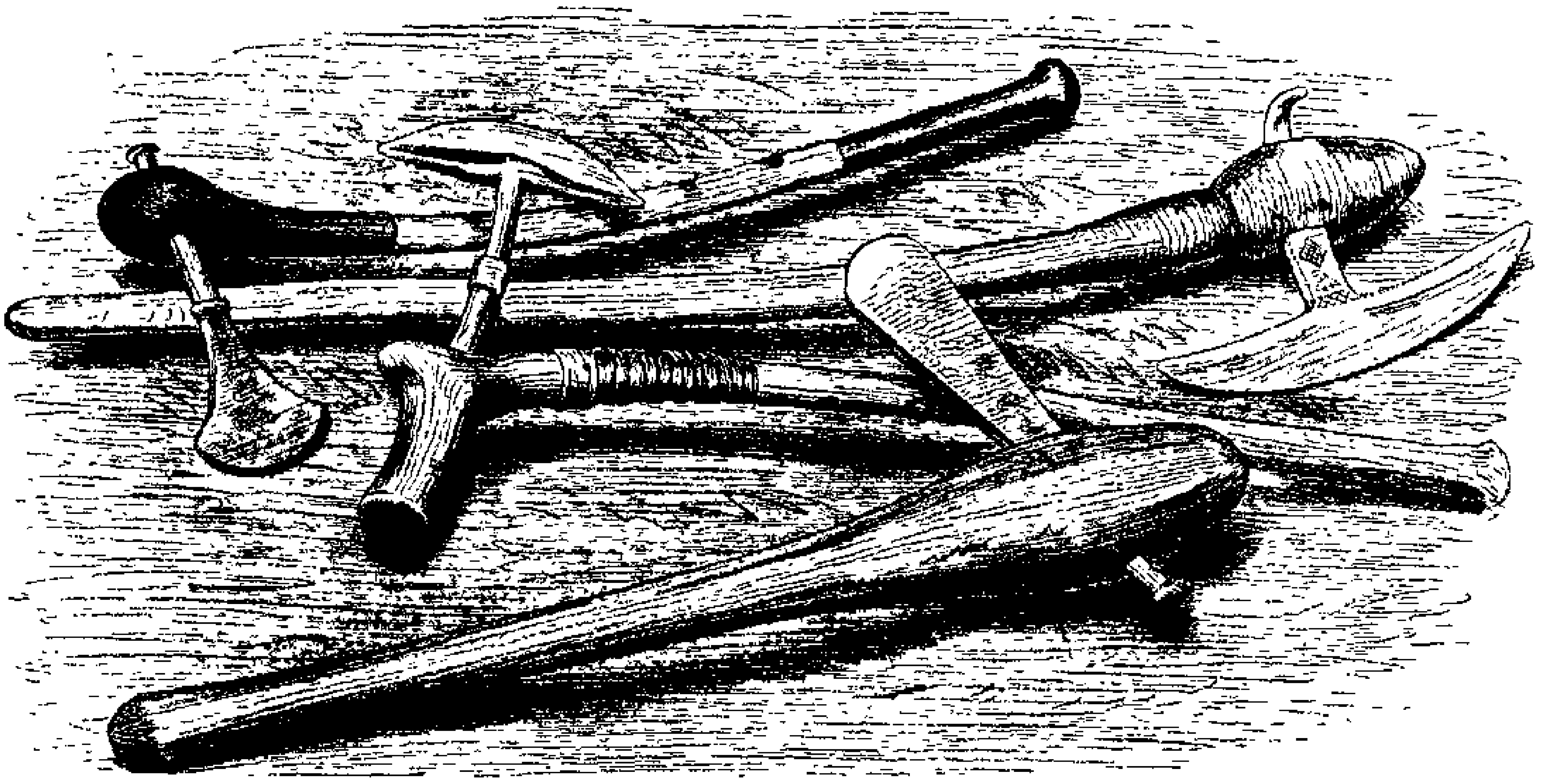
War-shields are cut, two out of one ox-hide; they are oval, and high enough

to cover a man of middle height up to the mouth. A rod is passed through a row of little slits in the longer axis; it is ornamented at the upper end with the tail of an ox or leopard, or with a bunch of feathers. Further, the shields are black, white, red, or black and white striped or spotted, according to the regiments to which their bearers belong. The number of the slits above mentioned depends upon different conditions. The shield is carried in the left hand. When the leather is softened by rain, the use of this shield is naturally just nothing, and in fact it is often rolled up, for greater ease of carrying. Similarly on account of its size it is a hindrance to fast running. In pursuit or flight it is thrown away; but in the former case it is the business of the train to see that no shield is lost, for much importance is attached to bringing back one's shield. Even the manufacture of them passes for a specially honourable business which chiefs take upon themselves; and care is taken to avoid waste in the ox-hides, since they have all, when possible, to serve this honourable warlike purpose. It is a dishonour to have the shield taken away, while the grant of one is a mark of honour. In the third rank among weapons stands the club, *kirri* or *tyindugo*, made of ironwood or horn. It has a knob as large as the fist upon a short handy stem; a sort of life-preserver, which also does good service as a missile against smaller animals, snakes, and the like. This does not belong strictly to the war-panoply; but in the hand-to-hand fighting at Isandhlwana it contributed to the decisive result.

Bechuana necklace of beads and polished teeth. (Berlin Museum.)

Far away in the north of the Zambesi country, we find in the hands of warlike Kaffir tribes weapons hardly to be distinguished from those of the Zulus. On the other hand, among the natives at the mouth of the Zambesi, and among the Makua, the assegais are provided with an iron spike at the butt-end, like the spears of the Sakalavas in Madagascar; and it is further customary to bind the weapons elegantly with copper wire. The modification of the warlike Kaffir character in the Bechuana stock is perhaps nowhere so strikingly conspicuous as in the insignificant part which weapons or implements of war play among them. There is no lack of weapons, but often enough they seem to serve only as specimens, not destined for daily use. Their principal weapon is also the throwing spear, less often in the simple form of the Zulu assegai than in various shapes with broad flat blades passing into reverted hooks, or connected with the shaft by an indented piece; or else at the transition between haft and blade appears a piece consisting of four rows of teeth bent backward and forward, which gives the weapon a terrible appearance without increasing its utility. Among South African races the fear of the Bechuanas' barbed throwing-spears is very moderate, and has not inspired into the oppressors of those tribes the dread which the military virtues of the Bechuanas were insufficient to arouse.

The same is true of the battle-axes which with tribes like them are in demand as show-weapons. The primary idea in their construction is always the same; the thin blade is set into the thick part of a light club. It may be crescent-shaped or like an axe or even a chisel, smooth or adorned with a simple ringed or fluted pattern. More practical is the two-edged dagger-knife, as a rule about 6 inches long and less than 2 wide. The wooden haft has projections above and below to allow of a firm hold; the sheath consists of two pieces of wood, fastened together by a leather covering. In battle the weapon is carried by a leather thong on the left arm, or else small thongs to fasten round the arm are attached to the point of the sheath. Clubs or *kirris*, lastly, are among the Bechuanas' weapons of attack, and these they decorate with elegant carvings. *Kirris*, with the thick part carved out of rhinoceros horn, are a form of weapon *de luxe*. Doubt has been expressed as to whether the Bechuanas originally fought with bows and

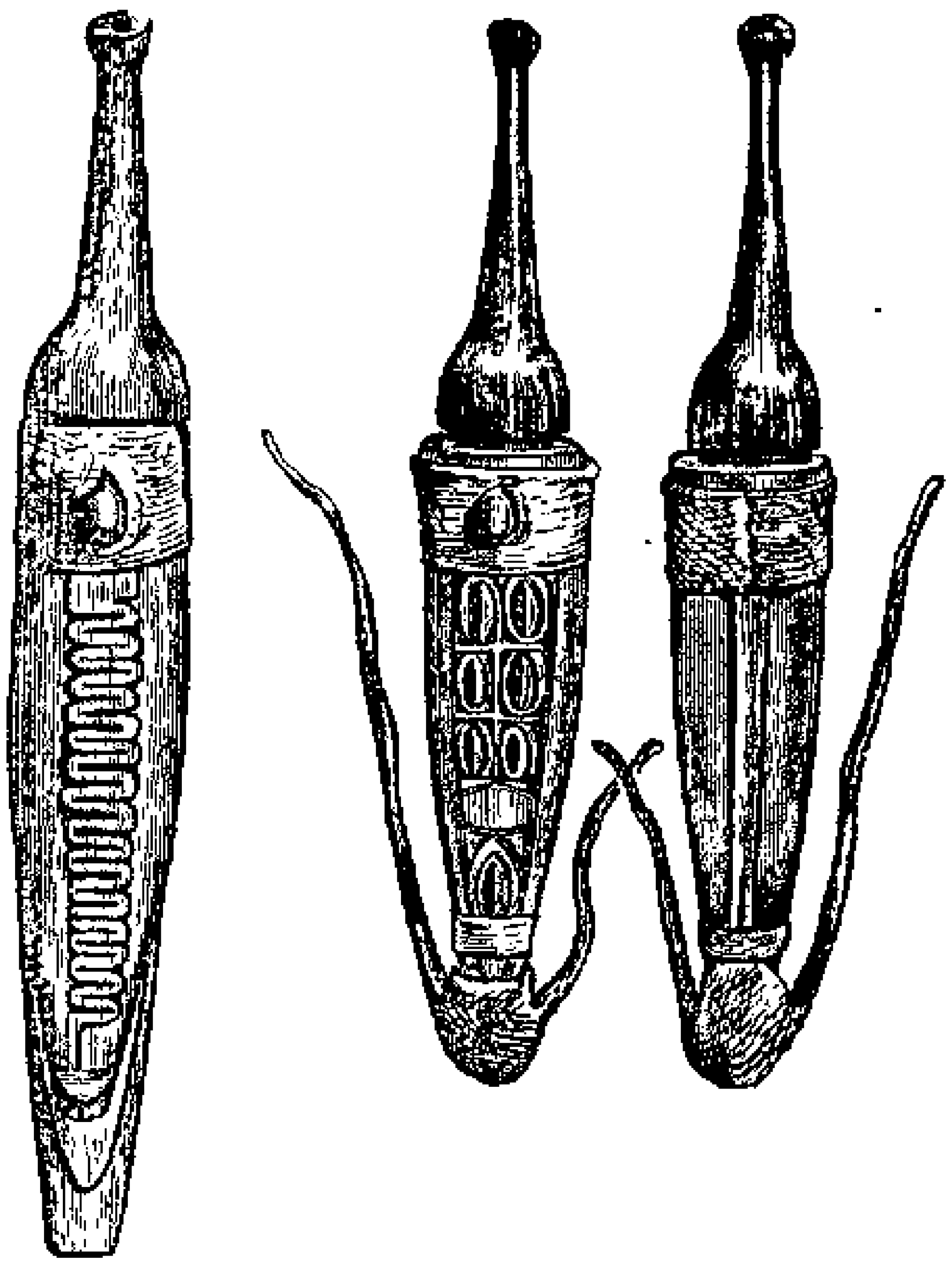


Bamangwato battle-axes. (Munich Museum.)

arrows or borrowed them first from the Bushmen. In recent times they have certainly used them, and they still definitely belong to the equipment of the Makwapa, Baroka, and Batsoetla. But when Lichtenstein visited the Bechuanas of Kuruman, he saw a Bushman's bow with a full quiver in the possession of the heir to the throne, and guessed it to be a trophy. The other, however, informed him that these weapons were kept in order to be used again against their makers, since necessity compelled the Bechuanas to take to these implements, which they had formerly abominated. Their herdsmen, when armed only with assegais, always got the worst of it in a battle against the Bushmen's arrows. The Zulu mode of arming has supplanted the bow as far as the district about Ibo on the Mozambique coast. The Bechuana shields with their short, scalloped form, offer a contrast to the more practical and serious shape of the Zulu shields; but otherwise are equally made of ox-hide with a feather or skin-bedecked longitudinal bar.

A cheering wealth of forms, obviously due to the love of finer work, recurs in the most various Bechuana implements. No other South African has nearly so much to show. In originality, elegance, and fineness of work their wood-

carvings exceed the best done by other Kaffir peoples. Their spoons, the handles of which represent all sorts of animal shapes, by preference giraffes, while the bowls are adorned with pretty arabesques, their cups with carved rims, the mortars for bruising maize, hollowed out of a half-peeled tree-stem, the most various dishes and plates, and not least the three-legged beer-jugs with the drinking-cup turned over to serve as cover (see the cut on p. 385), all offer a choice of neat practical shapes. Their performances in earthenware too are remarkable; among them may be mentioned the great paunchy store-vessel on three low feet, towering up to more than man's height, and covered with an inverted dish. It deserves to be noticed that this pretty obvious idea of covering one vessel by mounting another on it is frequently found among the Bechuanas. Regular huts of branches are built over these store-vessels, and the entire harvest of millet or maize is stowed in them. But many tribes leave them to stand out in the fields, as shown on p. 381. The Bechuanas are equally skilled in weaving, and make pretty mats and baskets. The very general three-legged stool with hollow seat and the equally universal head-stool are also found among the Bechuanas.

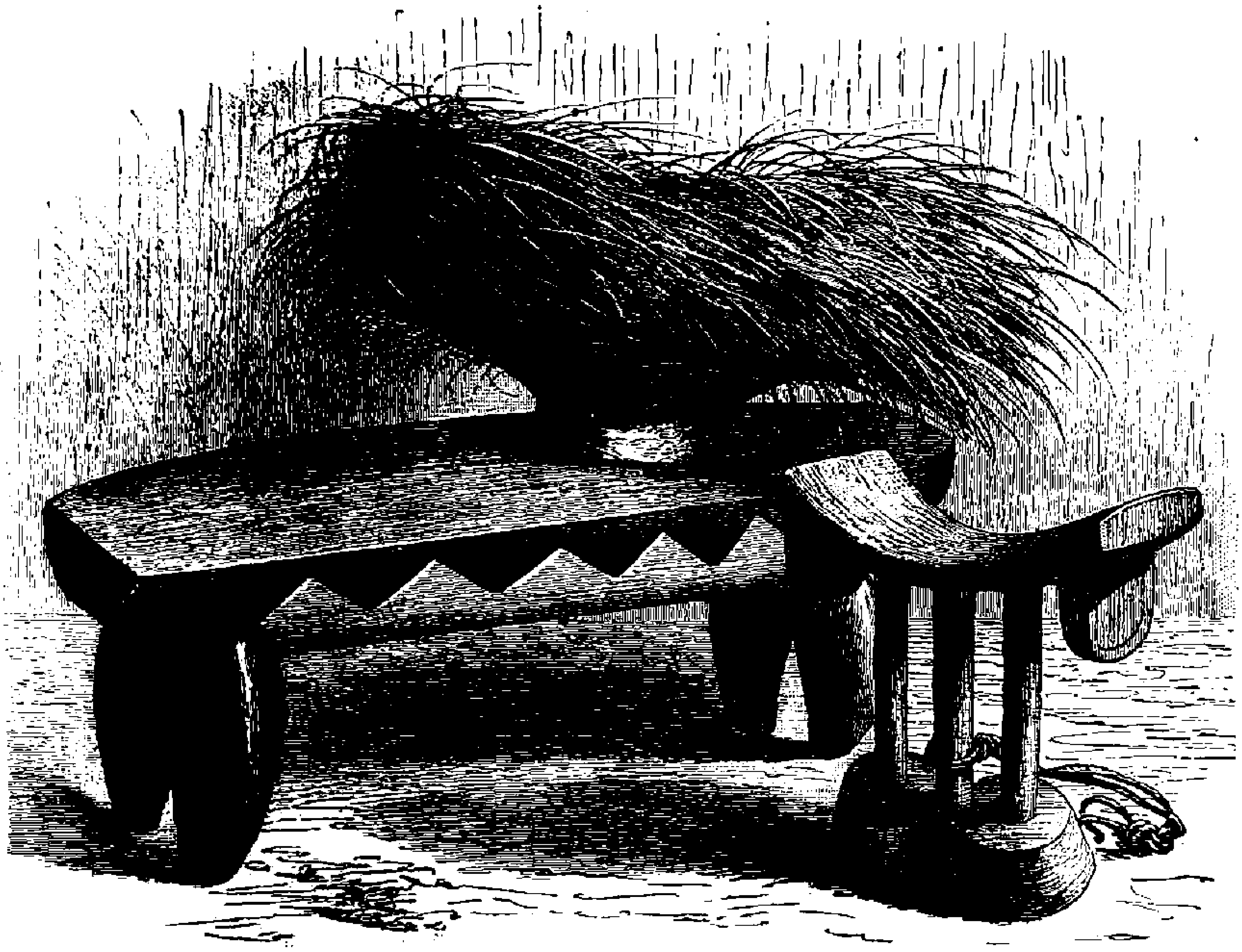


Kaffir daggers in the sheath—one-fourth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Compared with the industrial activity of these people, that of the Zulu and South-Eastern Kaffir is scanty. Only their metal work is excellent, perhaps owing to earlier Arab or European influence. As smiths they are so good that Natal iron is said to surpass English in quality; the spears of the Northern Zulus or Amaswazi are particularly famous. Among the Amakosa there is an interesting division of labour, of which Krapf gives a detailed account. The men carry on the trades of armourer, brazier, tanner, shoemaker, and tobacco-pipe maker; the women's business is tailoring, basket-weaving, and pottery. The term "tanner" is not exactly applicable, since the skins are prepared only by rubbing with cow-dung and scraping.

In architecture considerable differences prevail. Since according to his law the land belongs to the tribe, the Kaffir has to get the chief's permission to build. Like a true nomad he first puts up the cattle-pen, *isibaya*, by surrounding a circular space with a fence or hedge; or in districts where wood is scarce, with a wall of stones or turf. The huts, one apiece for the husband, for each of his wives, and for each adult member of the family, are erected in a semicircle close round the cattle-pen. The man gets some 200 pointed laths 12 feet long and sticks them in a circle in the ground; the woman binds them together at the top with liana-fibres, fastens grass or reeds over them, and spreads the space within with a mixture of earth and cow-dung. Newly built huts look like haycocks. The village, *umusi*, is a ring of huts surrounding the communal cattle-pen. The whole is further surrounded by a thorn-hedge, which in times of war is made so strong as to render its capture with Zulu weapons almost impossible. This

enclosure, like that of the cattle-pen, has only one gate. On the right, nearest the entrance, dwell the local aristocracy, the higher *indunas* in the *ekanda*, in other villages the senior man; and hither also guests are shown. The individual huts are just high enough to allow a man to stand in the middle; their diameter runs to 12 or 15 feet. The chief's hut is on a much larger scale than the others, but otherwise on the same plan. The Bechuana huts are circular in plan, and thatched in a cone, as are those of the South-Eastern Kaffirs, but distinguished from them in that a conical roof is set upon the cylindrical wall of the traditional



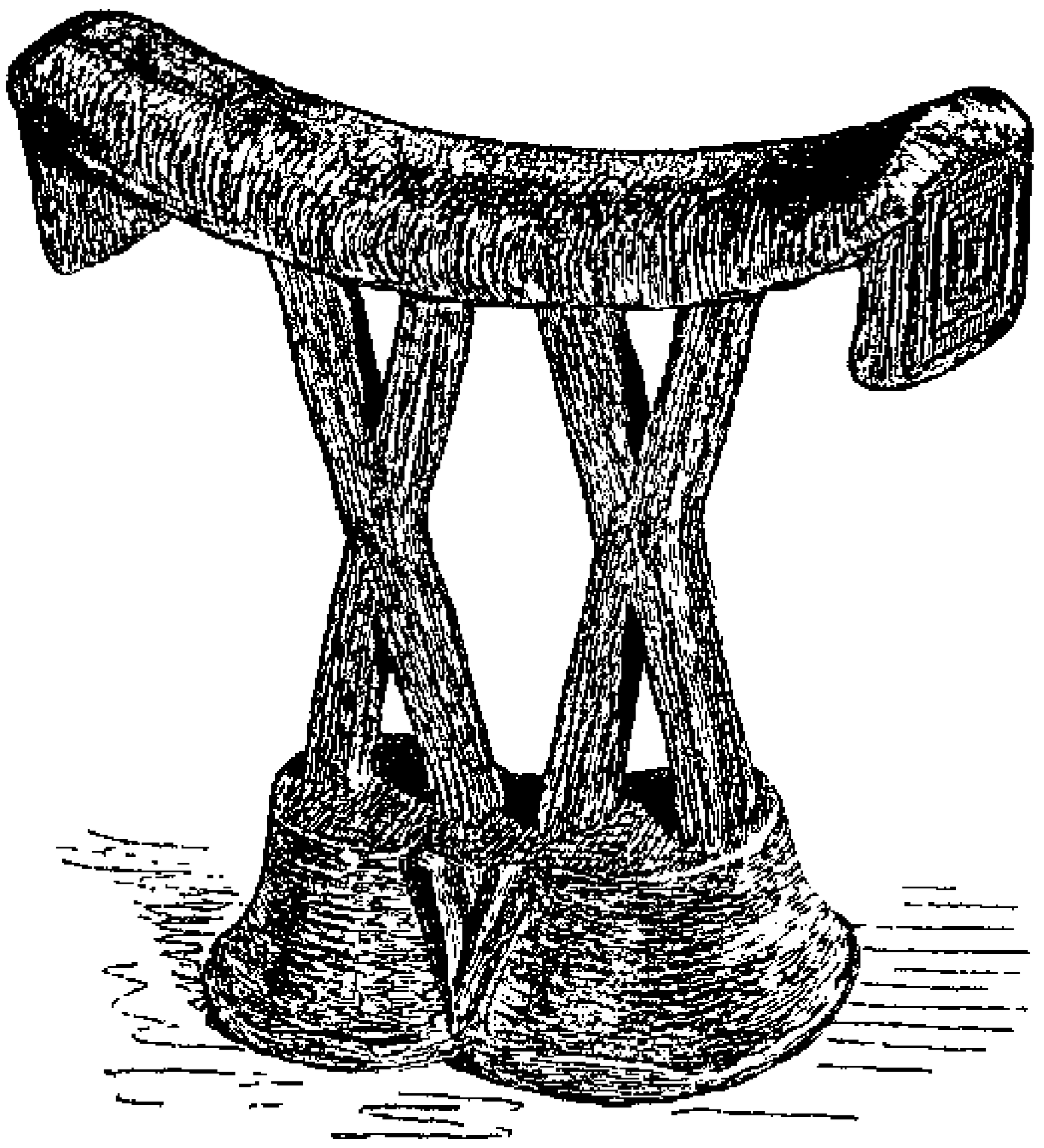
Zulu head-stools and head-cushion used in carrying burdens—one-fourth real size. (Museum of the Berlin Mission.)

small diameter. This roof is woven carefully of reeds, and attached around the central pole or pillar of the hut in such a way that the peak lies out of the centre. The roof falls nearly to the ground, and is then borne on poles, between which and the wall runs a shady passage. When these poles are connected by wattle-work of thorns, plastered with mud, we get concentric double walls. Among the Northern Kaffirs, the round hive-shaped hut gives way, perhaps under the influence of Arabs or their subject tribes, to a quadrangular shape. Inhambane may be regarded as the limit of this new style on the west; in the interior the round form extends much further north.

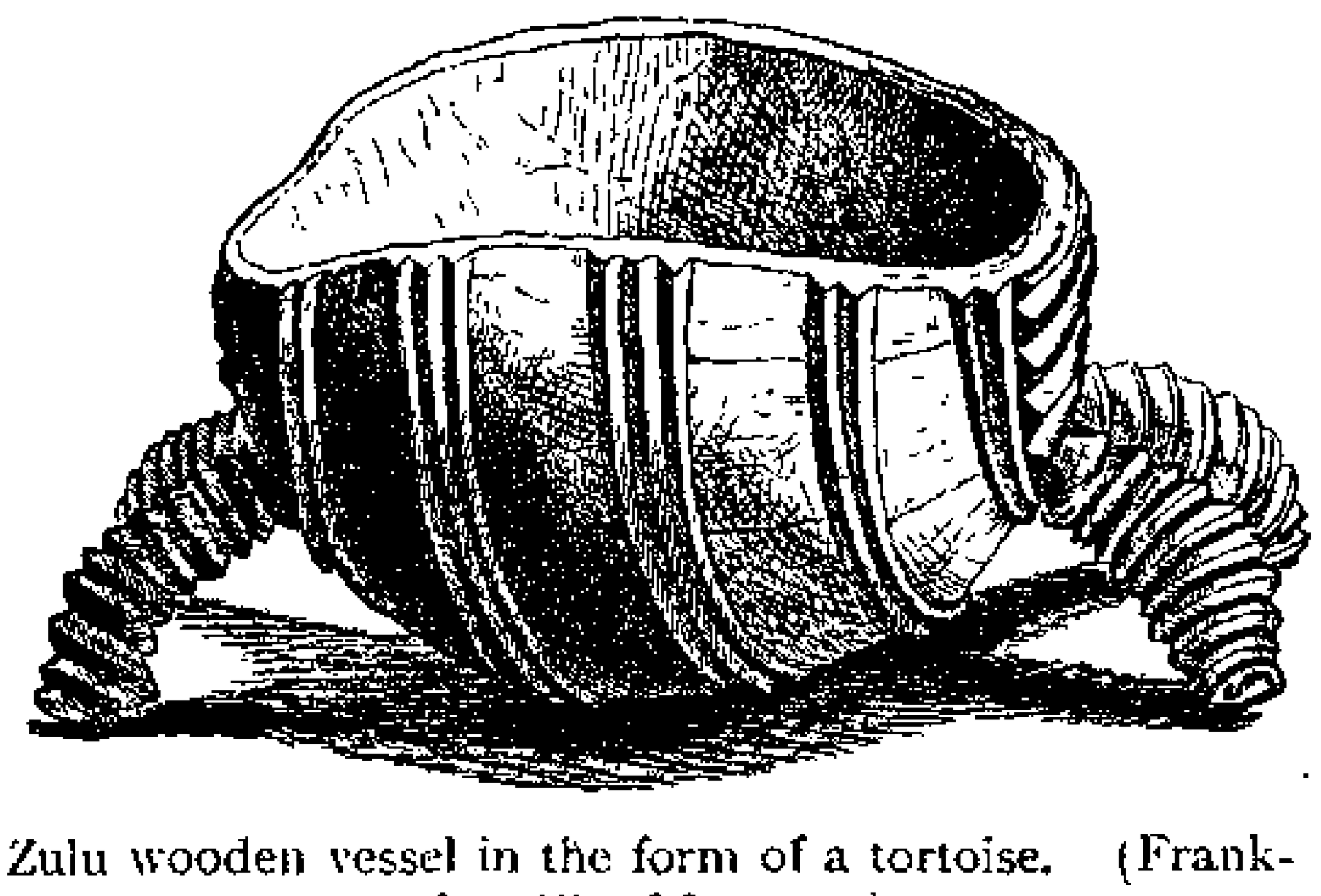
The size of the villages varies greatly. An *ekanda* usually contains 500 to 1000 persons. Dingaan's capital, Unkunginghlove, is said to have contained 5500; but the other villages are as a rule small. For the most part, the groups corresponding to the size of the families keep together in a common fence. This

system gives the villages a peculiar character, clearly showing the patriarchal stamp. As the father is the head of his children, so the paternal house forms a central point; and upon the number of huts that are grouped around it depends the consideration in which the father is held.

The state of oppression in which many Bechuana tribes live has led them to place their villages in the most sheltered spots. Arbousset, in his journey to the Blue Mountains, remarks upon the tendency to set up dwelling-places in the most elevated points, although the plains are as fertile and inviting as the mountain regions are in general the contrary. We hear of their retreat to the mountains in the case of all those tribes who have been oppressed and broken up by the neighbourhood of the Matabele. Formerly, on the other hand, they used to fix their abodes in the best sites, where springs most abounded; the Bechuana "town" of Kuruman, so often visited by Europeans, both early and in later times, lay in a quite enchanting position. Many places are populous, and appear doubly so owing to the wide extension resulting from their construction and arrangement. We can then comprehend the mention in old travellers' or missionaries' reports of "cities which you could hardly see across." Wherever possible, a whole tribe concentrates itself in one and the same spot; and thus large places arise, which otherwise stand in no relation to the level of culture attained by the Bechuanas, at least in the days of their pastoral life.


Bamangwato head-stool of wood. (Munich Museum.)

Though cattle-dealing is the chief business of the South-Eastern Kaffirs, agriculture is in no way neglected; their climate and soil permitting it in a very comprehensive form. The most primitive that of the Bechuanas, while as one goes north it gains more and more in importance; though no doubt it is mainly carried on by subjugated races on behalf of their warlike conquerors. The garden or field, *insimu*, lies near the hut, or some little way off. It also is as a rule surrounded by a hedge. The clearing and regular burning-off of the fallow tracts—a process which caused the Portuguese of Mozambique, in the last century, to give the Natal coast the name *fumo* "smoke"—is the business of the male members of the household, while the actual tilling is done by the women and girls. The larger agricultural operations are performed by the community. At the season of planting, which is fixed yearly by the chief, the whole field is hoed over; then, with the first rain, follows the sowing of "Kaffir corn" or maize, to the


Zulu wooden vessel in the form of a tortoise. (Frankfort City Museum.)

accompaniment of shouts and singing. Besides this, the two herbs of which the Zulus smoke incredible quantities, tobacco and hemp, are widely cultivated. Hemp is common enough in a wild state; and tobacco has for some years been found in places where villages have stood. Watch-towers are constructed in the fields, of timber and brushwood; the whole family lives in the lower room during harvest, and a watchman sits above to drive away the grain-eating birds. Harvest takes place in January. This is the most cheerful season of the year, and the only one when husband, wife, and child set their hands to the same task, and all with an equal goodwill. Till then it is forbidden to eat the corn—formerly

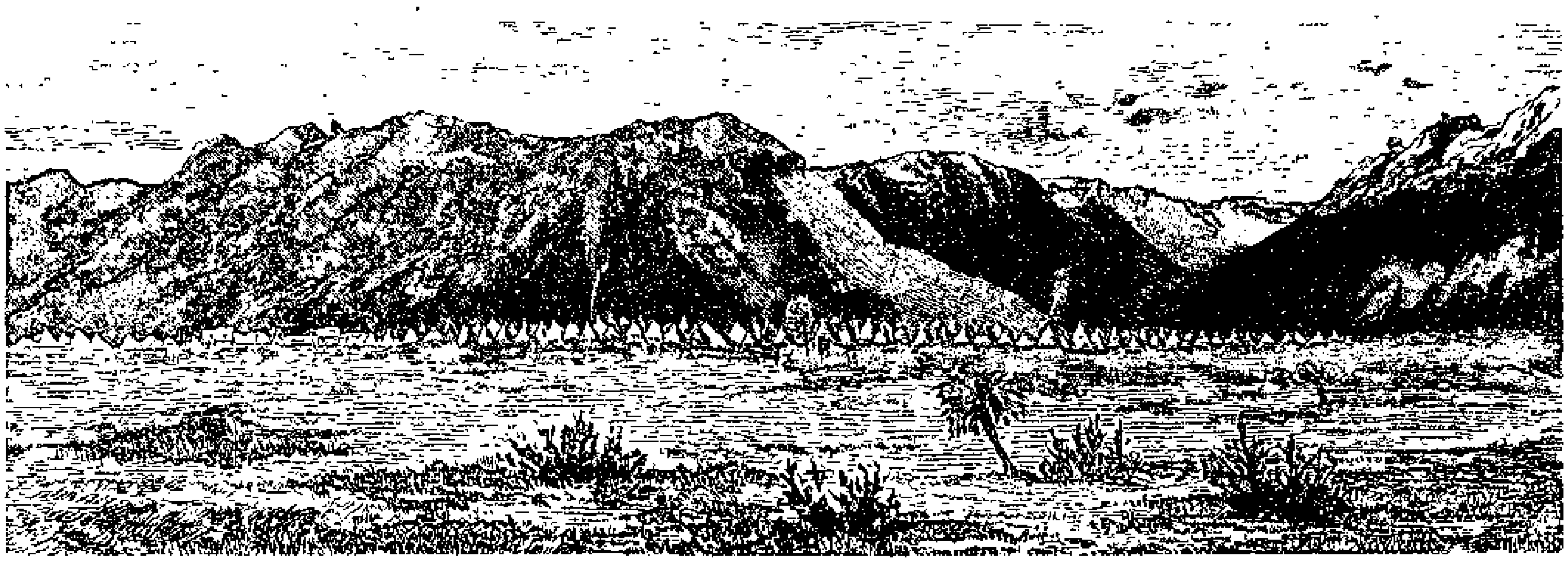
1-4. Kaffir earthenware vessels (1-3 in the Mission Museum; 4, in the Ethnological Museum, Berlin); 5. Barotse earthenware—one-fourth real size (Munich Museum).

under pain of death. Then a harvest-feast is held at the kraal of the chief or the king, usually at the time of full moon. At this oxen are slaughtered, meat is roasted and consumed in quantities, *uchalla* is drunk, and there is a due amount of smoking. Not until this is over is the produce of the recent harvest generally eaten. This is also the time for repairing huts and fences; and then the warriors like to go on their raids. "Kaffir corn" accounts for the largest part of the labour, and the nourishment of the family is based upon it. It is kept in store-holes—bottle-shaped, wide-bellied excavations dug in the middle of the cattle-pens, roomy enough to contain over eight bushels. Beside this reservoir a small store is placed in a large oval vessel, closely woven of grass, which is raised off the floor on a stool, often in a hut of its own, the height of a man. Bunches of "cobs" are also often hung under the roof of the dwelling-hut.

Thus the Kaffir gets his food about equally from his fields and from his herds. The basis of it is sour milk, *amasi*, and bruised maize, *amabele*, or

millet, *umbla*. For eating this national dish, which represents the regular food set before a guest, the wooden spoons, often so quaint in design, such as are shown on p. 414, are employed. Meat is eaten alike boiled or roast, and is much relished by the natives. According to Gardiner's estimate four or five can manage to eat up a whole ox—entrails, sinews, and all, in a day and a half. A well-to-do Kaffir always has, at his morning and evening meals, over and above his porridge with *amasi*, vegetables, beer, often meat, and in the intervals enjoys plenty of snuff and tobacco, and perhaps *dakka* as well. The Zulu, while he is the greatest snuff-taker in South Africa, smokes not much less than his neighbours in the south and west. The water-pipe, made of an antelope's horn, a koodoo's for choice, is for him no less the chief source of nerve-stimulating enjoyment. The stupefying hemp, *isangu*, is not always diluted with tobacco, and one pipe of it often makes a whole smoking-party drunk.

The influence of a warlike military way of life upon the internal relations

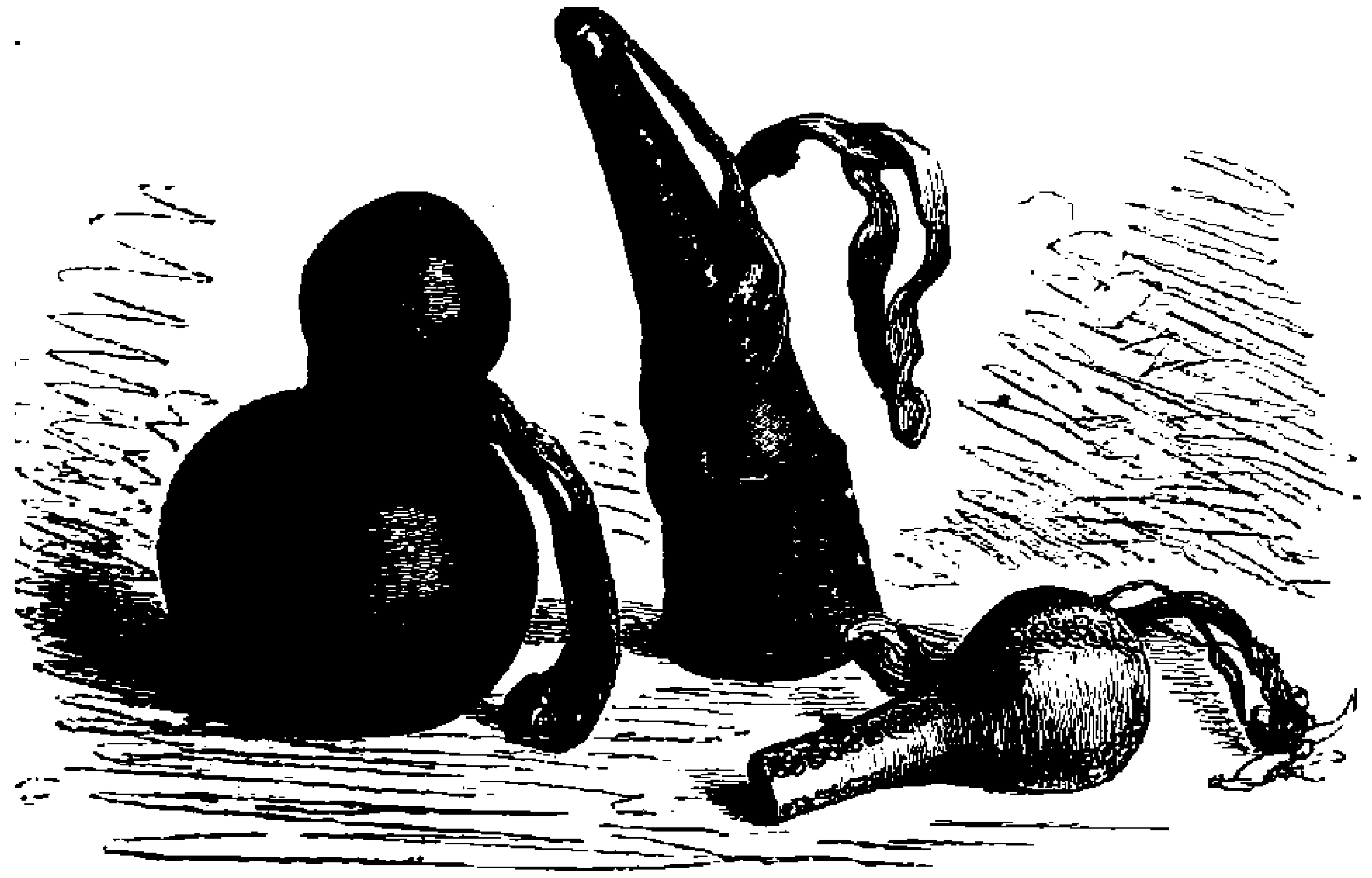


The Bechuana town of Shoshong. (From a sketch by Frank Oates.)

of the stock, and especially upon its family-life, may be seen in its most marked form among the Zulus. While among the Amakosa, in spite of polygamy, a comparatively happy family life, little disturbed by attacks from without, appears at present to be the rule, in their old fighting days the family was the victim of the political organisation. It suited the warlike policy of the Zulu kings since Chaka, in order to keep hold of the men and foster the warrior spirit in them, to allow their marriage only at the latest possible time. That king himself abstained from marriage and recognised no children as his. The result of delaying the entrance on family life was to accumulate a great number of women in presence of a minority of men no longer of use for military service, and then to encourage polygamy in a thoroughly unwholesome direction, to render infanticide a necessity and a national institution, and to tear the young men from their families just when they were in a position to be of use to them. Yet the patriarchal element which we find so sharply marked in almost all cattle-breeding races, recurs here. The father is the master and, so far as concerns the female portion, the owner of his family. Similarly the king is the father of his people, which expects of him not merely government but sympathy and help for all troubles. The woman's position is not high. King's wives may only move about their husband's house shuffling on their knees.

The acquisition of wives by purchase is more consistently carried out by, and more deeply implanted in, the Zulu than is the case with any other Kaffir stock.

When the Colonial Government some years ago formed the idea of legislating against this custom, called *ukulobola*, they got into more difficulties than with any other reform. The custom is most deeply rooted in the hearts of the women, whose sense of their own value increases according to the number of cattle for which they are bought. Equally little would a man be disposed as a rule to take a wife for nothing; he would feel himself lowered thereby. The bond of wedlock acquires its first mutual recognition by means of the purchase. All South Kaffirs recognise that close kinship forms an obstacle to marriage, and consequently condemn unions between brothers and sisters, uncles and nieces, aunts and nephews. Among some Bechuana tribes even the marriage of cousins is, according to Casalis, reckoned as incestuous. But among most tribes there is great unchastity out of wedlock. Unions which are a mockery of marriage take place when two villages have done a common piece of work, or after festivals, or the



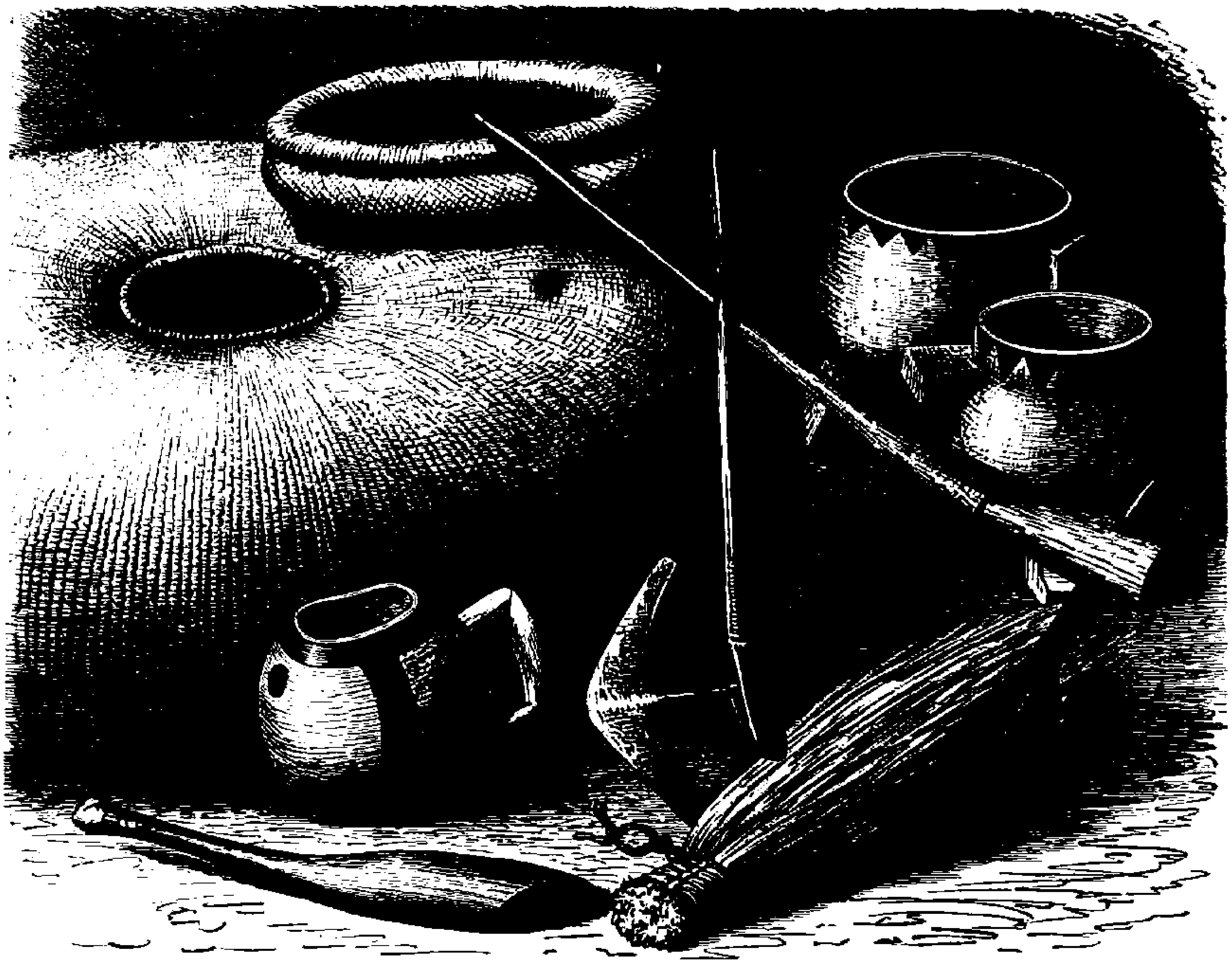
Bechuana snuff-boxes—one-third real size. (Munich Museum.)

initiation of the girls. It is not uncommon for girls to be carried off for the use of the chief; and the girl so carried off is honoured. Adultery and rape are at the same time severely punished, as offences against property.

The wedding ceremony, which takes a similar course among all South Kaffirs, consists among the Zulus of the ceremonial transference of the bride to the bridegroom's hut, escorted by the relations and friends in great numbers. They bring two oxen, one to be slaughtered in order to move the higher powers to bestow prosperity on the new household, the other to form the nucleus of a new herd in the bridegroom's pen, denuded by the purchase of his bride. Formerly a grindstone, a broom, and a bowl were handed to the bride; a sheaf of assegais and an axe to the bridegroom, to indicate their future callings. Among the Kosas the bride pulls a feather from the bridegroom's head-dress and sticks it in her own wool. Then she seizes a spear, goes solemnly to the cattle kraal, and throws it over the fence, so that it remains sticking in the ground. The wedding feast is prepared with one ox of the bridegroom's, which is slaughtered by the senior man of his village, and another which he presents to his mother-in-law. This is followed, among many tribes, by the "washing" with beads. First

the bride, from a calabash containing water and beads, sprinkles the hands of the bridegroom and of her friends, then he does the same by her and his friends; then the beads are poured out, and every one snatches at them. Lastly, the village seniors even soar to the point of recommending to the young couple diligence and good conduct; nor are fine words to seek in their discourse.

Misshapen and sickly children are not allowed to live. The elder children live in strict patriarchal discipline, and their intimate intercourse with their parents forms a bright spot in Zulu life even in the troublous history of the Zulu dynasty. Chaka, who bore goodwill to no man, was so devoted to his mother that her



A Kaffir's household goods—one-tenth real size. (Museum of Berlin Mission.)

influence was a factor in his politics, and her death was one of the few occasions on which he displayed human emotions. There is a touching case of a small chief who besought on his knees that he might bear the punishment of some children related to him who were threatened with death for running away from the country. The rite of circumcision, which marks the transition from boyhood to youth, is practised among the Zulus as among the Bechuanas, and is accompanied by a change of name, painting the body in white colour, immersion in streams, and so on. Similarly the girls are instructed in the duties of a wife by elder women. Of late years, however, the custom of circumcision has continued to diminish among the Zulus.

The Zulu monarchy is a limited despotism. Part of the system of government is its limitation by means of the influential position of the two head *indunas*,

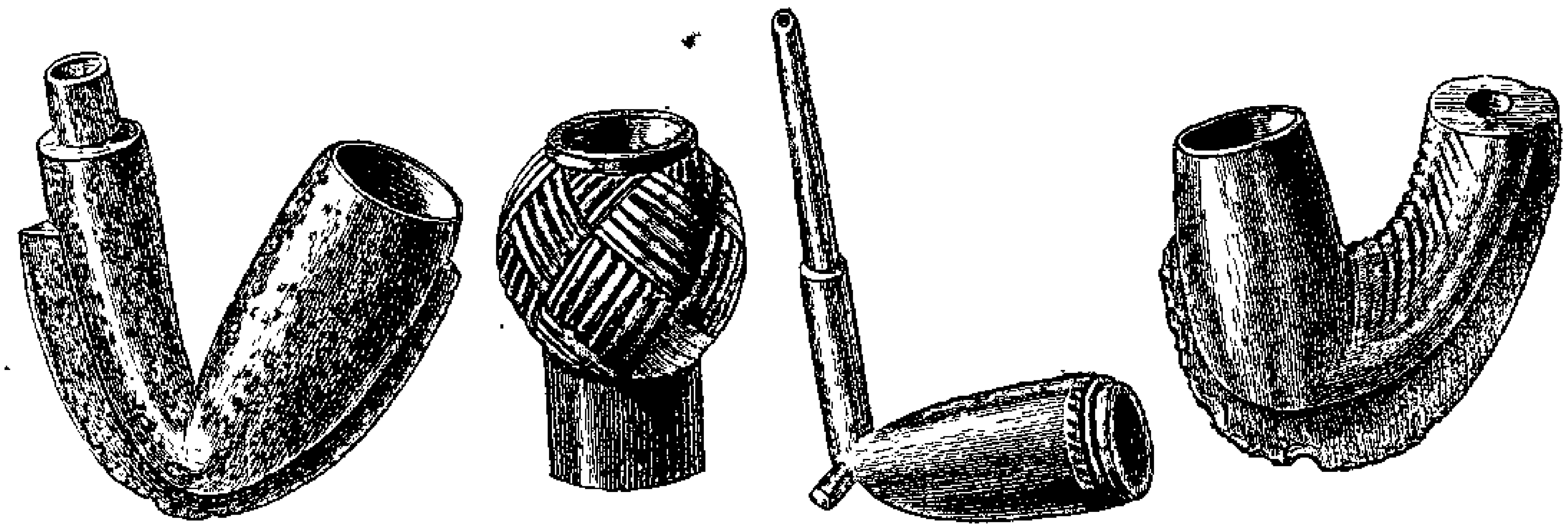
combining in their persons the functions of minister and commander-in-chief. It is said that no important matter can be decided without their intervention. In the first years of Dingaan's reign, Gardiner found their influence so great that at that time he called the Zulu government a triumvirate; they boasted to him, not without reason, that they were the king's eyes and ears. Among the things in which even pretty stiff rulers, such as Dingaan then was, did not proceed without the assent of these two head *indunas* were declarations of war, capital sentences, and divisions of land. Even of booty taken in war only part falls to the king's share. He appoints both these and the *indunas* of lower rank. In judicial matters he is the supreme court of appeal. In other Kaffir tribes the council of the *umapataki* or middlemen comes between prince and people, and not seldom governs both. "Tyranny is neutralised," says Nauhaus, "by the rival interests of the tyrants." In the case of a young sovereign they have been even known to venture to decree his deposition, and to raise one of their own number to the throne. Yet a whole list of privileges belong to the king, showing that he holds, in regard to the mass of the people, the position of a patriarchal tribal chieftain. His is the right of ownership over all the land and all the property of the people; there is no personal property in land, only certain rights affecting the situation of the villages and pastures. Yet the king has the usufruct of a number of villages, just as the higher *indunas* usually own one or more. Similarly, the king has a power of disposal, though often limited, over the lives and the time of his people. Confiscated goods form a main source of a Kaffir chief's revenue, in addition to more or less voluntary presents. These are especially plentiful at a declaration of manhood. No subject may receive a present without the king's permission. Yet he is in truth no lazy oriental despot, but has a long list of duties, by no means trivial, to perform. As supreme war lord he has to feed, equip, and when necessary pay his soldiers, to encourage or to punish them. He superintends his herds, which are in so far state property that the army is victualled on the meat of them, and its shields are cut from their skins. He fixes the beginning of harvest, and the date at which each crop may first be partaken of. Whoever comes to his court expects to make something out of him. Without liberality his influence would be small. Lastly, he is his people's doctor-in-chief.

Zulu snuff-box of buffalo horn—one-third real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Since the Zulu king, like most other African princes, had the monopoly of trade, he alone was in a position to get all the kinds of weapons that his heart might wish; and his demand for them was considerable. In other respects these princes have always been far removed from Oriental luxury. Were it not for their troops of wives, and the absence of any limit to their arbitrary whims, we

might rather speak of military simplicity. A missionary, who went to Dingaan's kraal in 1835, relates how he was brought by an inferior chief to the fence surrounding the palace, and waited there till there appeared above the fence the head and breast of a brawny naked man, who stared at him for some time without a word. Only when an ox was driven up did he speak, saying: "This is the beast which I give you to slaughter." After a time he came out of the gate, went slowly up to the missionary, and stood before him like a statue till a stool was brought. It was Dingaan. His first question was how the guides had behaved, his next as to the traveller's object, his third for the presents he had brought.

The public life of the Bechuanas is not organised in so military a fashion, though great conquerors have issued from among them. Their sovereignty again is a despotism limited by the council of the eldest—usually two *monemotse* or mayors—and controlled by a powerful public opinion. That they too cherish their ideal of a noble prince, seems to be shown by the legend of Motlume, the great-grandson of Monahin, who was the patriarch of the Basutos. He survives



Zulu stone tobacco-pipes. (Museum of the Berlin Mission.)

in the mouths of all the tribes of this people as the pattern of a prince. He ruled over them all, and was just, kindly, accessible; widows and orphans he took under his special protection. But what contributed more than all else to further his fame and his power was the system that he is said to have first introduced of giving wives to young men who were unable to purchase them. In return, they with their families were pledged to devote themselves to his service as *batlauka* or half-slaves, and thus formed a suite of the most loyal and attached vassals that any king could wish. He is said to have been moderate in his food, and to have drunk only water and milk. He preferred the society of children to that of grown-up persons, declaring that "the small are better than the great." No Basuto at that time had visited so many strange lands and peoples as Notlume; he had even seen the man-eaters of the North. Also in his travels he met with the chief Moshesh of Butabete, to whom he gave the advice to learn to know the men whom he would one day rule. On his return he occupied himself with meditating and speaking on the nature of the world and mankind. He also expressed himself in gnomic sayings, which long survived him in the mouths of the people. On his deathbed, in 1819, he lamented that it had not been permitted to him to bring his people to a place where they might live in peace. "After my death," he announced when he was dying, "a red cloud will arise in the east and devour

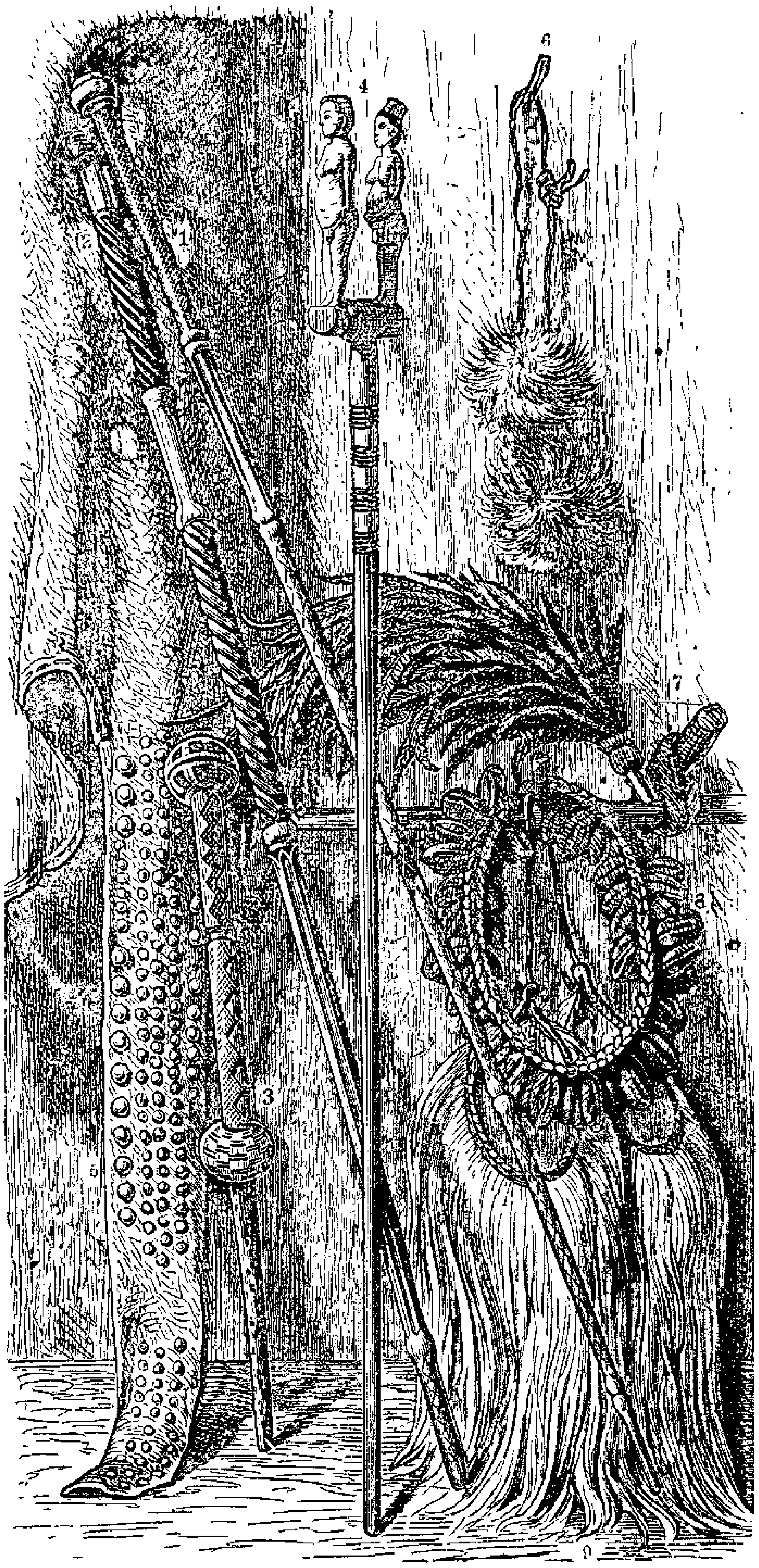
our tribe. The father will eat his own child. I bid you farewell and go to my fathers."

The Zulu state is based upon the military constitution. Their army is one of the most complete, most efficient, and most permanent organisations that negroes can show. From earliest youth the male population is brought up, in the first place, with a view to military service. The Zulu kraals are, in fact, only

Cetewayo's wives. (From a photograph belonging to the Berlin Mission.)

great camps, where all men, young and old, are divided into one of the three military categories: *umpagati* or veterans, *isimporthlo* or *isiusisaca*, young soldiers, and *amabutu*, boys who have not yet served. The uniform of the two former is the head-ring. Even in times of peace half the men's life is passed in warlike exercises and preparations of every kind. Under Dingaan fourteen to sixteen larger and various smaller *ekandas*, or, as we may call them, barrack-towns, were scattered about the country; the larger ones were garrisoned by a regiment numbering 600 to 1500 men. At that time the force with which the Zulus could appear in the field was reckoned at 50,000 men, some said even 100,000; and

half of them were constantly on a war footing. A regiment was commanded by a number of officers, *indunas*, and inferior officers, and a chief *induna*, reckoned as commander-in-chief. The capital of the country was essentially nothing else than the largest of these *ekandas*, and was under the orders of twenty *indunas*, the two senior of whom were at once the king's first councillors and the marshals of the army. The regiment here was some 900 strong, and formed a kind of guard in which the chiefs of the smaller towns had in turn to serve for a year; an admirable means of saturating the population of the country with the spirit that issued from the capital, of having a scourge at hand in the case of disobedience, and of keeping the most influential men of the country near enough to keep them out of mischief. Other means were also taken to maintain the connection of these garrisons with the head and heart of the country. After they had practised their evolutions and dances, to which, as forms of bodily exercise, great value was attached, they marched to the capital to be reviewed. They were also obliged to get their new shields from the same place, for it was only at the capital that oxen were slaughtered in large numbers. A presentation of shields at Dingaan's capital is thus described: When their arrival at the main gate had been announced to the king, he gave orders that they should be admitted. At once they rushed in, yelling and wildly brandishing their sticks, halted at a respectful



Kaffir implements: 1, 2, chiefs' staves; 3, dance staff; 4, fetish stick; 5, lappet of a kaross; 6, fly whisks, worn fastened to the hair; 7, bunch of feathers; 8, dance necklace; 9, knee ornament—one-tenth real size. (Museum of the Berlin Mission.)

distance before the *Issigordlo*, and formed in line. Meanwhile, Dingaan appeared upon his platform, and a general cry of "*baiate!*" ran through the ranks at sight of him. Immediately he advanced to the lines and took his place in the group of his generals. Then one of the two head *indunas* rose and made a speech, interlarded with many ironical sallies, to the band, which had recently been on an unsuccessful campaign into the Matabele country. To this the leader of the claimants for shields responded with a no less vigorous apology for himself and

Sandili's councillors. (From photograph belonging to the Berlin Mission.)

his people. Then followed a violent dialogue between the two, mingled with the wildest leaps and gesticulations, in which some inferior officers of the troop also took part. When the mutual reproaches had reached their height, Dingaan interposed with a Solomonic judgment, calling out to the men that they would not get any shields till they had brought him some of Mosilikatse's cattle. Amid the applause called forth by this unexpected challenge, he withdrew; and presently beer was brought for the soldiers, who then departed to collect the rest of their regiment for the foray enjoined upon them. Dingaan's wish or command was, however, soon withdrawn, and after ten or twelve days the troops, whom it was obviously desired to put to the test, returned and received their shields.

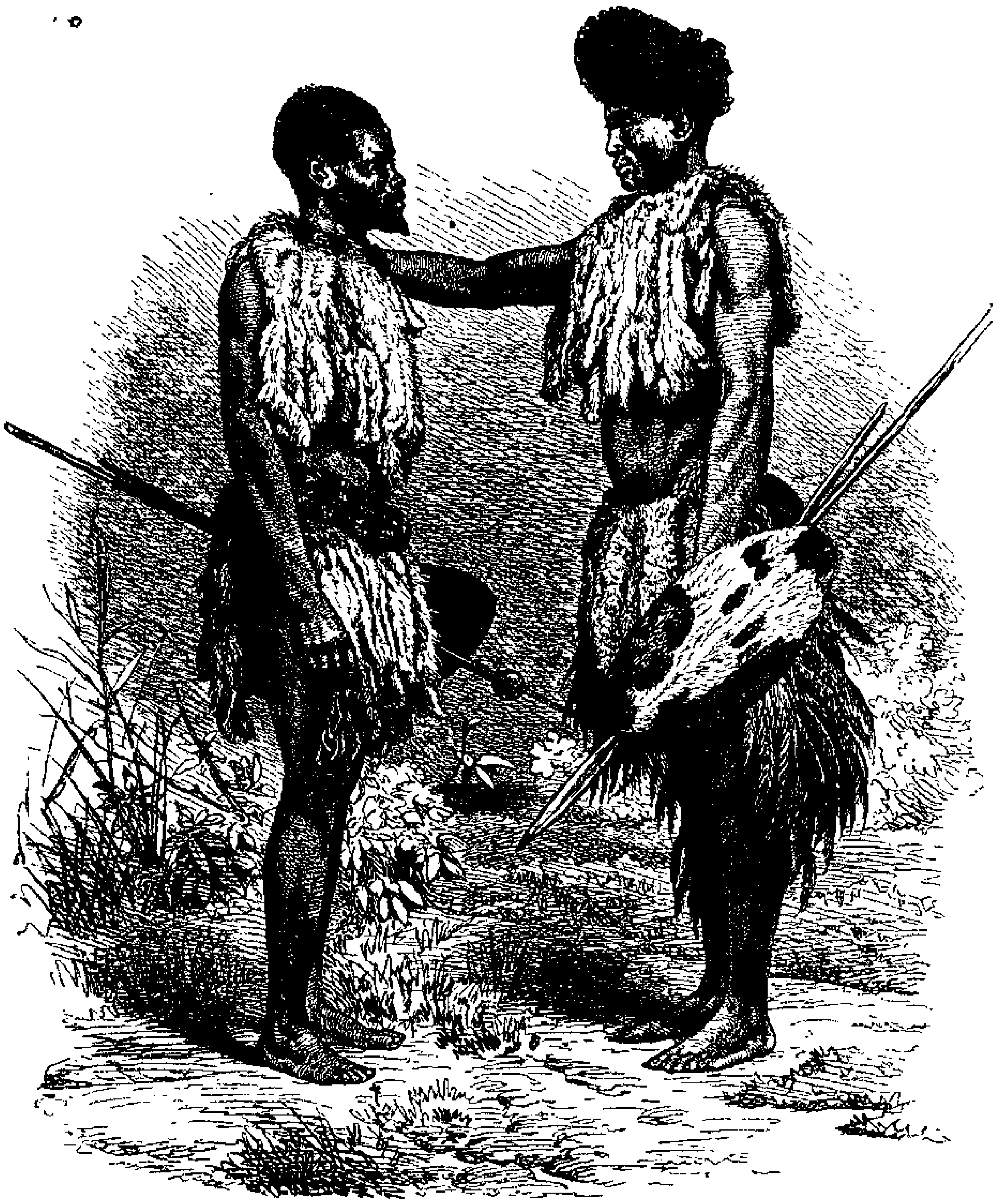
In the Zulu battles, of which the history of South Africa has so much to record, it was no case of the mock-fighting which has made the wars with many West Africans ridiculous. The fighting was in earnest, and that not only against white men. An eye-witness describes the battle which was fought in 1856, on the banks of the Tugela, to decide between Umbelazi and Cetewayo for the sovereignty of Zululand. One veteran regiment advanced, 2000 to 3000 strong, and fell upon one of Cetewayo's young regiments, annihilated it after a struggle which covered the field with dead, and pushed forward with thinned ranks; another of Cetewayo's regiments took the place of that which had been destroyed, and now a longer and more severe fight arose, until victory was once more on the side of the veterans. These, however, had paid dearly, and were in no case to prosecute the attack; the leaders of these valiant troops concentrated the remnant of them into a close mass, and fought on till not one survived. The ground was covered with corpses all around. This bold attack, however, helped Umbelazi little, for Cetewayo's regiments gradually pressed his people back to the bank of the Tugela, and finally into the stream. Thousands fell on the field of battle, and thousands more perished in the river. Against disciplined and well-armed European troops they have never shown themselves great save in surprises; and for that reason the worst foe of the English, in all their fights with the Zulus, has been their own slackness. In open action they made but a short stand against firearms. One may say that their courage was considerable, but not steady. Even Dingaan's veterans were thoroughly beaten in 1837 by a few hundred Boers under Pretorius, without any losses worth mentioning on the side of the latter. It was only under Cetewayo that the Zulus got possession of muskets in any quantity.

A Pondo warrior. (From a photograph belonging to the Berlin Mission.)

In the matter of celibacy the Zulu sovereigns set their soldiers a good example. Neither Chaka nor Dingaan was ever married according to the custom of the country, and this contributed no little to the series of violent revolutions which lend a melancholy distinction to Zulu history. As a rule, the king gave permission to marry only to the elder soldiers who had often distinguished themselves in battle; and it sometimes happened that a specially deserving or favoured regiment got the permission *en masse*. On the other hand, the number of the concubines in an *ekanda* was unlimited. Of those *ekandas* in which marriage was not permitted, only one was in Chaka's time allowed to contain children. One can conceive how the constant raids were enjoined for the mere sake of checking the resulting decrease of population, and in fact the desire for women

was quite as potent a motive for the incessant wars of the Zulus as the desire for cattle.

The soldiers are fed on meat and beer at the king's charges. It is one of the characteristic scenes of Zulu life to see the women going every morning and evening in a long file, and with a monotonous song, round the enclosed space



Matabele warriors. (From a photograph.)

where the soldiers take their meals, each with a great jug of beer on her head. In time of war the train, consisting of women, boys, and prisoners taken in former wars, follows the army, driving the cattle necessary for its victualling; it is the king's right to take the crops for himself. The train also boils and roasts for the warriors, fetches water, and carries the mats and coverings, so that the men have only their weapons to carry on the march. But what form there as indispensable a part of the field-force as do army doctors and surgeons with us, are the witch doctors. Before starting on campaign the army is drawn up in a circle, and they perform the "sanitary purification," and before the battle they "make victory."

A long course of emetics and purgatives precedes, which each individual soldier has to undergo. Then when the body is freed from what is noxious, it is strengthened with abundant meat and beer; and finally comes the great purification and dedication in presence of the king and all the generals. On this occasion pieces are cut from the shoulder of a living ox, and these are grilled on the coals with bitter herbs, and distributed in morsels to the troops. It is a capital offence to spit out the bitter morsel. Then a further medicament is brought to the doctor, which is sprinkled over the host with an ox's tail. All takes place with mysterious signs and muttered words.

In a less developed form, but on similar principles, we find the same arrangement of the army among the other eastern Kaffir tribes. The Kosa army is divided into two great sections, one embracing the veterans or heroes, the other the youths or round-heads. Cranes' wings form the distinguishing head-dress of the former. Chiefs' body-guards are also mentioned. Here again the chief weapon is the throwing-spear, and the tactics are consequently materially less regular than with the Zulus, being a kind of scattered sharp-shooting. In most cases, however, the battles end in plenty of bloodshed.

Next to the army, the most developed of all Zulu institutions, and typical for the usages of the other Kaffirs, is their jurisprudence. Though the strain of cruelty, which runs through the whole life and being of these peoples, is not absent here, yet more numerous points of agreement with civilized nations are perhaps nowhere to be met with, nor does it seem as if more suitable points could anywhere be found for civilized influences to take hold. Their ideas of justice are often, according to our notions, confused; but a strong desire shows itself in litigious matters to arrive at justice, and they spend much time and trouble thereon. Their judges are the chiefs and the king, the final and supreme decision being with the latter. Under Chaka every theft was punished with death; but so also was every sneeze or clearing of the throat in the tyrant's presence, and every dry eye at the death of a member of the royal house. Cetewayo, on the other hand, visited none but deserters, magicians, and poisoners with the penalty of death. When he succeeded his father, Mpanda, in 1872, the English resident, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, persuaded him, among other reforms, to enact that no one should be put to death without trial. This was formally done, but the innovation, most humane and natural as it was, was never put into effect; it attacked one of the strongest roots of the monarchy. The penalties for lighter offences consist in fines of cattle. For a theft of cattle compensation has to be from two to tenfold. Insults too are atoned for with cattle; and so, if the relatives agree, is even murder, which, however, is said to be rare in time of peace. Nauhaus mentions five or six oxen as the expiation for murder among the south-eastern Kaffirs. The killing of men whom public opinion holds guilty of having bewitched others remains unpunished. Capital punishments show a surprising variety. Twisting the neck, hanging, throttling, breaking the neck, beating to death with clubs, impaling, throwing down precipices, are some of the more popular forms. The bodies of the culprits are left to the wild beasts.

Their judicial procedure recognises an oath by deceased parents or chiefs, or by the living king, and treats precedents with respect. The proceedings run into oratorical breadth. A man who purposes to bring a complaint against another assembles his friends or neighbours, who go with him, armed, to the hut or

village of the defendant, sit down there in a conspicuous place, and await the effect of their presence. Presently the grown men of the neighbourhood or village collect over against them, and wait in similar silence. One from among them now calls to the, as a rule, unwelcome visitors, "Tell us the news." The spokesman gives a precise exposition of the complaint; his own companions interrupt him with a host of additions and emendations, and the opposite party with endless cross-questioning. At first, however, the proceedings do not get beyond this. By next day the accused parties have brought up men who are known as practised debaters. These begin to represent their view of the case, and the complainants have to bring theirs forward afresh. Now the effort is made to relate each individual point with the utmost obstinacy and subtlety. When a speaker is tired another steps in, and goes again over the whole well-laboured field with the plough of fresh arguments. But if all pleas and counter-pleas on both sides are exhausted, the complainants withdraw, and both parties consider the advantages and disadvantages of their position. If one feels that it cannot maintain its case, it starts with the offer of the smallest possible compensation. If no decision is arrived at, a summons from the complainants to the *umpakati* of the neighbouring district follows. In his presence the whole dispute is now once more gone through at length. The intimate relations, and especially unpleasant relations of the families, are on this occasion treated of with great gusto. After perhaps a week the *umpakati* decides. If he is not in a position to do so, or if either party is dissatisfied with his decision, an appeal lies to the chief and his council. When the complainant approaches these, he calls, as soon as he is within hearing: "I lodge a complaint." The answer is shouted back: "What is it about?" A dialogue in yells goes on as he approaches with his company, until he has reached a prescribed place, about fifty paces from the council-hut; then he halts and sits quietly down. If some one comes casually out of the council-hut and goes across to the complainant's company, he asks: "What is your complaint about?" and they tell him their business; this may be repeated several times. The chief too, no doubt, comes along and puts his questions. He does not stop, but pursues his examination, as they do their reply, as he goes away. It is at the pleasure of the council how long they will continue the hearing. Finally the matter is brought so far to maturity that they can pass judgment. As soon as this is done, the party in whose favour the decision is given falls at their feet, covers them with kisses, and extols their wisdom and justice in exaggerated terms of praise. But a small armed force from the "great place" is sent with the victors in the litigation, to ensure obedience to the chief's decision, and above all, to bring back his share of the penalty imposed. Therewith the conflict is ended. If the condemned party is without means, his family steps in on his behalf. Debts resulting from a lawsuit are often collected ten years afterwards.

Trespasses against the king are punished with savage severity. In these cases the sentence falls not only on the individual, but on his whole house and his goods; everything is "eaten up." Nowhere is conviction and sentence so arbitrary as here. In this, as may be supposed, superstition plays a chief part. Dingaan alleged as the ground for the assassination of Pieter Retief and his sixty-six companions, that they were sorcerers. And so great does the popular dread even of their corpses seem to have been, that ten months later, after the capture of Dingaan's kraal, the Boers found the bodies just as they had been thrown out

to the vultures. Nauhaus calls the accusation of sorcery "the Kaffir state machinery to get obnoxious subjects out of the way and confiscate their goods."

So much as to the living and acting, the manners and customs, of the Kaffir races. In view of the great current of similarity which runs through all the tribes of the Kaffirs, the modifications in detail seem practically small enough. What really divides these people is the situation of their dwellings and their history. Small as the space of time is over which we are able to look back, it yet contains much of a nature to give us a deeper understanding. The Dutch and Portuguese fell in with tribes of dark races on the east and south-east coasts of Africa, and made them known in Europe under the name of "Kaffirs," that is "unbelievers," originally given them by the Arabs. They extended westward beyond the Great Fish River, but not very far; so that by 1780 this was fixed as their limit. It marks also the southern limit of their diffusion. The affinity between the most southerly Kaffirs who came into contact, in endless boundary quarrels, with the Dutch, and later with the English, and those observed by the Portuguese further to the north, were soon recognised; and it was seen with satisfaction that in many of their internal conflicts some tribes either wiped out or absorbed others.

One fixed point in this confusion is that the Kosas, or Amakosa,[1] always remained the most southerly. Their name, in the form Magose, appears as early as 1687 on the south-east coast, and it was with them that Europeans first came into contact in South Africa. In the course of their conflicts with Europeans, they have been driven back from the Fish River and the foot of the Schneeberg, even further to the north and east, so that their country is now bounded to the south by the Kei with its tributary the Indwe, to the north by the Umtanfuna River, to the east by the sea, to the west by the Drakenberg. Here there once dwelt two great branches of their stock, the Galekas and the Hahabes; but of these the first alone now exist as an independent tribe, while the general name of the other has disappeared, and they have broken up into a number of smaller tribes. To their number belong the Ndlambes, Mbalus, Gwalis, Dushanes, Gaikas, and others. The members of the Galekas were in 1856 estimated at 70,000, and the total of all the smaller Kosa tribes at 140,000.

As soon as the Dutch colonists had advanced to the Sandy River they came in contact with the Kosa tribes, and it was not long before they discovered that these were a race of a very different kind from the Hottentot tribes with whom they had hitherto had to do exclusively. The Kaffirs had for a long time been in movement towards the south and west; and as their numbers and those of their herds were increasing, they were driven by the same necessity as the Boers to extend their pasturage. A collision was bound to result. The two streams of nomadic peoples came into dangerously close contact, when in the middle of the last century the Kosas crossed the Great Fish River and spread over the grassy region now the district of Albany, which had at that time been abandoned by the Gonaqua Hottentots, indemnified, it is said, by part of the Kosas' herds. For some time both races lived in a confused medley, and pastured their cattle over the same tract of country. But at the moment when the Government of the Cape incorporated this district, the Dutch regarded themselves as the lawful

[1] Amakosa, also written Amaxosa, seems to mean "the people of Kosa"—Kosa being a chief. This naming of a tribe after its chief, a feature of the patriarchal system, recurs among most negro tribes.

lords of the land, and sought to get rid of their black neighbours. When Von Plettenberg travelled over this region in 1778, it happened for the first time that a governor of the Cape Colony met officially the Kaffir chiefs; and then and there a frontier was fixed which lasted for many decades; "not because Plettenberg fixed it, but because on the other side of it stood a race capable of holding its own against the invaders."

At this critical moment the Kosas were led by the old chief Palo. His sons Galeka and Hahabe fell out. The former was, no doubt, the son of the head wife, but at the same time was far less capable. By good luck for the colonists the Kosa people split into two halves, and after some envenomed fighting the part under Hahabe crossed the Kei, where at that time Hottentots and small isolated Kaffir tribes lived in promiscuous confusion. Hahabe governed his people wisely, and contrived to avoid serious conflicts with the white men. At the end of the last century, however, he got involved in a war with the Tembus, one of whose chiefs had taken a daughter of his to wife, and had been mean enough to give a present of only one hundred oxen in return. In this war Hahabe fell; he was succeeded by his son Ndlambe and his grandson Gaika. Under them the destiny of the Kosas in the conflict with the white men was decided. Hahabe's "chief son," Mlan, had died before him, leaving a son of ten years old as sovereign of all the Kosas west of the Kei, who now took the name of Amahahabe. The late chief's younger son, Ndlambe, acted as regent, but was not recognised by part of the people, who, in order to escape his rule, moved westwards, and on the other side of the Great Fish River fell in with the mixed race of Hottentots and Kaffirs whom the colonists called Gonaquas, for whom see p. 282. Forming a league with these, they became the torment of the colonists by their organised cattle-raids. Meanwhile, Gaika had grown up, and as Ndlambe would not entirely make over the government to him, a fresh civil war broke out. In 1796 Ndlambe with his adherents fled westwards, and took possession of the whole territory from the Fish River to Mussel Bay, which the colonists in a panic abandoned to him, together with the mixed tribes of Hottentots and Kaffirs then existing.

When in 1797 Macartney sent his private secretary Barrow to the eastern frontier to make peace, Barrow, in his ignorance of Kaffir customs, allowed him to be led into recognising Gaika as "king of all tribes west of the Kei," and as a result, into treating Ndlambe and his companions as rebels; and fruitless toil was expended to "bring them back to their allegiance," that is, into Gaika's power. During these transactions Ndlambe's power only continued to grow, all the more because Gaika, by committing adultery with his uncle's head wife, had been guilty in the eyes of the Kaffirs of a serious crime. In 1799 an encounter on Algoa Bay turned out unfavourably for the English, and the Kaffirs remained in possession of the eastern part of the colony. Not till 1811 did the Cape Government begin to take energetic action against the invaders. Treaties with Gaika—who continued to lose reputation, and in 1818 was thoroughly beaten by Ndlambe—led to no result; and not until Ndlambe's own furious attack upon the English border fortress, Grahamstown, had ended in the overthrow of the Kaffirs, were peaceful relations arrived at. Negotiations were opened with him, and an uninhabited tract on the Great Fish River was fixed as the march. Then followed one of the most thriving periods ever passed by the Kaffirs in these parts of South Africa. Their prosperity increased, and missionary work spread visibly among them.

But even by the end of the twenties the effects of the military power that had silently grown up among the Zulus began to make themselves felt. A people called the Ngwanas, expelled by the Zulus from their dwellings on the Lower Tugela, under their chief, Matiwana, fell upon the Tembus, and were already threatening the Galekas when the colonial troops advanced against the *Fekani* or robbers, as these homeless hordes were called, and beat them back, in 1828. The Galekas and Tembus fell on the fugitives from every side, and almost completely annihilated them. Only a few escaped into Basutoland, but Matiwana was blinded and, with his companions, put to death by Dingaan. In 1829 Ndlambe died and was succeeded by Gaika, who was followed by his son Makwoma; Sandili, Gaika's heir-in-chief, being still a child. The new union caused former ill success to be forgotten, and the Kaffirs, grew bolder from year to year. A brother of Makwoma's having been slightly wounded on a raid, this was taken by the Kaffirs as a *casus belli*, and Makwoma made an unexpected hostile inroad across the frontier. It was some months before the troops of the colony succeeded in driving the Galekas back. The chief Hintsa was shot, and a peace was made with his son Sarili, taking from the Kaffirs all the land up to the Kei River. In 1846 a fresh war broke out, from which only a small part of the ancient Kosa race held aloof. The English had gained an unlooked for ally in the Pondos, who, dwelling to the east of the Galekas, deemed it a good opportunity for enriching themselves from their herds. Of essential use, however, to the English was the newly-formed people of the Fingoes, composed of former slaves to the Kosas, and other fugitives, and settled on the Kaffir frontier. After much trouble the leaders, Sandili and Pato, were successfully captured. The frontier of the colony was pushed forward to the Reiskama, and British Kaffraria was made out of the country between that river and the Kei. Here Sandili and his brother chiefs were to rule as commissaries of the Government. Two years after the conclusion of peace, a fanatical witch-doctor passed through Kaffirland, preaching a war against the whites, and promising supernatural aid to his countrymen. Thus in 1850 a war broke out again, led by Sandili (who, however, having a lame leg, never commanded in person) and his brother Anta. Again the war began with small reverses to the English; the mounted Kaffir police, who imprudently had not been disarmed, went over to their people. Simultaneously a rising took place among the Hottentots. Part of the Tembus also had joined Sandili, who had taken up his position in the old natural fortress of the Kaffirs, the Amatola Mountains; while old Makwoma withstood all attacks for twenty-one months in the Kroome Mountains. Not till 1853 did Sandili, Makwoma, and Anta submit; when they obtained lands beyond the Kei. The power of the Kosas seemed broken. Over the soil where it once flourished, the new hybrid stock of the Fingoes, and the few Kaffir tribes which had remained faithful to the English, extended themselves. The Tembus were almost annihilated as a people, and the larger part of their land was given to white settlers. Finally, the power of the small chiefs in British Kaffraria was limited, and every encouragement given to the mission. But in 1856 and 1857 a Kaffir girl professed to have been informed by spirit voices that the Kaffirs would drive the whites out of their land; troops of spirits would take part, if the Kaffirs would offer new and unexampled sacrifices. In the first place, the best oxen were to be slaughtered and devoured; and in fact this command, a shock to all Kaffir customs, was more and more

widely obeyed. Dim rumours of impending fights, of days of slaughter, when two red suns were to rise, and the like, went about, and excited the whole population. Sandili, Makwoma, Sarili, and other chiefs took part in the movement. Its secret motive was the intention, known only to the most closely initiated, to drive the people to desperation by hunger, and then urge them against the whites. But the plan completely failed. The Kaffirs slaughtered 200,000 cattle, nearly their whole property, and consumed their stores. In vain did they build gigantic kraals to hold the white men's cattle, which were to come to them countless as the stars. Instead of the promised golden age came a year of unheard-of famine. Out of 105,000 souls who were living in Kaffraria at the beginning of 1857, only 38,000 remained at the end of that year. Sandili's tribe dwindled by death and flight from 31,000 to 3700, and Makwoma kept only 1000 people. The illustrious old chiefs died in exile, as did Makwoma on Robben Island; or led a comfortable life of enjoyment on their secure reservations, like Sandili, whose heir Gonga, under the name of Edmund Sandili, became a Christian and an official of the Colony; or lived as bandits, like Mhala, a younger son of Ndlambe. All the greater and most of the smaller chiefs are now pensioned by the Colonial Government; Christianity is making gradual progress, the old Kaffir law is giving place by degrees to that of the whites, and in dependence on the missions many schools have grown up, where hundreds of young Kaffirs are taught, their fees paid by the Government. Unhappily, the ruinous effects of spirits outweigh all these civilizing efforts. The Galekas, who continued to assume a threatening attitude, were driven towards the coast, where the remains of this people are now confined to a strip of their former land. A bloody war with the Tembus, to whom a part of the Galeka country had been made over, reduced them so far that in 1874 they besought to be included among the subjects of the Colony. In other parts of the Galeka country Fingoes were settled; and so great was the depopulation of this district that even then 1500 farms were selected for European settlers. Thus any future rising of the Kosa people was rendered impossible, and concentrated as they were, they had to follow the way of the Fingoes, who had developed into farmers after the fashion of the white men, and by their consequent adherence to a policy of peace and friendship with Europeans, had increased in number and prosperity, while all other Kaffirs had gone back, with the exception of the Basutos, who are to be reckoned among the Bechuanas.

A word as to the Fingoes may here be in place. In the 'twenties, some fragments of once-powerful Kaffir tribes, who, under the names Amangwane and Zizi had been settled on the Tugela, were driven in great numbers southward by Chaka's campaigns of conquest, and had lived among the Kosas as slaves. Some dispersed *Fekani* were also among them. They tended their lords' cattle, and cultivated their fields; their new name "Fingo" was equivalent to "dog." In the war of 1835, 16,000 of these people left the Kosa country, and were settled by the English east of the Great Fish River, where in peace and quietness they made perceptible progress. In 1875 the Fingoes in the colony numbered 73,500. At that time, Theal gave the following picture of them: "In the year 1874 the number of schools in the territory amounted to forty-six, the trading-stations to forty-five, and the value of the yearly import and export trade on the lowest calculation was £150,000 sterling. The most part of the people go well dressed in European fashion. They use the plough, and raise great quantities of

corn for sale. Fine herds, the hides of which are exchanged in the shops for useful manufactured goods, feed in their pastures. Almost every man owns a good saddle-horse, and many have good transport-waggons with teams of oxen. They have built roads and many churches and schools, though not all are Christians. Within the last three years they have collected nearly £3000 in voluntary contributions to set up an industrial school. Some of their young people who have served their apprenticeship in one or other of the workshops of the colony are now employed as craftsmen, and this class constantly increases. The costs of their government, the machinery of which is naturally very simple, but efficient, are covered by a tax of ten shillings on every hut, which is raised without demur." An observation made by G. Fritsch establishes a striking tendency in these civilized Kaffirs to approximate even in bodily respects to white men. The Fingo physiognomy, he says, makes the impression "of strong admixture, by approximation to the European type." They are especially distinguished from the Kaffirs of the eastern part of the colony and of British Kaffraria by the stronger development as a rule of the nose, and by the broad forehead.

The Pondos also belong to the southern Kaffir stocks which were broken up by Chaka; but they succeeded better than the Fingoes in at least partially retaining a hold of their former places of abode. Formerly divided among themselves, one half under the warlike and ferocious chief Taku being the terror of the other half, the neighbouring Pondomisi, they are now concentrated between Kaffirland and Natal, and have since 1894 been incorporated in the Cape Colony. The number of the Pondos cannot to-day be estimated at less than 150,000; they live even closer together than the Zulus in Natal.

Far harder conflicts than those with the most southerly Kaffirs had to be fought out by the colonists and the Cape Government with a Kaffir stock that came later into their field of view, the Zulus. The memory of the oldest Zulus goes back to a time when their people lived as a small tribe under a chief called Upunga, on the Umvolosi. The mythical chief Zulu is placed yet earlier; he gave the tribe its name. There are indeed traditions among them of an immigration from regions lying inland to the west or north-west, just as there are among other Kaffir stocks in the east; but this lies outside their more definite recollection. The historically eminent position of the Zulus was founded by Chaka, the son of Senzangakona, a chief renowned throughout his realm, who had twenty-five wives; before him tradition names only three chiefs. Chaka's mother quarrelled with her husband, to whom legend ascribes a foreboding jealousy of this precocious son, and fled to Dingiswayo, the chief of the neighbouring Tetwas. He placed Chaka under the care of one of his *indunas*, and when his father died, allowed him, then aged about thirty, to return to his home, where after a short fight he conquered the throne which had been usurped by one of his brothers. Chaka subjugated one neighbour-tribe after another, distributed the men fit to bear arms through his army and their families over the country, and knew so cleverly how to organise and hold together his growing power that, at the beginning of the 'twenties, he was able to pass for the sovereign of all the land between the rivers Umzimvubu, now the southern frontier of Natal, and Inhambane, and from the coast right into the heart of South Africa. When at the height of his power, he fell murdered by conspirators, his brother Dingaan being at their head, by whom

he was succeeded in the government. Under Chaka began the foundation, in any considerable degree, of European factories in the neighbourhood of what is now D'Urban. Some Europeans and half-breeds had even got together a large following of Kaffirs, and had themselves, in externals at least, become Kaffirs. Thus they had also acquired great influence with Chaka, and many of his reforms, military and others, may have had their roots in European suggestions. Dingaan, too, in no way repelled European influences, the pleasanter side of which the traders of Natal, who lived under his protection, but at the same time as remote as possible from his residence, were ready enough to show him. The raids of his warriors brought rich booty to his kraal, his own troops of elephant hunters provided him with ivory, the whole land from Delagoa Bay to the Umzimvubu obeyed his commands. This state of things underwent a sudden catastrophe, which was to decide the destiny of the whole Zulu power. In 1837 some Boers under Retief crossed the Drakenberg to Natal, wishing to obtain a piece of land from Dingaan by peaceful negotiation. He gave it to them, and they performed their share of the compact; but on 5th February 1838 Dingaan had the leader of the Boers and sixty-six of his principal followers assassinated at his kraal, and some days later their main laager in Natal was surprised by a large Zulu force. These, however, did not succeed in storming the gallant emigrants' waggon-fortress. In December of the same year the Boers, under Pretorius, so broke the power of Dingaan that he set fire to his chief kraal, and sought shelter in the bush on the Umvolosi; and at the end of the year the English took possession of Natal. In 1840 Dingaan's brother Mpanda fled to the Boers, and with their help inflicted a crushing defeat on his brother, from which the Zulu power never recovered.

When Mpanda died in 1872 he was succeeded by Cetewayo, who for some years had exercised as good as absolute rule under his father. Thinking his independence endangered by the colonial laws, which, though running counter to the Zulu spirit, yet made their influence felt, Cetewayo showed his discontent chiefly by acts of violence against such Kaffirs as had placed themselves under European protection. Though at his coronation in 1873 he had with great solemnity obtained the recognition of England, he began openly to prepare for a struggle, raising his army to 40,000 men, and training them admirably in the Zulu manner. The disbandment of this force and the surrender of certain turbulent persons were the demands which, in 1878, the English addressed to the Zulu chief; and as they were not acceded to, an advance over the Tugela followed in January 1879. In spite of the disastrous fight at Isandhlwana, and subsequent reverses, the English pressed forward, capturing Cetewayo in the Ngome forest on the Black Umvolosi. He was brought to Capetown, and his land divided into thirteen districts under the superintendence of an English resident. But this arrangement did not last; the chiefs, unaccustomed to act independently, quarrelled among themselves and weakened the nation; and in 1882 even England came to the conviction that it would be better to let the country have back a strong chief, who alone was in a position to bring back to a state of contentment these Kaffirs who were monarchical to the bottom of their hearts.[1] This, taken with the fact that under the shelter of a civilized government

[1] [This arrangement however only lasted a year. Cetewayo was soon defeated and driven out by Usibepu: and in 1887 Zululand became a British Colony.]

a new centre of Zulu population has developed in Natal, is by no means without significance. Even at the present day the population of Natal amounts to over 540,000 souls in an area of 20,000 square miles; being thus six times as dense as that of the Cape Colony, seven times that of the Orange River Free State. Of this only a small fraction is of white blood; the Kaffir population is more than 450,000 and is assuming towards the whites an attitude of acknowledged separation.

The Bechuanas are broken up into a great number of tribes, which may be united in natural groups according to their geographical position and tribal affinities. Usually they are separated into two great geographical sections, the West and the East Bechuanas; but between these an intermediate group has undoubtedly thrust itself in, on both banks of the Limpopo as far as the sources of that river.

The history of the Bechuanas is as confused as might be expected from their inland position; wedged in between warlike tribes, they have never attained to permanent crystallisation around one dynasty or one ruling stock. The very extent of the territory they inhabit has produced such disintegration. Legends of tribal wanderings point to immigration from the north. Yet the most recent history also shows movements towards the north; the Bechuana race, in spite of its comparatively high culture in a material sense, giving the clearest indications of its nomadic character. For the last hundred years the road to the north has alone been open to it; and even if its origin is not to be sought in this direction, the backward and forward flow of its history points that way. One episode of Bechuana history, no less interesting in itself than attractive for the light which it throws on the displacement of races in the interior of Africa, is typical of this, namely, the development of the Basutos into the wealthiest, most powerful, and best-armed tribe of this race, and the rise, as well as the tragic ruin, within less than two generations, of the Makololo, after their victorious advance as far as the Zambesi. A portion of the Bakwena, or crocodile-folk, were in the 'twenties forced back by Mosilikatse (Umzilikazi), the Zulu chief, from the Vaal River into the Drakenberg. With union and decision it would have been easy for the superior numbers of the Bechuanas to resist their assailants. But in face of the efforts of a single chief, Moshesh, who sought to hold his people together, the Bechuana proverb was verified: "Little chiefs are bad subjects." Mosilikatse found the people disunited and leaderless; he slew and plundered, and the survivors strayed away as "Basutos," that is beggars, into the mountains. Here, in 1831, Moshesh combined the disjoined fragments into one people, which, by the accession of some fugitive coast Kaffirs, got a little more iron into its blood. They were able to increase the advantages of their favourably situated pastures by extensive theft of cattle and horses from the Boers of the Orange River. In other matters, too, they were not backward. They could mount 18,000 men, and in 1879 are said to have possessed 15,000 to 20,000 stand of arms. Strong in the sense of their power, they withheld their taxes in that year from the Cape Government, and the resulting war ended practically in the triumph of the Basutos. They are possibly destined to found for the first time a strong Bechuana power in the centre of Africa.

To the Basuto stock belonged originally a very different and far remote

people, in whose history we meet with an opposite order of events; the Makololo, an aggregate of peoples with a number of Basutos forming the nucleus which decided their character. Moving northwards under their bold leader, Sebituane, they adopted into themselves the young men of the Bechuana tribes whom they conquered. The same took place in the case of the subsequently vanquished Makalaka, whose dwelling-place was, in the early 'fifties, annexed by the Makololo, under the compulsion of the great mortality experienced in the marsh lands of the Zambesi and Chobe. Finally even a part of the Basutos were absorbed into the tribe. They were pushed westward by the Matabele from the river Dila or Mozuma, towards the Chobe. Here, between that river and the Zambesi, the Makololo lived as on an island, surrounded by the low marshy banks of these deep rivers, protected from their enemies, but all the more exposed to the deadly marsh-fevers. The true Basutos could always be recognised by their industry. They were to be seen going hoe in hand to the fields with their wives, "a state of things," says Livingstone, "never witnessed at Kolobeng, or among any other Bechuana or Caffre tribe." But their successors, who had "been accustomed from their infancy to lord it over the conquered Makalaka," demeaned themselves like aristocrats, so that the astute Sebituane soon found himself obliged to retrench many of their privileges. He liked to express the principle of equality in the words "all are children of the chief." Sebituane, a highly-gifted prince, died in 1851; and Livingstone says: "I never felt so much grieved by the loss of a black man before." His successor Sekeletu was far inferior to his father in both physical and mental capacity. Land and people were unsettled by contests for the throne; and meanwhile the malarial fever had more and more sapped the strength of this conquering race, while the Barotse broke the sovereignty of their subduers in a sanguinary insurrection. Only two men and one boy are said to have survived from the nucleus of the Makololo between the Zambesi and the Chobe. A yet worse fate overtook 2000 men of the Makololo who dwelt south of the Chobe, where they sought protection from the West Bamangwato, as their kinsmen. The last king, Lechulatebe, proclaimed his joy at their arrival, and sent an invitation to them to come unarmed to his *Kotla*. But when the whole number had entered, all exit was blocked, and every Makololo slain. Thereupon the "conquerors" took the wives and children of the murdered men. But after that the Barotse chief, Sepopo, ruled in the place of Sebituane's house; and later on he obtained by inheritance Mabundaland, to the north. Thus arose the Barotse-Mabunda kingdom north of the Zambesi.

The Bamangwato again first migrated in the 'thirties or the 'forties to the country about Lake Ngami, having originally been settled further to the south-east. Even then, perhaps, under their powerful chief, Matebe, their rule extended to the lake; but it was in consequence of a quarrel between his two sons that half of the tribe first moved towards the eastern end of it, under the name of Batauana. There they founded their capital at the mouth of the Botletle. It appears on the maps as Batauana Town, and later on, Lechulatebe's town. This Lechulatebe, their chief's son, was taken captive by the Makololo. From this he was delivered by his uncle Magalakoe, who got in among the Makololo in disguise. He brought him up, and restored his people to him; after which he ruled, at the time when Europeans first reached Lake Ngami, as "Chief of the Lake," having conquered Bayeye and Bushmen under him. At first the young

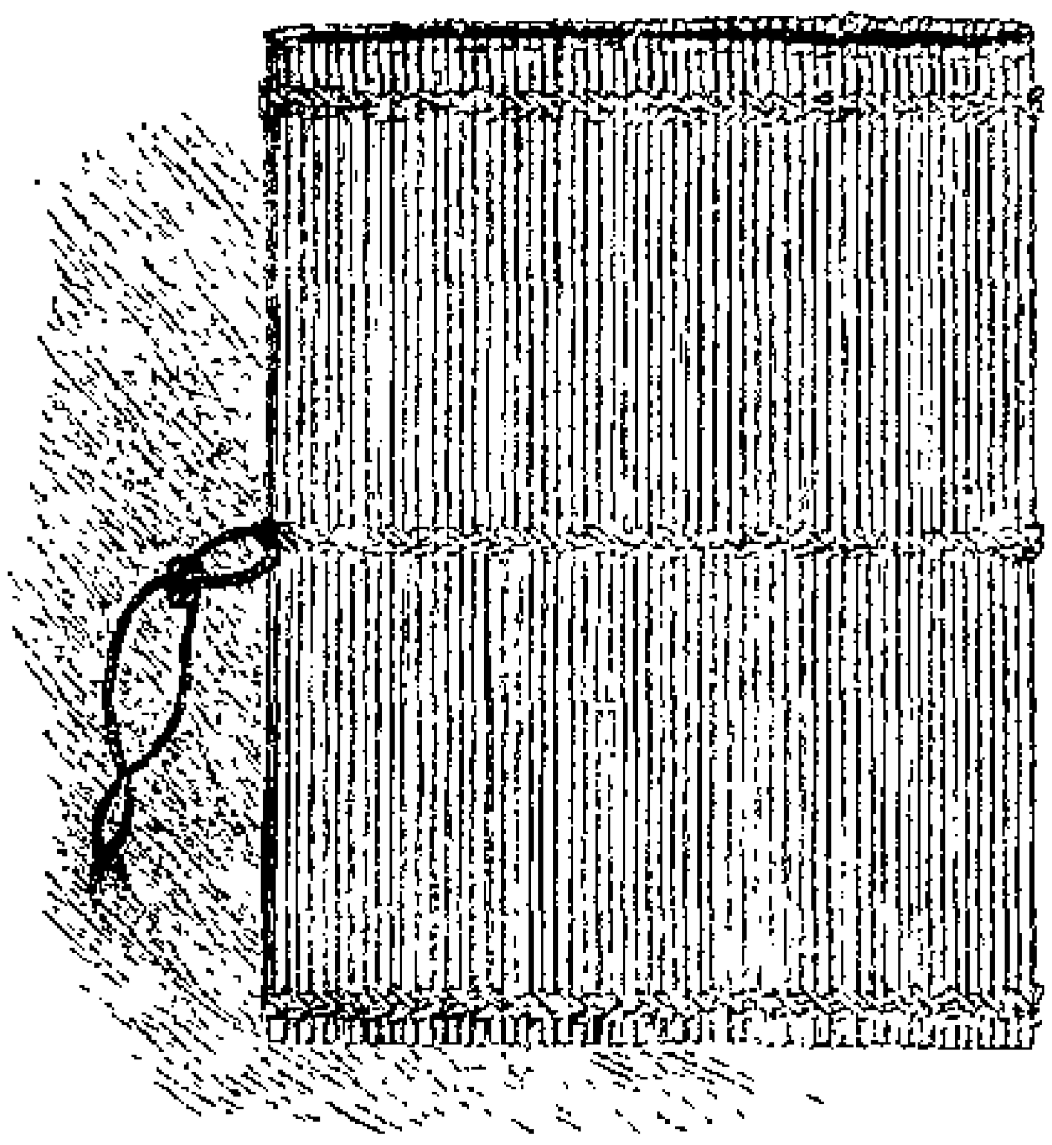
chief honoured and minded his uncle, but later he distrusted him and wished to be rid of him. Through his favourite wife, a daughter of Sechele, Lechulatebe maintained his connection with the Southern Bechuanas, while his relations with his northern kinsfolk, the Makololo, were strained. The branch that had remained in its old seat, under the younger brother Khama, known as the East Bamangwato, continued grouped around the capital, which, as "Sekomi's Town," at the foot of the Bamangwato hills, represented the largest assemblage of people in those parts. Their chief, Sekomi, was reckoned in the 'fifties as the head chief of the tribe, though he exercised no influence over the Batowana of Lake Ngami. He had gained honour by a victory over the Makololo, and also over a flying column of Matabele sent out by Mosilikatse; and enjoyed with his people a series of peaceful years, during which his new capital, Shoshong, rose to be the most populous native town, with most traffic, to be found south of the Zambesi. So great was the respect in which he and his people were held that subjects of the Matabele—Makalaka, Bahurutse, Mapaleng, and others—came from far to put themselves under the protection of the Bamangwato. But a new foe arose in his Christian sons Khama and Khamane, whose increasing power among the people he sought to meet by plots against the life of those princes and their adherents. He was banished, and Khama took his place; but as this chief was kind-hearted enough to recall his father Sekomi, quiet did not at once return to Bamangwatoland. Finally, Khama migrated, with the greater part of the population of Shoshong, to the West Bamangwato country on the Tonga River. But here he had no better fortune than the Makololo on the Zambesi; fever decimated his people. Accordingly he returned with the rest to Shoshong and took it, while Sekomi fled to Sechele. When Holub stayed there in 1875-1876 the greater part of the population had attached themselves firmly to the Christian Khama, who had so increased order and security that the population of Shoshong was trebled. Khama's prohibition of the sale of spirits had had an excellent effect.

A Bechuana tribe which made its way towards the north is the Bakwena, to the south of the Bamangwato. Their chief Sechele, who took so important a part at the beginning of Livingstone's travels, resided in the 'forties at Kolobeng. Driven out by the Boers, he removed to Liteyane and then to Molopole, which is still the capital of the tribe. This too has dwindled owing to civil and foreign wars. In the middle of the 'seventies it numbered not more than 32,000 to 35,000 souls, together with 18,000 to 20,000 half-foreign Batloka, Bakatla, and Mâkosi living in the country. Sechele went to church and had his children baptized, but he remained all along the born high-priest of his Bakwena, most of whom were heathen. Still, owing to the presence of missionaries and traders, Sechele became acquainted with at least the material benefits of civilization, and obviously found more satisfaction in them than in Christianity. Next to the south comes the brother-tribe of the Bangwaketse.

The pliant adaptable nature of the Bechuanas is better suited to take advantage of the economical benefits of culture than is that of the East Kaffirs, who in return have been more successful in retaining their own land for themselves. Other tribes besides the Basutos and Bamangwato have been able to make the unavoidable contact with white men of use to themselves in this direction. The Batlapins, when first discovered, "were an insignificant and filthy people." But being very near the colony, they acquired opportunities of

trading, and as at the same time the influence of the missionaries kept them clear of wars, they were enabled to amass a great quantity of cattle. Unluckily they became puffed up by this, and collisions with the Boers have again weakened them.

In the picture of Bechuana history, besides the flourishing tribes and those that have perished must be included such as have broken to pieces, and either are wandering homeless, or have found a place of abode in mountain-tops or in swamps. The shattered fragments of Bakwena and other Bechuana tribes on the plains, who have frequently crossed with the Bushmen, are classed together as Bakalahari. "Living on the same plains with the Bushmen," says Livingstone, "subjected to the same influences of climate, enduring the same thirst, and subsisting on similar food for centuries, the Bakalahari seem to supply a standing proof that locality is not always sufficient of itself to account for difference in races. They retain in undying vigour the Bechuana love for agriculture and domestic animals. They hoe their gardens annually, though often all they can hope for is a supply of melons and pumpkins. And they carefully rear small herds of goats, though I have seen them lift water for them out of small wells with a bit of ostrich egg-shell, or by spoonfuls." But in any case the Bakalahari have always maintained relations with the Bechuana tribes dwelling nearest to them, and hold fast to the kind of *clientela* in which they stand towards the chiefs of these.



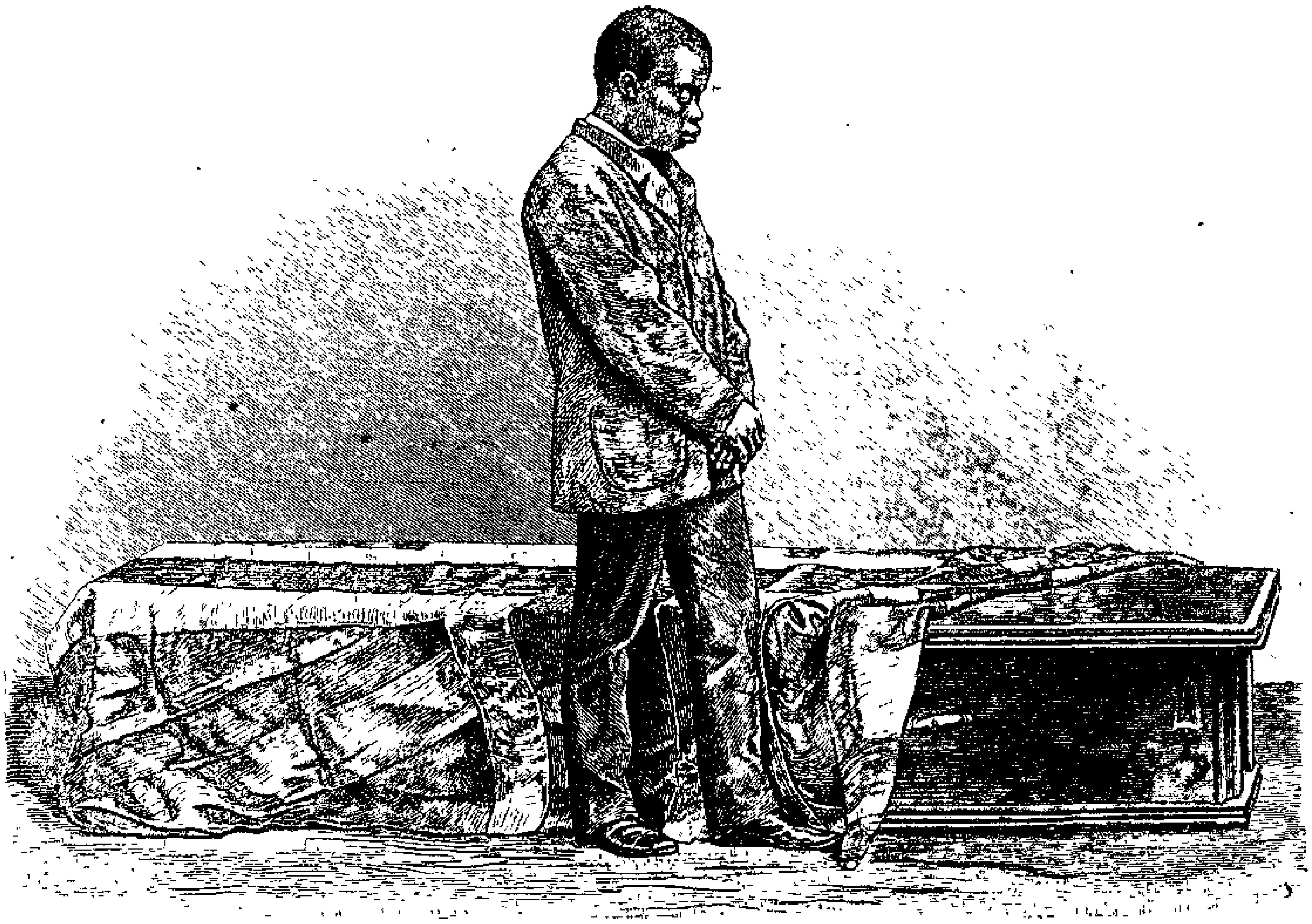
Wayao rattle—one-tenth real size. A similar article occurs in Madagascar. (British Museum.)

A somewhat more favourable example is afforded by the tribe of the Bahurutse, now living on the Zouga or Botletle and on the Kumadau Lake a little to the south-east of Ngami. Formerly it was one of the most powerful tribes, but had in consequence of internal dissensions split into several branches, which until Mosilikatse broke them to pieces were in a constant state of feud. One tribe then got away to the Shashi River, divided again, and sent off a branch to the Botletle River, which under the suzerainty of the Bamangwato, and in the shelter of the marshes and lakes, soon recovered its strength. Presently it became fused with the Botletle, while whole villages of fugitive Makalaka, Bakalahari, and Bushmen came and settled there. Content with their fertile land, and their great herds of sheep and goats, they hardly ever left their marshes, which were nearly impenetrable to strangers.

Shorter notices must suffice for the most part of the Northern Kaffirs; since one war of conquest or extermination waged by a tribe of small culture is much like another. Moreover the affinity of all the conquering tribes as far as the Unyamwezi to the Kaffir stock cannot be certainly proved, quite apart from the far-reaching blends of races which have taken place on every hand.

The most distinct of these races are the Matabele (called in more recent documents, *e.g.* Lobengula's treaty of protection in 1888, Amandabele) a well-marked fighting and plundering race of southern origin. Living north-west of

the Zulus, they form only one of the larger links in the chain of Zulu-like peoples, extending from Natal to the Equator, and one of the nearest to the main stock. Tradition and legend, no less than the similarity of their customs, testify that their separation from the Zulus is recent. Mosilikatse was the real creator of this new people. It is unanimously recorded of him that under Chaka he was sent out with a flying column of Zulus on a foray to the north, and remained on his own account in this country, which is among the finest and most fertile in South Africa. He imitated his master in his love for plunder and war, no less than the Matabele themselves resemble the Zulus in warlike feeling and ferocity.



Jacob Wainwright, a Yao, by Livingstone's coffin. (From a photograph.)

The military organisation was retained; and till this day, the Matabele are a faithful reflection of the Zulus.

Mosilikatse has long been dead. His son, Lobengula, fixed his residence, Gubuluwayo, near the place which used to be called Mosilikatse's town, and it was visited by numerous white traders. A strong bulwark fell with the Zulu power in 1879, and in 1888 he found himself obliged to conclude a treaty of protection with the English. This, however, was no protection when his country was overrun by adventurers from the Cape, greedy for land and gold. In 1893, he and his once-dre-ded power fell in a war in which many sins were committed against humanity, even against that inviolability of ambassadors of which the Kaffirs think so m But the Matabele had remained what their fathers were, even though the separat… in space had called forth many changes in external points. Without narrow natural boundaries, and without pressure from white neighbours, their warlike savage instincts had flourished too luxuriantly in the vicinity of timid agricultural peoples. Their outbreaks

against the Mashona, the Batoka, and the Makalaka, their neighbours on the north, who are industrious and well-to-do, but unfortunately less warlike, is one of the darkest pages of African history. "When on their almost annually repeated raids," says Chapman, "they visit the villages south of the Zambesi, old men and women are killed, and all the young people led into captivity. Nothing more ferocious can be imagined than the brutal way in which they treat human lives. The whole ambition and endeavour of a Matabele is to kill his first man. By this he measures his honour and his reputation." That even

A Mtuta. (After Stanley.)

cannibalism becomes possible as a result of such a contempt for human life seems indubitable. Caves with remains of cannibal feasts have been found exactly in the districts where the Matabele live and raid. In the largest of these, the rocks were still black with smoke in 1869, the floor was covered with many human bones, some piled up, some lying strewn about. Skulls were especially numerous, belonging mostly to children and young persons, and looking as if they had been smashed with blunt axes or sharpened [illegible]s. The narrow bones were broken into small fragments, and only the ro[illegible] parts near the joints remained entire.

Several smaller groups of Matabele have led a separate existence far from the main body, in secluded habitations in the mountains. A number fled, in order to escape Chaka's tyranny, to the high valleys of the Maluti range, where they

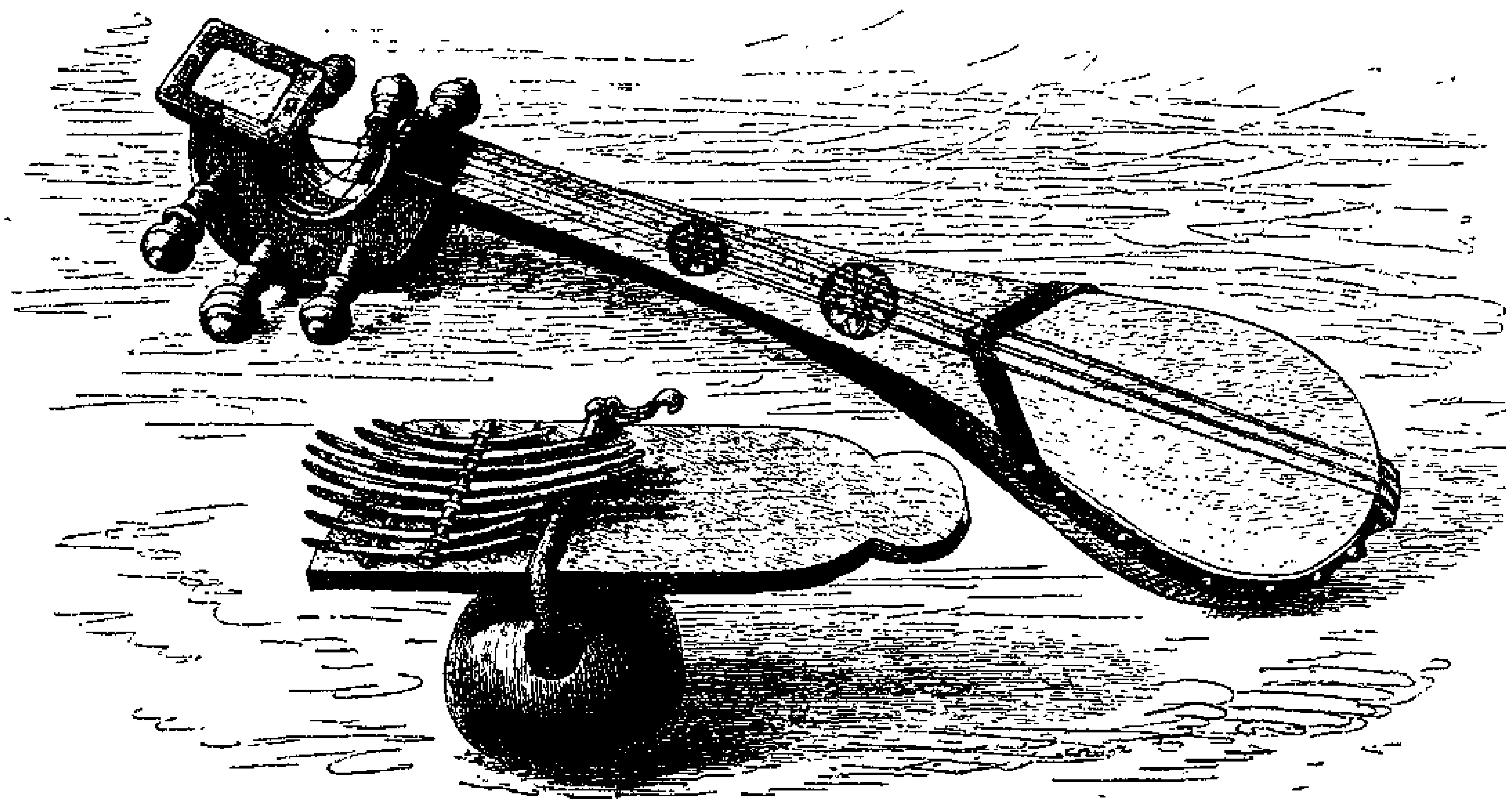
took the name, from their leader, of Matlapatlapa. His successor was compelled by the Matabele to seek refuge in 1837 with the Basutos; but when their chief Sekoniela fell in a campaign against Dingaan, that sovereign massacred a great part of the Matlapatlapa. The rest, to the number of 7000 or 8000, led a miserable uncertain life as robbers in their former territory. In the same mountains dwelt the Bamawakana, allies of the Matlapatlapa; fifteen years before they had occupied this apparently secure place of abode, and had collected large herds. Quite unexpectedly a horde of Matabele surprised them in the night, slew the chief with part of his people, burnt the huts and drove away the herds. The remaining ten villages lived in a great measure on plunder, and in Arbousset's time their inhabitants passed for cannibals. Some mined iron and forged hoes, others bred sheep and goats, while others again grew tobacco on the slopes of the Maluti range.

If the small nations have been thrown about like splinters beyond the territory of the main stock, they are yet splinters of the hammer which comes down vigorously on the anvil of the unwarlike tribes, crushing them to pieces or beating them ever smaller, as it may chance. Unstable nomadic races are the result of those blows, which bring about a state of things where every man's hand is against every man. In the districts between the Lower Zambesi and the Limpopo, which for many years have been almost periodically visited by raids of the Matabele from the west or the Sofala Zulus from the east, we find a greater number of tribes of this kind, who may be called the gipsies or pariahs of the population in those parts. There are the Barukwa, a decayed branch of the Batonga, who make out their lives on the northern tributaries of the Limpopo with theft and robbery, and pursue the chase with poisoned arrows; a true race of highwaymen. Next to them are the Baroka, consisting of people from various tribes, whose existence is in some degree accounted for by their remoteness from the sphere of their chief's power. They live scattered in single huts, getting a scanty subsistence from fish, tortoises, game deserted by the beasts of prey, wild berries, fruits, roots, and gourds. Perhaps even more despised are the Balempa, who live by themselves in largish villages, come little into contact with the rest of the population, practise circumcision, eat only meat slaughtered by themselves in their own manner, do not eat out of the same pot with others, and act principally as trade agents. They alone are able to draw wire, with which they overlay sticks or spear-shafts in a kind of filigree. It was doubtless with a recollection of the ruins of Zimbabwe, his "Ophir," that Karl Mauch saw in their features "a striking resemblance to the Israelitish type," a resemblance to which even "the eyes inflamed with scrofula" were not lacking. But we may most regret the depressed and disintegrated state of the Mashona tribe, which, lying to the west of the Matabele, is hemmed in between them and the Bamangwato. For some decades the more easterly kraals of these people were the favourite objects of the raids, especially of the West Matabele, so that the once wealthy Mashona have been almost entirely plundered of their herds, to a great extent driven out of their fertile valleys to the high ground, and have built fortified villages among the rocks, or simply sought shelter in caves. Yet even now they have the reputation of the most expert natives south of the Zambesi in work of all kinds. Since they are wholly composed of small communities, which never stand by each other against the common foe, the destruction of the land and

people by the incessant *impis* has gone further and further, the men being killed "like springboks," while the younger women and children were enslaved. Under Lobengula, the Matabele were recognised by Europeans as "protectors of the Mashona and the Makalaka."

Proceeding now to the Zambesi, we find the Landeens, again a branch of the Zulus, once the lords of the right bank. The Portuguese admitted the sovereign rights of this martial tribe by paying them a yearly tribute. In order to collect this, if necessary by force, the Landeens came every year to Senna and Shupanga. Besides a fixed tax in beads and brass wire, the rich Portuguese merchants paid yearly 200 pieces of cotton of sixteen ells apiece.

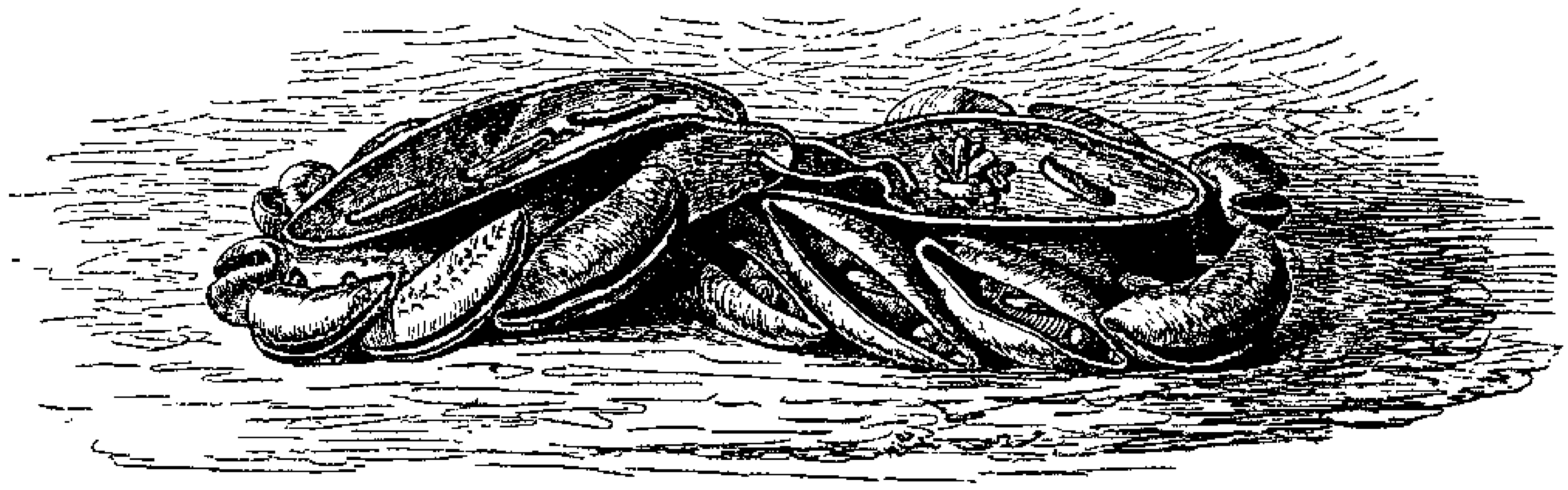
Legend ascribes an origin similar to that of the Matabele to a tribe which



Wayao guitar and wooden harmonica—one-seventh real size. (Berlin Museum.)

rules, fighting and plundering, over a still larger territory; and once held in subjection, on the high plateau west of Lake Nyassa, the agricultural people of the Manganja or Maravi. This is the Maviti or Mazitu tribe, which is nothing but a Zulu stock and certainly differs in details only from the Wayao who dwell further to the east towards the coast and the Rovuma. But both continue northwards into the people called Watuta, who again are quite similar, and of importance in the present history of Equatorial East Africa. We must not by these names understand sharply-defined tribes. To some extent they have only a generic meaning; and denote in general peoples of unstable, warlike, and predatory character, possessing marked external characteristics, especially in their weapons and mode of fighting. Everything in these people's mode of life points to an extraordinarily high degree of internal capacity for variation. With the rapid rises and falls of their fortunes, their numbers, their prosperity, and the possibility of their separate political existence, rise and fall also. The history of African races tells of peoples of this kind who have been completely exterminated and of others who in one generation have risen from total obscurity to the position of great powers. Peaceful races suddenly take the warpath behind the mask of the Watuta or the Masitu; at first in ridiculous mimicry, like sheep in

wolf's clothing, later in sanguinary earnest. A whole list of these "Zulu-apes" are known between the Nile and the Zambesi. Among all these clashing impulses this broad region of the Equatorial East is like a sea in constant motion. One wave ever drives the others forward, and many a tribe wanders for decades together from place to place, pushed on by one more powerful. A "period of national wandering" is still playing itself out in those parts. A bold conqueror like Mirambo, sprung from the Wanyamwesi, acted with his Watuta like a mighty ferment upon this mass of peoples. He threw all into unrest, forced many to change their abode, and never let them be at peace till he was dead. Many natives of the highlands between the coast and Lake Tanganyika, once living in prosperity, were so hard pressed by the onslaughts of the Wahehe from the north and the Wavumba from the south that they left their fertile land and sought refuge in the mountains. The land of Kabogo on Tanganyika was once densely



Wayao bell-rattle, used to drive out devils—one-half real size. (Berlin Museum.)

peopled; but the predatory population of Ndesch has caused a general emigration. Similarly the Wavumba east of the lake country have by their raids compelled other peoples to shift their quarters. This state of things extends far to the west.

The Watuta or Wangoni are the most spoken of among all the warrior-peoples, for they are most influential exactly in that region between the Indian Ocean and the great lakes which has become of the greatest importance for Europe and India by its trade-routes and for Germany as a political possession. The Watuta, an isolated tribe of the Mazitu, went off some fifty years upon a plundering expedition pushed far to the north. Coming from the north-west end of Lake Nyassa, they fell in with the Warori, rich owners of herds. But as these were too strong for them they skirted Urori and advanced north-west to Ujiji. The older Arab inhabitants of Ujiji can still remember how the Watuta appeared suddenly and forced them to take refuge on Bangwe Island. They also attacked Uha and Urundi, but found their enterprise baffled here; carried their campaign of devastation though Uvinzi, marched into Unyamwesi, and got to Lake Nyanza by way of Usinja. There they stayed some years after their desperate campaign, and went back to Usambara. The chief of that place, for political reasons, sought the daughter of the Watuta chief in marriage, and got his land back as her dowry, while the Watuta, proceeding farther southwards, were established by Mirambo the "Zuluised" chief of the Wanyamwesi in the well-watered grass country of Ugomba and Ugalla. Thus from the nomad race was formed a state the constitution of which contradicts 'the forecast of those who announced that the day was at hand when this scratch' team of robbers

would fly to pieces. The Watuta have not indeed yet renounced their warlike habits; they even plunder on their own account. In their leader Mirambo, Kaiser and Böhm found more of the spirit of a ruler than in a dozen ordinary negro princes. Wissmann speaks of "Mirambo, the most remarkable negro whom I have met in Africa"; and there was a time when the missionaries relied on the once despised leader of bandits.

If the Watuta, and similarly the Wahehe, show the way in which, as history teaches, genuine fighting and plundering races arise, two further examples may serve briefly to explain how others come by the unusual and ridiculous road of imitation, through the stage of aping the Zulus, to increase the number of these foes to all tranquil development, all undisturbed peace. In the Rovuma Valley there is a tribe by the name of Mahinje, called also Maviti. These Maviti of the Rovuma are in reality fugitives of the Gindo stock, whose only inward resemblance to the Maviti of the lake district lies in the predatory habits in which, amid only too peaceful tribes, they are able to indulge unrestrained. In fact they have, according to Thomson, "no more affinity with the Zulus than an ass in a lion's skin has with a lion. They are a herd of miserable cowards." Their wonderful mimicry, which extends not only to dress and weapons, but to songs, dances, and the whole warlike demeanour, is ascribed to the circumstance that they long dwelt in company with Zulus on the shores of Lake Nyassa. According to the late Bishop Maples, for the sake of this new life they have even given up their wholly peaceful occupation of agriculture. In 1884 the Rev. W. P. Johnson wrote that many of the hill tribes, to the south-east of Lake Nyassa, had adopted the "Angone shield." Even towards the end of the 'seventies, the Shakundas, who consisted principally of fugitive Portuguese slaves, ravaged the lands of the Batonga on the Middle Zambesi in regular Zulu style.

Ornamental axe from the Manganja country, said to be of Wayao make—one-tenth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

On the other hand, the Walungu have already come down again from the not exactly sunny height of their greatness as warriors. Some twenty years ago they were disturbed by inroads of the Mazitu or Maviti; their chief's eldest son was taken, and led away into captivity. After some years he returned to his country. Then he began to instruct the Walungu in the tactics of the Watuta, compelling them to adopt the same clothing, the same weapons, the same war cry, and the same movements, until they soon looked like genuine Watuta. But the mere sight of that equipment, the mere sound of that yell, was enough for the timid farming-folk on Lake Tanganyika and the Rufiji; all opposition was paralysed, and the made-up Watuta ravaged the whole country. But when the creator of

their metamorphosis was dead, his whole warlike system fell to ruins; the people returned to their former habits, weapons, and clothing, laid aside the name Watuta, and now seem thoroughly harmless. But in every hut Thomson still saw the ox-hide shield, the relic of the old fighting times. The transformations and new formations of warrior tribes are not yet, however, at an end in this district; fresh names turn up from time to time. Quite recently, besides the Mahinge or Wazwangara, the Wamashonde and the Amasota have come to the front as devastators of the southern coast-lands of German East Africa. Here "Maviti" is a kind of collective name for all these Kaffir peoples and mixed tribes, as is "Angoni" further to the south.

It is easy to conceive the dread with which the terrible names of these people are received by the peaceful nations. Livingstone relates how the Makua frighten their children with the name Mazitu. Fear alone causes whole tribes to change their places of abode. Villages are built in the thickest part of the forest, protected by hidden paths and even pitfalls. European travellers have more than once met with hostility simply because they have been taken for the leaders of bands of Watuta. Fugitive communities, in their search for as out-of-the-way abodes as possible, have colonised tracts of country which otherwise have remained uninhabited; and if thickly-peopled districts have become desert, others have in their stead been filled by fugitives—as in the case of the fertile lowlands of the Shiré—who have turned the wilderness into flourishing cornlands. One may happen, in the midst of these well-situated, fertile, well-watered lands that fall in steps to the coast, to come suddenly upon a wide tract empty of men, where nevertheless old fireplaces, village sites, and tilled fields, give notice of the former presence of a dense settlement.

One important side of the devastating effects wrought by these warlike robbers has not yet been mentioned, namely, their participation in the slave-trade. Yet it is clear that wherever a band of this kind falls upon peaceful inhabitants, a mass of "goods" is acquired for this trade, the prosperity of which in the places on the equatorial east coast from Sofala to Zanzibar may be referred in by no means the least degree to the fact that the campaigns of these robber-bands are constantly providing the traders as abundantly as they can wish with material for the composition of their slave caravans. Thus the Wayao have been called "the most active agents the slave-traders have." Their active relations with the slave-traders have also materially contributed to the superiority of this warlike people's equipment. Livingstone describes the trade as follows:—"The caravan-leaders from Kilwa arrive at a Waiyau village, show the goods they have brought, are treated liberally by the elders, and told to wait and enjoy themselves. Slaves enough to purchase all will be procured; then a foray is made against the Manganja, who have few or no guns. The Waiyau who come against them are abundantly supplied with both by their coast guests. Several of the low coast Arabs, who differ in nothing from the Waiyau, usually accompany the foray and do business on their own account." Nor are these raids confined to this; and the Wayao often come down upon one another. The mischief of such a state of things is no doubt becoming clear to some of the more sensible chiefs; and so perhaps the manly and enduring spirit which has been aroused during this long-continued state of war among these very Wayao may one day prepare an even better soil for culture than exists among the oppressed discouraged Manganja.

The experience of the missionaries in the Rovuma district is not unfavourable; one of the rare bright figures in the gloomy gallery of conspicuous Africans is Matola, the chief of Newala, who formed a solid support to the work of the English Mission. Some tribes have learnt from the artistic peoples whom they subdued to make implements, which show how deeply the arts of peace have here and there taken root. In Nyassaland, too, so-called Angoni have forsaken the trade of arms for tillage; and the rapidity of this change is a real gleam of light. In justice to the so much reviled Wayao, too, it must not here be overlooked that it has more than once already been possible to turn their passion and talent for travel to the advantage of European explorers. Bombay, who from the time of Burton and Speke to that of Stanley helped to lead nearly all the expeditions that set out from Zanzibar, as well as Chuma and Wainwright, who brought Livingstone's body to the coast in 1874, belonged to the Yao stock, and earned abundant praise; and numerous members of this tribe are to be found among the carriers in the Bagamoyo caravans.

## § 4. THE OVAHERERO[1] OR DAMARAS, AND THE MOUNTAIN DAMARAS.

Place of abode and origin—Character; bodily build—Dress and ornament; weapons; utensils—Music and dancing—Food—Trade—Influence of the missionaries—Absence of agriculture; other deficiencies of culture; cattle-breeding; nomadism; communism—Family; polygamy; death and burial—Political conditions—Conceptions of law—Social organisation; religious tendencies; witch-doctors and fire-maidens; sacrifices—The Mountain Damaras.

According to their own tradition, the Ovaherero migrated to their present place of abode from the north or north-east, and have not possessed it much more than a hundred years. Their affinity to the races in the neighbourhood of Lake Tanganyika, especially the Wanyamwesi, appears not only in the name which they give themselves, Washimba, but also in manners and customs; such as the cult of fire, the use of the same beads, and the similarity of their spears. One legend of their descent relates that the first men—the first Damaras, that is—and the animals of the country came out of a tree, when darkness was over all the land. Then a Damara lighted a fire, which so terrified the zebra, the giraffe, the gnu, and all the other beasts of the desert, that they all fled from the presence of man, while the domestic animals, like the ox, the sheep, and the dog, remained fearlessly assembled round the blaze. The place where the ancestral tree grew is called by the people Omarura, and many think that it is the same tree to which they give the name Omumborombonga. Andersson found this tree in great groves to the east of the present site of the Hereros, towards Lake Ngami. In this direction dwelt pastoral peoples, living in just the same way as the non-agricultural Ovaherero, while to the north are exclusively agricultural tribes; so that their immigration from the east seems more probable than from the north. Shortly before their immigration to their present place, they were settled on both

[1] "Ovaherero," the collective of "Herero," is the name given by this people to themselves. According to Hahn it means "cheerful people"; but Schinz thinks the name is to be derived from *hera*, "to brandish the spear." The meaning of "Damara," a word belonging to the Nama language, seems obscure.

banks of the Kunene. Before this the Bushmen, now scattered and driven back, and the tribes whom Andersson calls Mountain Damaras, seem to have inhabited Damaraland; and in earlier times, the Namaquas certainly held the southern part of it. At the same time as the Damaras came here, their kinsmen the Banjeru arrived upon Lake Ngami from the north. But neither here nor there could the new immigrants long maintain themselves in their position of sole sovereignty. Unlike other races, for whom such a victorious advance is wont to be an inducement to firm concentration amid the subject people, and therewith the first step to a yet more extended career of victory, they fell to pieces soon after their settlement in the space between 20° and 24° of South latitude, and between Lake Ngami and the Atlantic, into a great number of small tribes, ruled by an equal number of independent chiefs. It was not long before their neighbours profited by this dispersion. To the east, the Banjeru got into hostilities with the Bakoba and Batowana (who were afterwards subdued by the Matabele) and after several desperate engagements, were driven by them out of the country round Lake Ngami. Traces of them, in the shape of springs that have been broadened into cattle-troughs are still to be found in the now almost uninhabited tract between Lake Ngami and Tanobis. But in the south, the most destructive foes to the Ovaherero sprang up in the persons of the Namaqua Hottentots, who after being driven back for a short time, became in the course of the 'forties first an equal, and soon an advancing and conquering power in this region. The tribe of the Banjeru, who originally were, at least in dialect, divergent from the Ovaherero, were gradually almost annihilated, so that from that time forward one is entitled to give the name Herero to the whole race.

A Banjeru chief. (From a photograph belonging to the Barmen Mission.)

In spite of the peace which the Rhenish missionaries negotiated in 1842, the Ovaherero receded steadily till, by the middle of the 'fifties, they had been subdued over almost the whole country. Internal feuds had contributed a great deal to this important result. Only in the extreme north did independent and, what is equally important, cattle-owning tribes maintain themselves in the mountains to the 18th degree of latitude. After 1863 they began to advance again, with the bold chief Kamaherero at their head; while Andersson and Green, the well-known elephant-hunters, came to their aid. But they got still

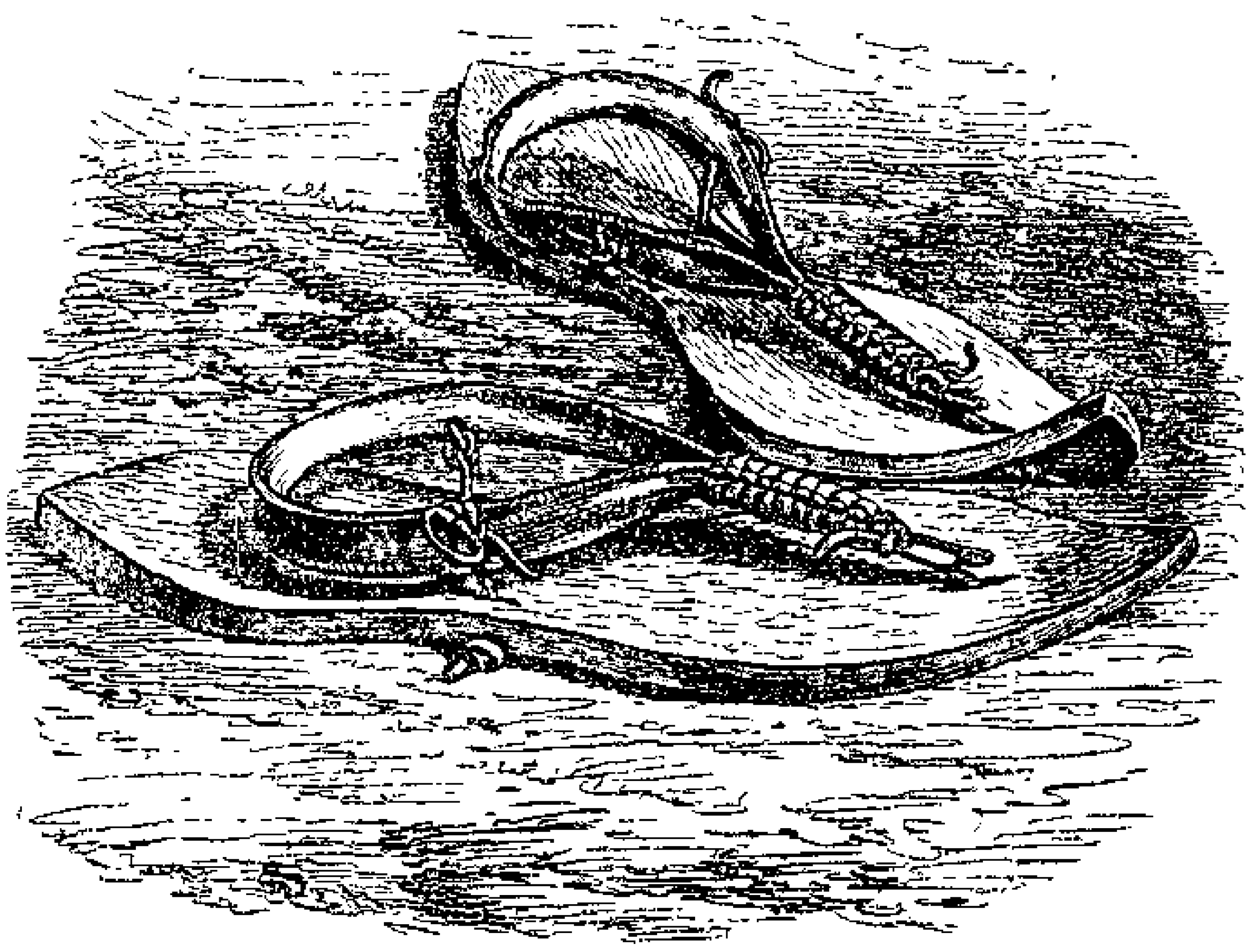
more help from the counsel of their missionary, Hugo Hahn, round whom they concentrated in 1865 at Otyimbingue. The place was four times attacked by large bodies of Namaquas, nearly 1500 of whom fell in the final assault. At last, in 1868, peace was restored, and since then the Ovaherero have rapidly regained ground, and made progress in every respect, under the guidance of German missionaries. But the torch of war has been rekindled since 1881, as if the words once used by Kamaherero to the Namaquas were destined to remain always true. "Everywhere," he cried, "we lie down or walk upon the bones of our parents, children, brethren, or friends, murdered by you Namaquas." In truth all Damaraland is soaked with blood. A body of wandering Boers,

The Herero chiefs Kamaherero and Amadama. (From a photograph belonging to the Barmen Mission.)

"Trekboers," moved in 1874 from the Transvaal, through the Kalahari to the Damaraland, and settled in about 18° S., along a chain of hills, at the foot of which were some springs. Luckily for the Ovaherero, and perhaps for the German influence also, this new Boer Republic, Upingtonia, was of short duration; the remainder of the Boers, who in 1886 had been compelled at Grootfontein to place themselves under German protection, migrated in 1891 into Portuguese territory.

The character of the Hereros has certainly suffered under these melancholy turns of fortune, and it will need generations of permanent peace, such as can only be secured when the German power is established, to raise them once more, under the guidance of their excellent missionaries. They still stand as a helpless herd in face of their foes. This loss of spirit explains how it is that travellers who have had to do with them for years together, like Andersson, Galton, Chapman, and Green, have been able to represent them as unusually cowardly, mendacious, and suspicious. The missionaries lived for years at

Barmen and Schmelens Hope before they learnt the existence of some considerable springs in the neighbourhood, of which the Ovaherero had long known. From Otyimbingue to Omanbondi is two or three weeks' journey; yet when Galton asked a Herero how far it was, he was told that a man might travel every day with all possible speed, and yet he would be an old man before he accomplished it. Their intellectual qualities are less developed than the Kaffirs'. Hahn, who calls them dull, adds: "Perhaps all that is wanted is to awaken their faculties. There must be some strength in them, or they would have perished under the unspeakable oppression and cruel ill-treatment of the Namaquas. A prominent feature of their character as a people is self-will and sullenness." Together with other negroes, this race has one conspicuous gift in its turn for singing. Hahn records a bright scene, how, during a rest after a dreary desert journey, some mission scholars surprised him by singing outside his hut the airs, *Nun danket alle Gott* and *Ein feste Burg*, in four parts. In considering our judgment of the Herero, we must observe that, above all his defects, one quality predominates, which, granting education, opens a favourable prospect for his future. He is stable, while his Hottentot neighbour is changeable. The Herero is harder to approach, harder to convert; he is a man of the reason rather than of the emotion; but he holds more firmly to what he takes up. Those of the missionaries who know him best are ever reverting to this quality, and recognise in it a guarantee for the ultimate success of their labours.



Herero leather sandals. (Berlin Museum.)

As to the part played by the affections in the life of the Hereros, prematurely unfavourable judgments were formed from outward appearances in the days of their poverty and depression. But they certainly stand no lower than their neighbours to the east. The mother carries her children in a piece of skin or leather wrapped about her neck and hips, greases them diligently, and every morning and evening stretches and straightens their limbs to make them upright. Children are named after important occurrences within their tribe; and if such occasions happen more than once during their youth, may bear several names. The boys all undergo circumcision, as a rule between their sixth and eighth years; several are operated on together, and these are for their whole lives *omakura*, that is companions or comrades. The event is honoured by the festive consumption of sundry oxen and sheep. The filing of the upper incisors to a swallow-tail shape, and the knocking out of three or all of the lower takes place for both sexes between the ages of twelve and sixteen; with girls rather earlier than with lads. The filing of the upper teeth is done earlier than the knocking out of the lower,

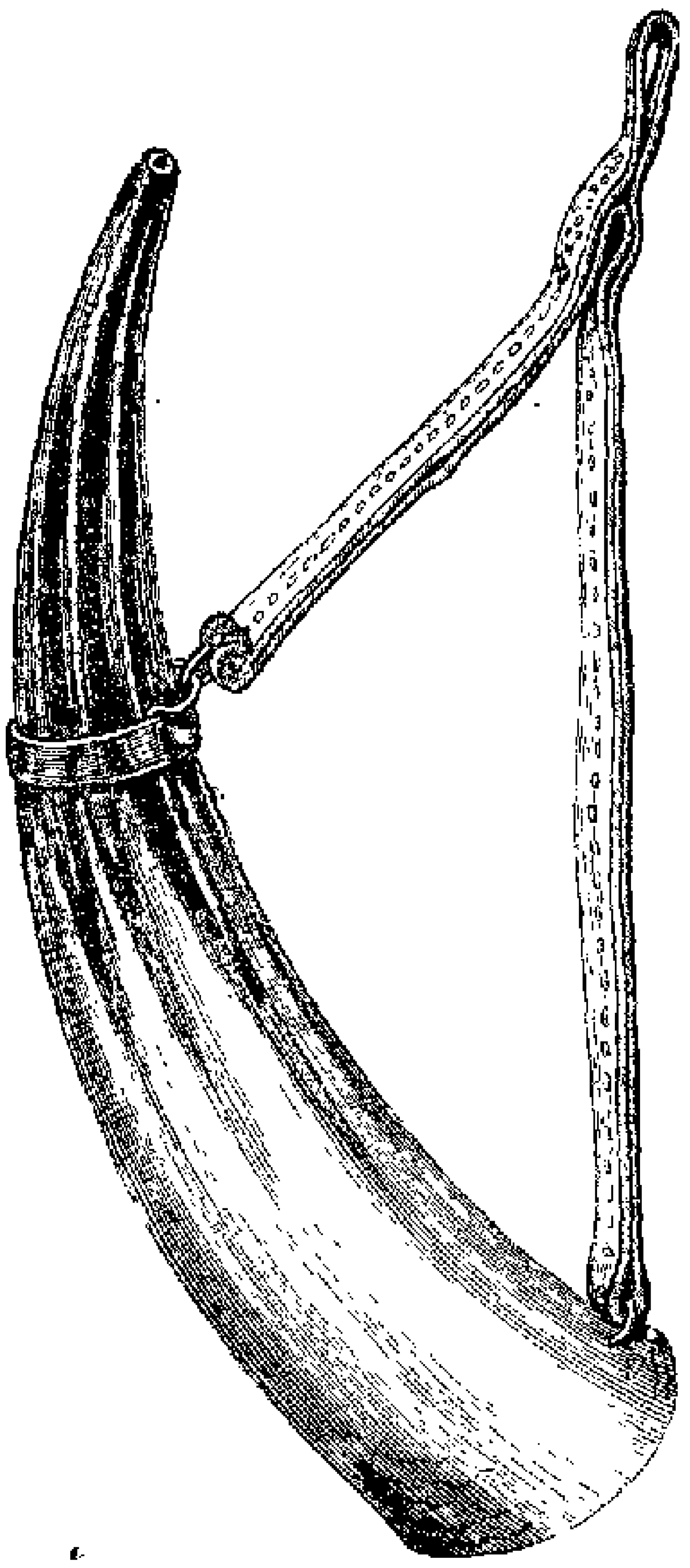
but is equally accompanied by festal banquets. Part of the business is the binding of the shins with leather thongs, the ends of which hang down like tassels. A girl who is sought in marriage puts on the three-pointed head-dress, and covers her face for a time with a piece of leather attached to the front of it, as with a veil. Of the chief's wives, one, whom the husband selects, ranks as the head wife; and her eldest son is the appointed successor to his father's honours. The wife's position wears in many cases the appearance of especial hardship, since the wretched conditions under which the Hereros live of themselves lay a more

A Damara grave. (After Andersson.)

heavy burden on the shoulders of the wife. But not uncommonly she surpasses her husband in determination. "They often," says Chapman, "do most desperate things in war or in the chase, in order to encourage, shame, or stimulate the men." Josaphat Hahn relates how, in one of the first great collisions with the Namaquas, in the 'twenties, the victory was only won by the intervention of the women, who were looking on, and at the decisive moment hastened to the aid of their husbands.

Whenever a death occurs, the whole population of the village raises a great lamentation, and the women weep as many tears as they can over the body; since the more tears fall upon the corpse the better for the departed, tears being a favourable omen. Chapman describes the death of one of his Damara followers as quite heart-breaking. "The women had carried him out into the bushes to die, and were all squatted down round him, howling a most doleful and melancholy dirge, bathing and chafing his hands while he lay insensible, with his head rest-

ing on his wife's lap, only giving occasional signs of life by a laboured gasp." The body is wrapped in skins for burial, and stones are rolled upon the grave. Chiefs' graves are further protected by a thorn hedge, and marked by a tree or pole, upon which are hung some of the deceased's weapons together with the skulls of the oxen slain at the funeral feast. Andersson relates that one chief was at his own request not buried, but laid up in a recumbent position on an erection in the middle of his own hut, round which the survivors then put up a strong palisade. If they are away from home they do not inter corpses, for fear that the ghosts may follow them, but throw them to the wild beasts. Formerly the custom prevailed of cutting through the spine of the deceased, in order to kill the worm *otjirura* which resided there, and which after death would become an evil spectre (so Brinker). It is certain that the village where a chief has died is transferred for a time to another site. Some years later, however, it returns, and the chief kneels down at his predecessor's grave, announces in a whisper that he has returned with his people, and with the herds the other had left, and prays for long life and increase of stock. After this duty had been fulfilled, the village is rebuilt on the same spot, and as far as possible each family takes up the old site for its huts. A noticeable custom is the yearly renewal of mourning on the aniversary of a death. This piety is no hollow form. When the father of a household becomes old and weak, it is only natural that the ownership and control of the herds should pass into the hands of the able-bodied sons. Nevertheless the old man is regarded as the real lord, and so long as he is not quite imbecile the milk-pails and the joints of meat are brought to him that he may give them his blessing. The more heirs there are who have expectations from him the higher rises the general respect in which he is held. That the Hereros know really no blessing save that conferred by the father on his death-bed speaks in favour of their household piety. This respect for the senior of the line does not cease with his death. The grave remains sacred. Unless the patriarch himself requests, by way of oracle, to hear the lowing of the oxen once more beside his grave, the children must not live near it. The heir draws near it only in deep awe, and with an offering in his hand, when he wishes to learn the future or to pray for aid in time of great need.

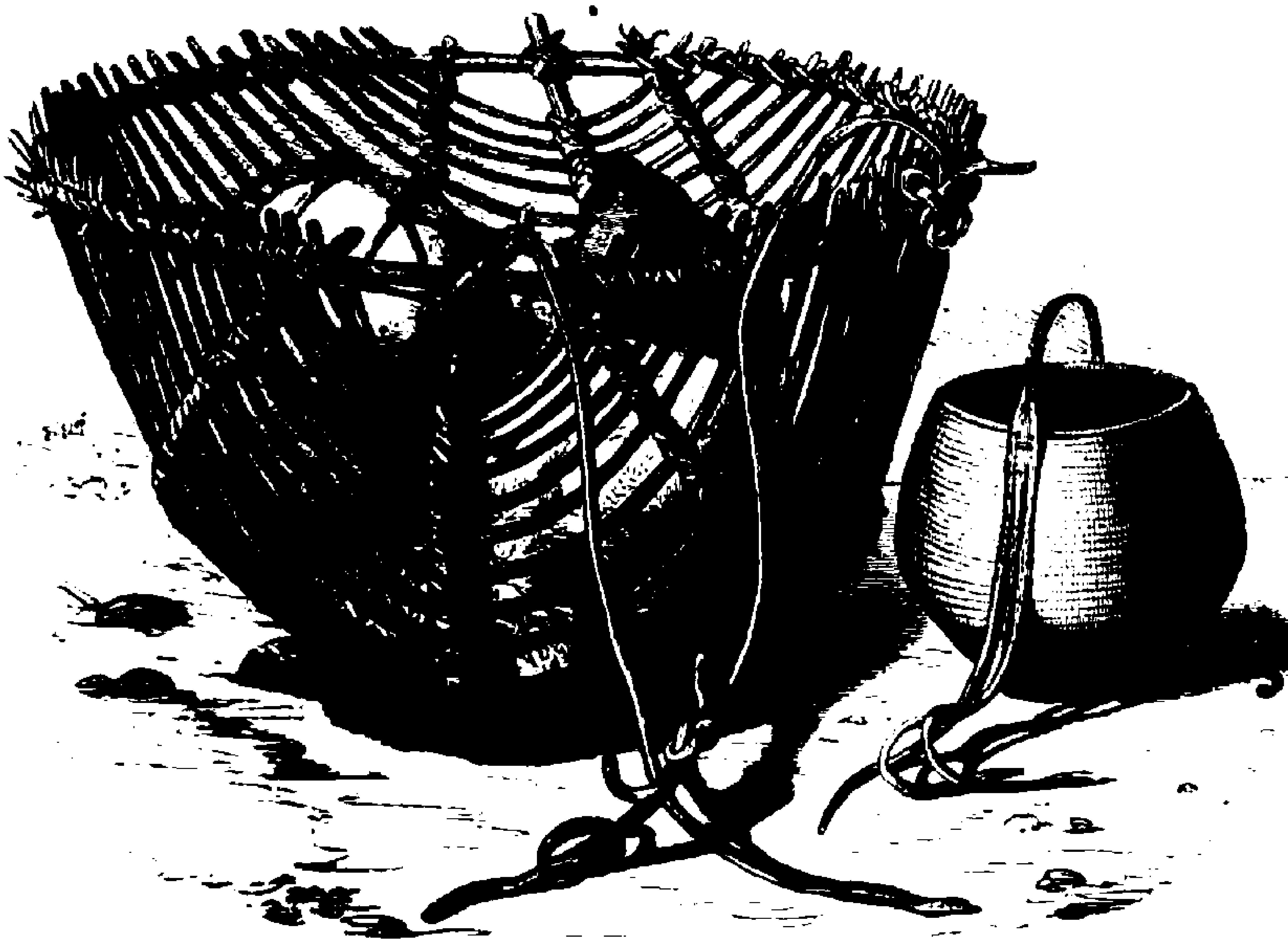


Herero powder-horn—one-fourth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

In stature and vigour and growth the Ovaherero are not inferior to their warlike kinsmen on the south-east coast, the Kaffirs in the stricter sense: while in physiognomy the somewhat enthusiastic Josaphat Hahn found "'a strikingly Caucasian" strain. More critical observers at least admit with Fritsch that "an approximation to the Caucasian type is perhaps more frequent among the Hereros than among most other South Africans, not excepting the Zulus."

Our illustrations confirm the view that the basis of this approximation lies in the better development of the nose, the higher type of head, the less pronounced cheek-bones, and the only moderately everted lips. The origin of these modifications cannot be explained. Such a result cannot well have been brought about by special climatic conditions in so short a space of time as has elapsed since the arrival of the Ovaherero in these parts, or by mixture with Bushmen and Namaqua blood. The skull may be said to be generally dolichocephalic and only slightly prognathous. The deep-black woolly hair reaches a length of four inches; the chocolate-coloured skin often among the Banjeru shades off into dark brown.

The clothing of the Hereros consists, as befits a cattle-breeding people, almost



Herero baskets; shoulder-basket containing water-gourds, and basket of plaited grass—one-third real size. (Berlin Museum.)

entirely of leather, and with the exception of the women's curious head-dress, resembles that of the Namaquas. Absolute nudity in grown-up people is a horror to them. One of their legends tells of some women who were unlucky enough to have their aprons carried away by a stream, so that they had to return home naked; and the river is to this day called the river of nakedness. As their chief article of clothing men and women wear one or two sheep or goat-skins round their loins. Under this the women have an ornamental apron made of countless strips of leather, upon which are strung fragments of ostrich-shell, or among the better-to-do, beads, while the men wind endless thin strips of leather round their loins in a loose girdle, in which the knobkerrie and other articles according to circumstances are carried. The length of these strips indicates the prosperity of the wearer. The skins, like the wearers themselves, are mostly smeared [illegible] red ochre and grease; but regular painting or tattooing

is not customary. Josaphat Hahn says: "The practice of smearing with fat and ochre, curious and disgusting as it may appear to us, cannot be called a bad habit, but is necessary for that climate. It keeps the skin always supple, and saves it from irritation by dust, which otherwise might easily bring on hideous and even dangerous skin-diseases, eruptions, and the like. It is also a protection against a sudden chill after sweating." The men wear as head-covering, but only in bad weather, a piece of skin, to which they give all manner of shapes; also shells in their hair. The women, however, afford in their head-dress one of the most original articles of South African costume. After marriage they put on a helmet-shaped adornment of leather, decorated with strings of beads or shells, from the back part of which three peaks, shaped like asses' ears, stand stiffly up. Strings of beads, ivory, or iron, weighing up to 20 lbs., hang down behind as far as the heels. Married women are hardly ever seen without this head-dress. Large leather cloaks, covering the back, are chiefly worn by the women. Peculiar to the men are leather bands close below the knee, from which strips of the same material hang down to the feet. Leather sandals which are worn at home, and, as in the Oriental fashion, taken off before entering a strange house, complete the costume. The women are distinguished by a great number of copper and iron rings on the forearm and lower leg. Strings of beads, iron preferred, are worn by both sexes, while the most various bits of iron or shell dangle down upon the breast. Galton mentions a Herero who had a string of smoothly-wrought ivory beads from the size of a billiard ball to that of a hazel-nut hanging to his heels. They attach no value to gold or brass. They anoint their bodies with grease, having red iron-ore mixed with it; and also sprinkle this powder as well as the strong-smelling *buchu* of the Hottentots in their hair, which they wear in wisps hanging stiffly down and greased together. The women plait into it strips of leather and vegetable fibres. The heads of male children are often clean-shaven, while girls have a tuft left in the middle of the crown. The treatment of the teeth is also a form of ornament, the four lower front teeth being quite knocked out, and the two upper, in the middle, filed to a swallow-tail shape. The filing is done with sharp stones only. They also mark prisoners-of-war and slaves by knocking out some teeth. In reply to the inquiries of some travellers as to the reason for this mutilation, which is performed before the entrance upon puberty, they have alleged that it facilitates the slight lisp required by their language. But the true reason is certainly unknown even to themselves. A mountain in Damaraland, Ishuameno, is called from the festival of teeth-mutilation held there in happier times.

Buchu-pouch, used by Mountain Damaras — one-third real size. (Berlin Museum.)

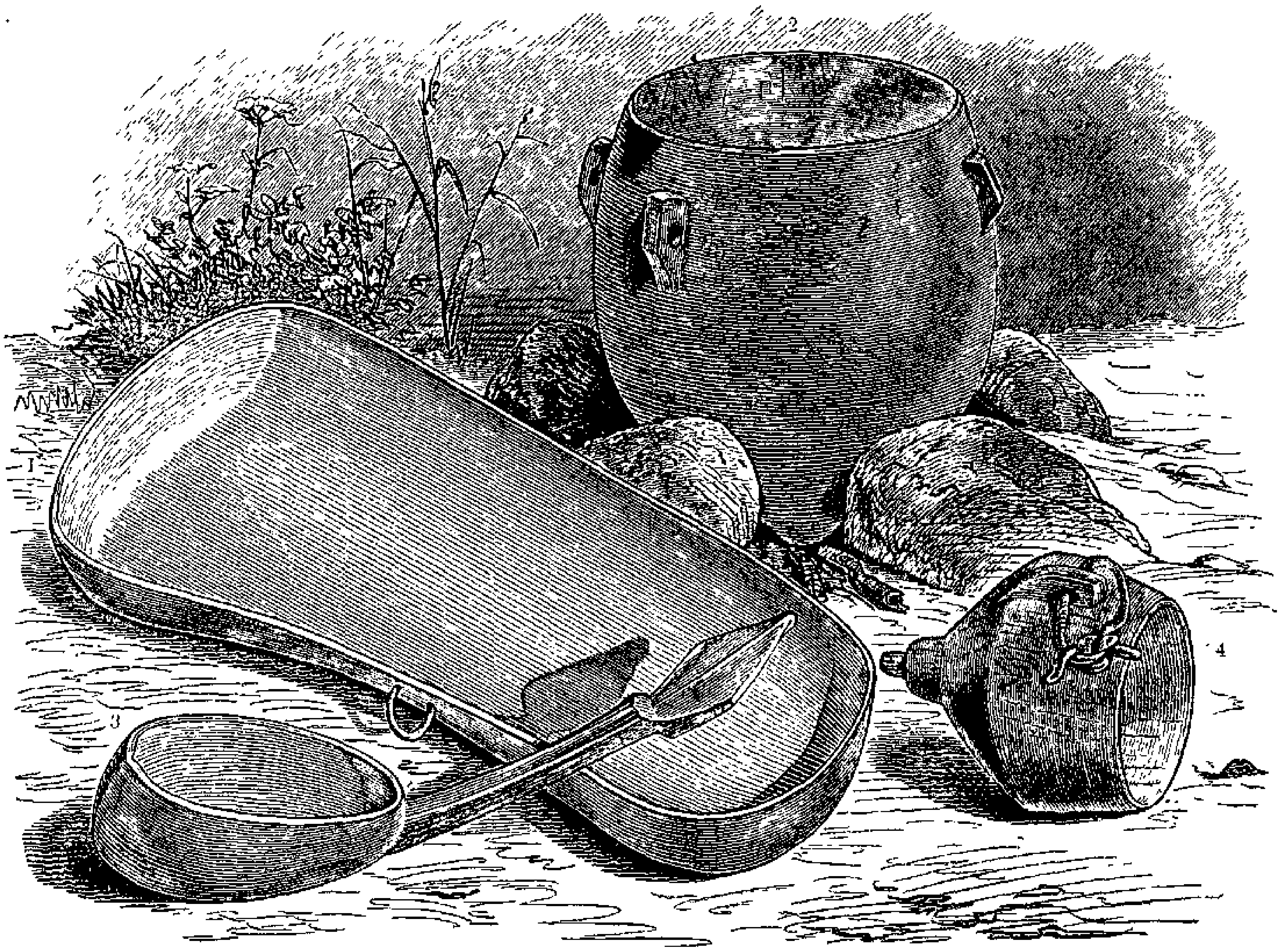
The Hereros' weapons are assegais, knobkerries, bows and arrows. But undoubtedly the most effective of all is the knobkerrie, the compromise between mace and missile club found throughout all Kaffir tribes. They kill small animals with great accuracy by throwing it, while a well-aimed blow will lay low even a powerful man. Every Herero carries several in his girdle. The assegais make

Herero weapons and ornaments.—1, Bow; 2, Spear; 3, Quiver; 4, Arrow; 5, Feather of arrow; 6, 7, Arrow-heads; 8, Head-dress of women; 9, 10, Head-dress worn by men; 11, Women's leg rings; 12, Necklace; 13, Apron—one-seventh real size. (Berlin Museum.)

the impression more of show weapons, and are used principally as knives. For this reason the blades, of soft iron, are broad and long, while the polishing and sharpening of them forms one of the regular occupations of the Hereros. The shaft is of strong wood, often even of iron, and has a bushy ox-tail in the middle or at the end. The breadth of the blade renders its use for stabbing difficult, and the weight of the shaft makes it bad to throw. The dagger, which almost every Herero carries in a leathern sheath at his hip, is the chief tool for cutting, for killing cattle, and so on, but is seldom used as a weapon. In former times they constantly carried bow and arrows with them, though without acquiring any great accuracy in the use of them. According to Andersson they cannot shoot well at more than ten or twelve paces. On the other hand, with a rifle they are in a striking degree by no means bad shots, which suggests that their certainly rough-looking bows were not of good construction. The shape of the powder-horn which they carry was copied from the Boers. Their martial spirit, which had sunk very low, has risen considerably with the number of firearms, and now they are among the best armed people of these regions. A part, not indeed of their arming, but of their general outfit, is the digging-stick, which the Damara, like the Bushman, frequently carries in his quiver with his arrows. "At the present day," wrote Büttner in 1892, "a man is only very rarely seen outside his own premises without a firearm. Practice in the use of weapons is kept up by hunting. Participation in war is purely voluntary; and since the Hereros act always on practical, never on ideal principles, no man will ever take up arms who does not see a direct advantage to himself in so doing. When a chief equips his people for a campaign of plunder or vengeance the first persons summoned will be his younger brothers, the sons of the house, and any one else among his nearest relations capable of bearing arms. Now the more powerful and the richer the enemy is, the more booty may be hoped for; so that in this case many other people will soon turn up who will be glad to join, in order to profit by the plunder, and the undertaker of the campaign will be happy to fit out these auxiliaries with arms and ammunition. The less danger there is to be feared on the expedition the more will the force mount up. Those who march arrange themselves according to relationships or friendships, while the most prominent young men assume the leadership of the various detachments, and are the champions. So long as those who are really interested in the business go boldly forward upon the enemy, the whole lot may be trusted to advance after them, so as to get at the booty as quickly as possible; but if the champions fall in the attack, the whole array disbands itself, and then every one thinks only of saving his own life." It is quite otherwise when the enemy attacks. Then too, no doubt, the owner and his nearest relatives will be ready to defend their property; but the great mass of underlings who have no ownership in the cattle will look on with the utmost composure to see how the fight goes, and if the conqueror has all the stock of the vanquished driven off, they naturally stay with the milk pails and go

Herero *buchu*-box—one-third real size. (Berlin Museum.)

willingly with the lifted cows. Everything depends on the herds. If the prospect of victory is small, the masters will voluntarily surrender themselves and their herds to the strangers, so that they may still, even as menials, look after the herds of their fathers. The fate of the national hero Kahichene shows plainly how war was carried on before the time of firearms. During the Nama war of the 'forties, all his villages were attacked by stealth in one and the same night. Kahichene, surrounded and attacked at Okahandya by Jonker Afrikaaner, alone ventured to make a dash with a small troop into the ranks of the enemy, and was the only one who succeeded in making his way through. He did not dream that in the same night his tribe had been destroyed and that his wife and children

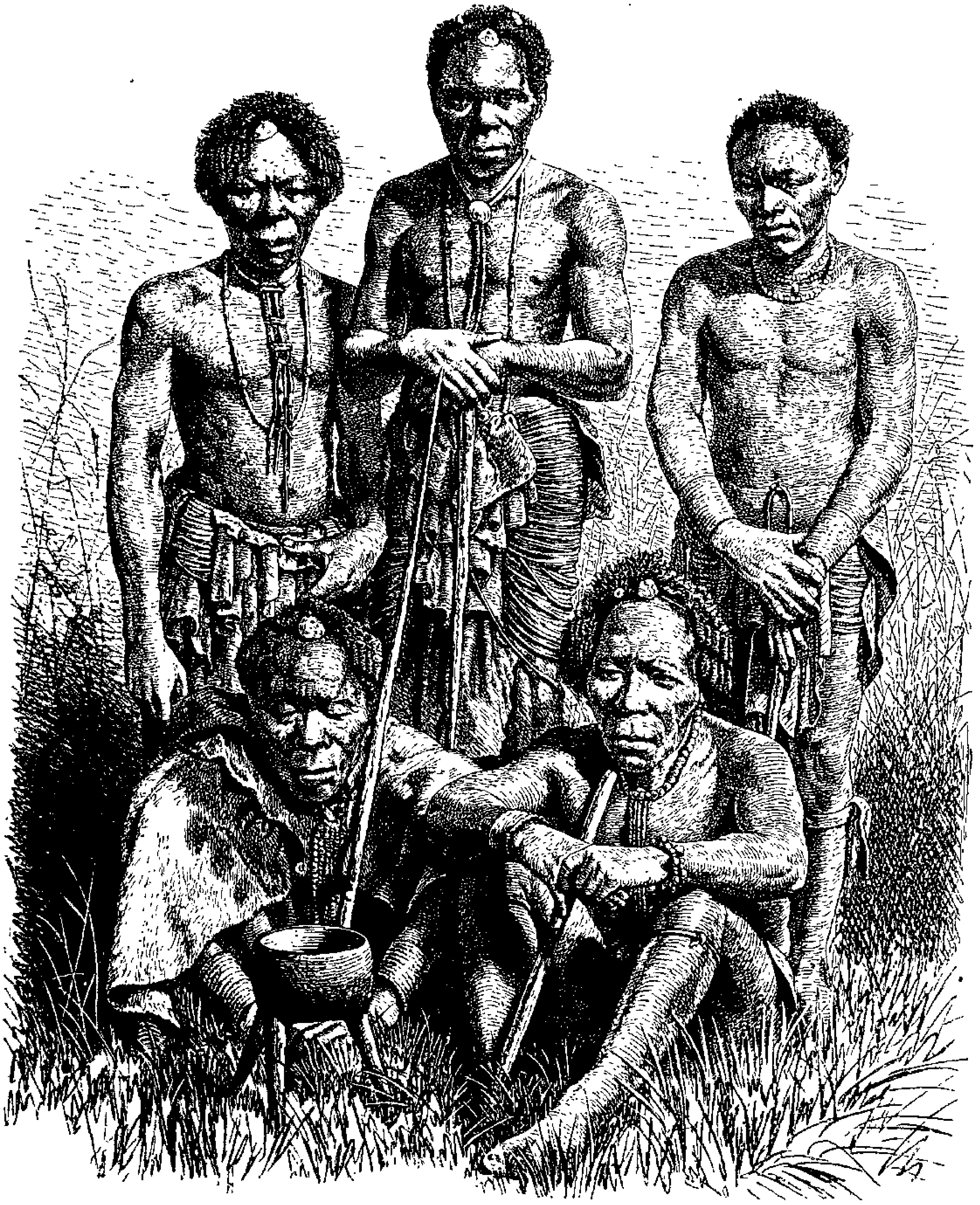


Utensils of the Mountain Damaras: 1, wooden tray, for cleansing grass-seed; 2, earthenware pot; 3, spoon; 4, funnel—one-sixth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

were in captivity. When he received intelligence of it, he gathered the remains of his men together, and attacked the enemy with the little band. But during the fight his warriors left him, and after a heroic defence he fell himself, with his valiant son. This decided the destiny of the Ovaherero until Kamaherero arose.

The Herero huts remind us partly of the Hottentots', partly of those of the Bushmen. They are huts of a more nomadic kind than are found among the Bechuanas. Everything is light, hastily made, portable. During the rainy season the beehive-shaped habitations are protected with hides. In every village a sacred fire forms the ideal centre of the commune, and upon the ash-heap, which is equally a sacred spot, lie the great horns of the oxen slain on ceremonial occasions. With these ashes, at sacred functions, the senior man smears his temples and eyelashes. No Herero goes the night without lighting a fire, partly

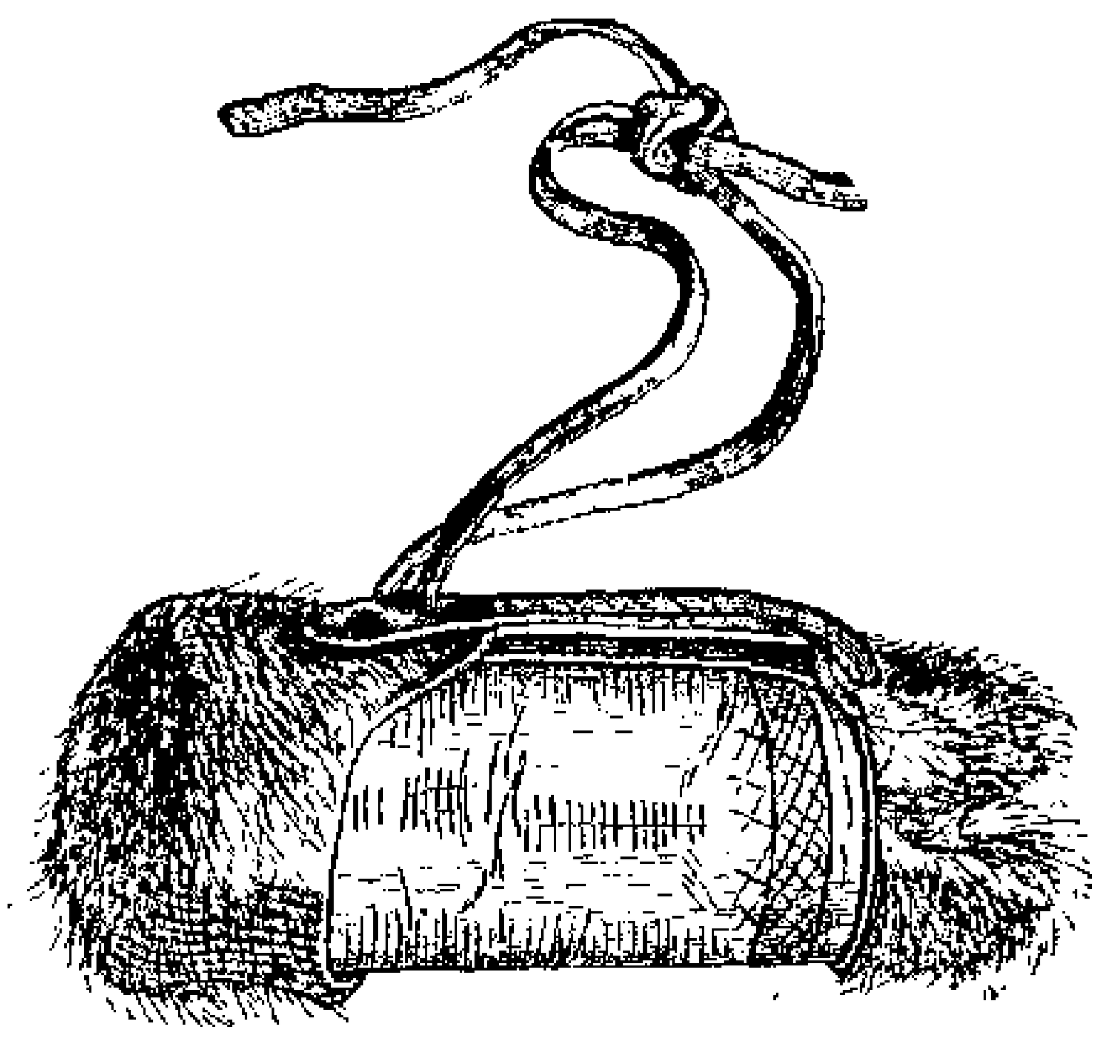
from fear, partly to enjoy light and warmth; it even happens that with a fire-brand he will drive the lion away from his prey. The furniture of the hut consists of a few wooden vessels, an earthenware cooking pot, often so big that it will not



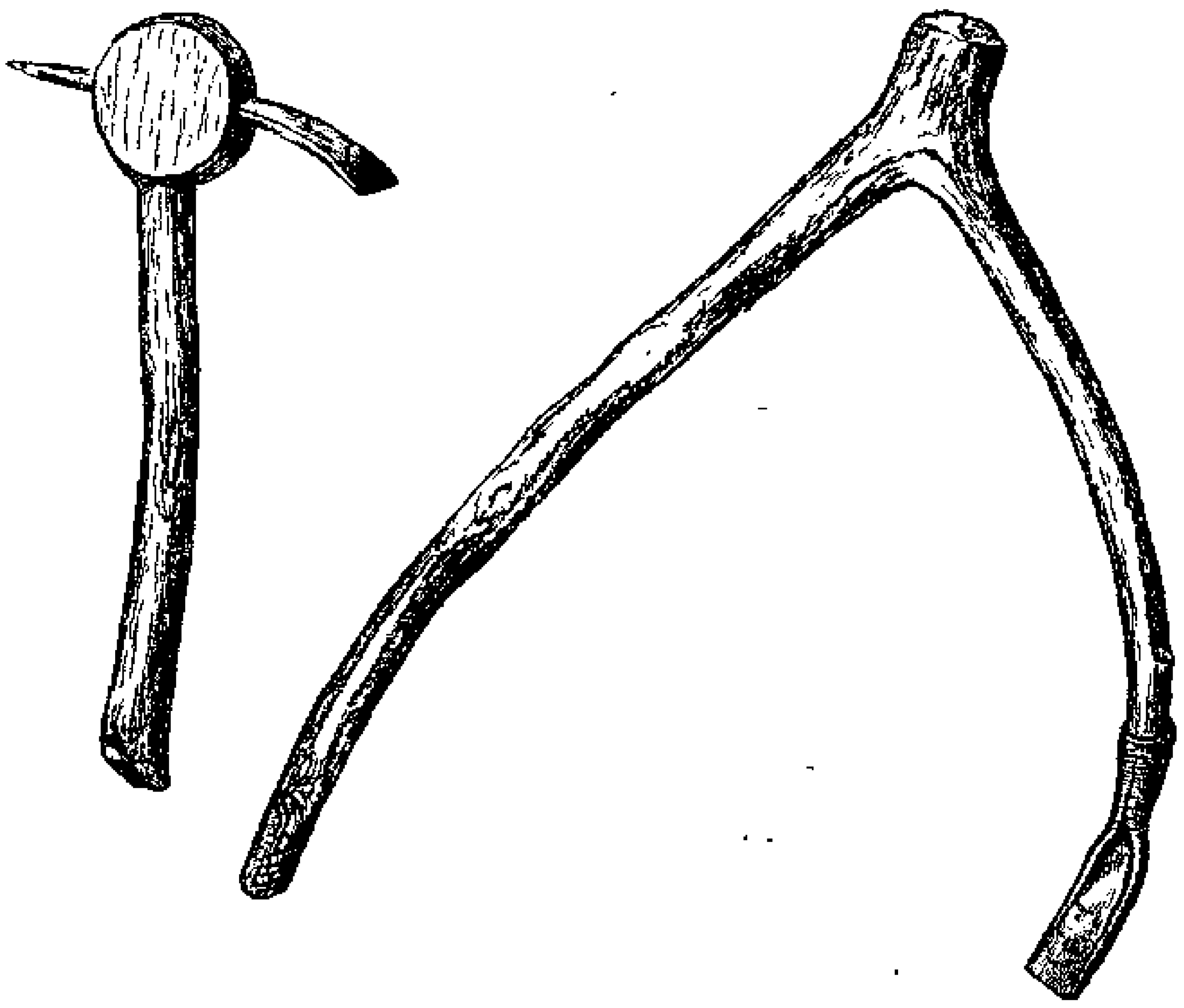
Herero men. (From a photograph belonging to the Barmen Mission.)

go through the door, a leather pouch for grease, another with various articles of finery, red paint and beads, and lastly, perhaps, an iron knife for carving. There is not much plaiting, for the reason that palms are not met with till Ovamboland, but what there is is not clumsy.

Suitably to their occupation and mode of life, the food of the Hereros consists principally of milk, and of the game and edible products which the plains supply. When the cattle have kept up to their old abundance, a grown man drinks from nine to sixteen pints of sour milk in the day, eating besides only ground-nuts. The slaughter of cattle, for the sake merely of food, is unknown to them. A beast from the herd is killed only when a stranger comes into the village, or when a feast, such as a tooth-extraction or a wedding, is to be celebrated. Then the whole village takes part, and devours, with the voracity for which they are famed, several oxen in an incredibly short time—skin, entrails and all. Every dead animal that can be eaten, even if it have died of sickness, is common property; whence it may easily be understood that not even a sheep, if alive, can be bought for a dead ox. They are further limited by numerous superstitious notions; no people can be fuller of prejudices against food.


Tobacco-box of the Mountain Damaras—one-half real size. (Berlin Museum.)

When the Damaras were driven from their best hunting-grounds by the Namaquas, the poorer among them, being unable to compare with the Bushmen in hunting skill, found themselves reduced chiefly to a vegetable diet, although in their need they did not despise even hyenas and leopards. But they vie with the Bushmen in knowledge of the numerous edible roots and tubers, and in their power of turning them to use. At a pinch they chew the wood of a *sterculia*. They even pick out from the elephants' droppings kernels that have passed undigested, and eat them with relish. Superstition forbids them to eat meat quite raw, but the slightest grilling is enough to make it appear palatable.


Herero hoe and axe. (Berlin Museum.)

The foreign trade of the Hereros before the time of European trade, which forty years ago was almost imperceptible, seems to have been principally carried on with their neighbours to the north, the Ovambo. The chief articles of exchange were iron and copper goods, and Portuguese beads, in return for oxen. Glass beads, for which even in the early 'thirties there was a trade on Lake Ngami with the Bakoba or Mkaba, came up the Zambesi by the road through the old kingdom of Monomotapa. The Hereros have no smiths of their own, but get their work done by travelling workmen from Ovamboland. Before Europeans came, iron was more valuable here than silver, for the Ovambo smiths brought it

from their own country, fifteen or twenty days' journey. Not only do Herero legends speak of sewing with thorns and felling trees with stone axes; they let blood with sharp stones. The more frequent visits of European ships to the south-west coast of Africa has brought about changes here also, which were aided by the political rise of the Hereros. To-day it is they who forward the trade from the coast to the Ngami district.

So long as they lived undisturbed, their life centred itself around cattle-breeding, with a monotony remarkable even in South Africa. This, in their fighting time, contributed to their rapid retrogression; the loss of a herd involved the certain impoverishment of the owner. Damara cattle still form the most important article of trade with Cape Colony. The breed of sheep have fat tails, but no wool. Goats are also kept. The breed of dogs is just as bad as that of any other South African tribe; but it is mentioned to the credit of the Hereros, that they treat their dogs better than do the Namaquas.

Being herdsmen and hunters all through, the Ovaherero lack the permanent adhesion to the soil which is the basis of personal ownership; and it is only natural that they should look upon their whole land as general property. But the traditional view, that whoever first settles in a place is lord of it so long as he pleases, is strictly maintained; and in peaceful circumstances, no other will ever venture to water or pasture his herds there without having obtained a formal permission. Interesting evidence of this is furnished by what took place between the chief Kahichene, and the German missionaries at Richterfeld. Pressed by the Namaquas, the chief wished to settle at that place, but did not do so without sending some of his older men to Mr. Rath, the missionary, to ask if he approved his purpose. The reply was, that Kahichene could do as he pleased; since the missionary, as a stranger, could lay no claim to the ground. But the messengers were by no means content with this "evasive" answer, and averred that their chief would never establish himself there, without express permission. Of all the South African Kaffir peoples, the Hereros are the only one who were in former times quite without agriculture. Is this a case where culture has been lost, or have we before us a race purely pastoral from the beginning? The uniform way in which the Hereros live as herdsmen only, and embrace no other walk of life, has suggested the idea that they are a section of another race, the pastoral class of it, which has cut itself adrift with its herds, and isolated itself. Probability is in favour of the first assumption. If we stand by the view of an immigration from a territory lying to the north or north-east of the present seat of the Ovaherero, we there find races who are among the best agriculturists in all Africa; and if the Hereros came from those parts so short a time ago, as we must assume, they must have shared there in the acquirement of a highly successful agriculture, which they have subsequently lost either on the road or in their new habitations. Among this people, ignorance of tobacco, which they only came to know through the Namaquas, after the northward advance of that tribe, goes hand in hand with the absence of farming. Since they have taken to tillage, under the influence of the missionaries, they have adopted the Namaqua hoe.

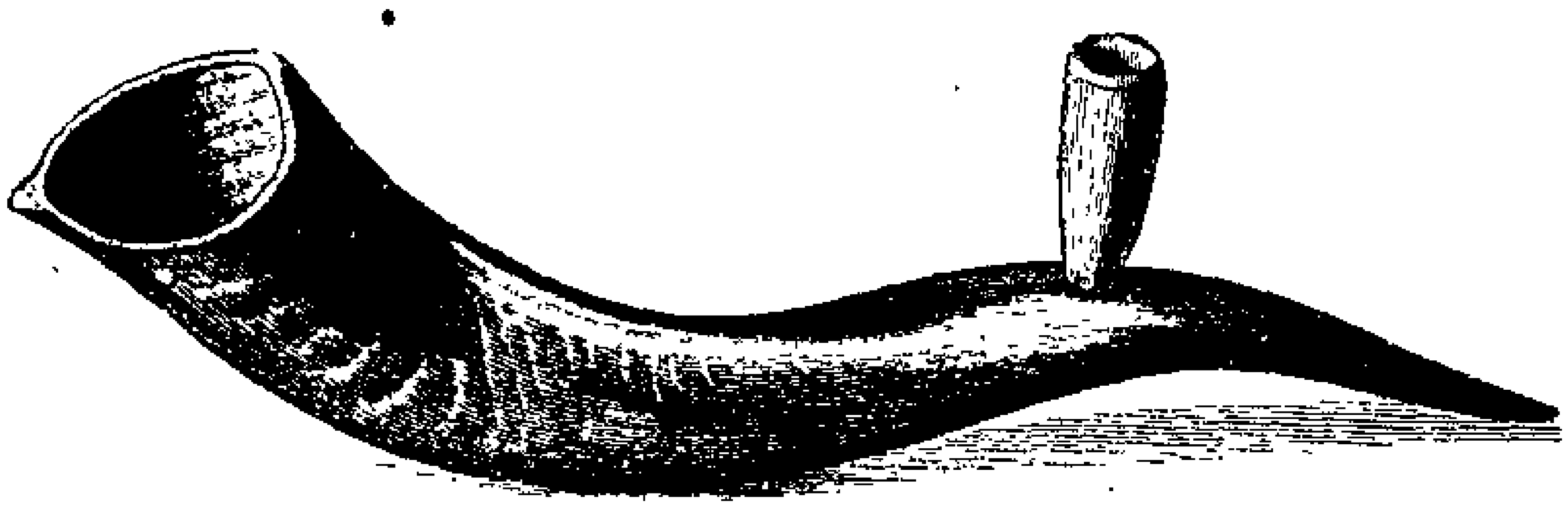
The fact that the Ovaherero have not within human memory formed a powerful political community is due partly to the nature of their country, favourable to many small centres of population, but not to any larger and

dominating one, and partly to the general relaxation of all ties, the result of long, devastating, and nearly always unlucky wars. Andersson says that the chief exercises only a nominal sovereignty over his tribe—if he tries to punish a serious offence, the culprit merely withdraws to the protection of some other chief. If, as a matter of custom, obedience is paid to him, this is less on account of his political leadership than of his priestly position; he blesses the cattle, and daily, as they go out of the kraal, has them sprinkled with water by one of his daughters, to make them magic-proof. Yet Galton, at the same time, found in the chief Kahichene a born ruler of undoubtedly great influence. Not only did he get back from him stolen oxen, but four out of the six thieves were beaten to death with clubs. Hanging is certainly another penalty in use for cattle-stealing. Again, even though the weaker man approaches the stronger for protection, the stronger must not draw the reins too tight, or his subject will go away, and leave the great man alone. Even slaves have, in their freedom to run away, a security against ill-treatment. One can but admire the greater chiefs, who are cunning enough to keep their people always subject and obedient, without directly hurting any man. They mostly know how to apply such constraint to a refractory person, as may make life in the neighbourhood of the capital sufficiently unpleasant to ensure his withdrawal to a distance among strangers. Then as soon as the other chiefs notice that such and such a foreign subject has no protector, he receives so much general ill-treatment, is so plundered and robbed, that he has at last to make up his mind to surrender to the mercy, or otherwise, of his own chief. On the other hand, a chief is glad to protect the faithful follower. One thing that does a good deal to perpetuate the political impotence of this people is their dislike to fixed boundaries. When, after nine years' fighting with the Ovaherero, Jan Afrikaaner, the president of the Namaqua league, found himself compelled to claim the help of the missionaries to negotiate a tolerable treaty of peace, they sought in vain to persuade the chiefs of both parties to agree upon the frontier of their territories. Both sides declared that they wanted to be friends, but to hold the land in common. After the two stocks had lived among each other for nearly ten years, in comparative peace, it was nevertheless broken again. With such a system it is wholly impossible to conceive either firm political leading or the close concentration of the people, whether for attack or defence.

Spear, drum, and club of the Mountain Damaras—one-third real size. (Berlin Museum.)

The imperfection of the state makes social ties all the more important and various, and indeed well-suited to the situation. Communism in movable property has been so far brought into a system that certain people

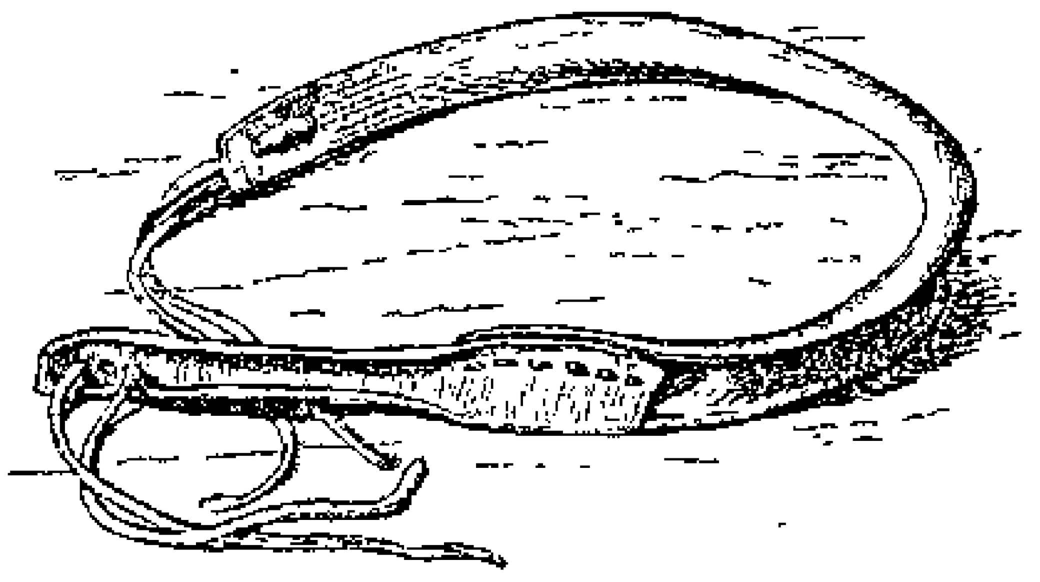
enter into a league with one another to possess everything in common. Comrades in youth (called *omakura*, or "such as have grown up together") will not readily in later years refuse a request from each other; they seem rather to look upon their things as common property. Still closer is the community of the *omapanga*, or allies, among whom even wives are to some extent common. "Whether such a bond is confirmed by any ceremonies," says Büttner, "I could never ascertain; possibly they regard those who stand at a similar social level as *omapanga* by nature." These leagues assign to every Herero his degree of rank, as may be seen when the cattle are watered. The highest stands at the top, upon the tree which serves as ladder to the spring, while the lowest draws water below in the spring, and hands it up. Thirdly and lastly, there is also a kind of nobility among the Herero people, expressed in the curious phenomenon of a certain family or caste division which does not go with the tribes. The people is split up into six or seven groups of families, alleged to be from the beginning of different origin, which include men of different tribes. Büttner says: "There are two kinds of nobility; one passes from father to son, the other from mother to daughter, although naturally the children like to boast of the nobility of either parent. The former is called *oruzo*, 'descent,' the latter *eanda*, a word of unknown origin. Those who belong to them, observe certain traditional ceremonies; the favourite one being to procure oxen of a special colour for personal use, and for sacrifices, while those of certain colours are neither kept nor eaten. So the *Oruesembi* family hold the chameleon, *esembi*, sacred; they do not touch it, they call it *tate mukururume*, 'our old grandfather'; these prefer to keep brown cattle spotted in a particular fashion. *Ovakuenyuva*, 'the cousins of the son,' eat no blue cattle, and prefer to have hornless oxen. *Oruomakoti*, 'they with the lobes,' keep by preference yellow or pale cattle, and when an ox has been slaughtered, throw away the paunch. *Oruhorongo* (from *ohorongo*, the koodoo) keep no cattle or sheep without horns, or with stunted horns, nor will they eat such. They perform sacrifices and magic with the koodoo. To this family Kamaherero belonged, and therefore koodoo horns lie on the grave of his father Katyamuaha at Okahandya." This is the well-known totem organisation, and in the motley composition of the herds of an owner (see p. 417) has the incidental advantage of keeping the component parts separate; without this distinction of families, the manifold ownership of herds would be a chaos, confusing and confused. There seems to be a universal custom, after killing a lion, to draw blood from oneself for expiation, just as in a case of homicide.



Mountain Damara's *dakka*-pipe—one-fourth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Like all negroes, the Ovaherero love music, dancing, and singing; though they possess few musical instruments. They twist a bit of leather thong about the shaft and string of a bow so as to draw the string tight; then holding the bow horizontally against their teeth they strike the tight string with a little stick. With this highly simple instrument their practised musicians arrive at remarkable

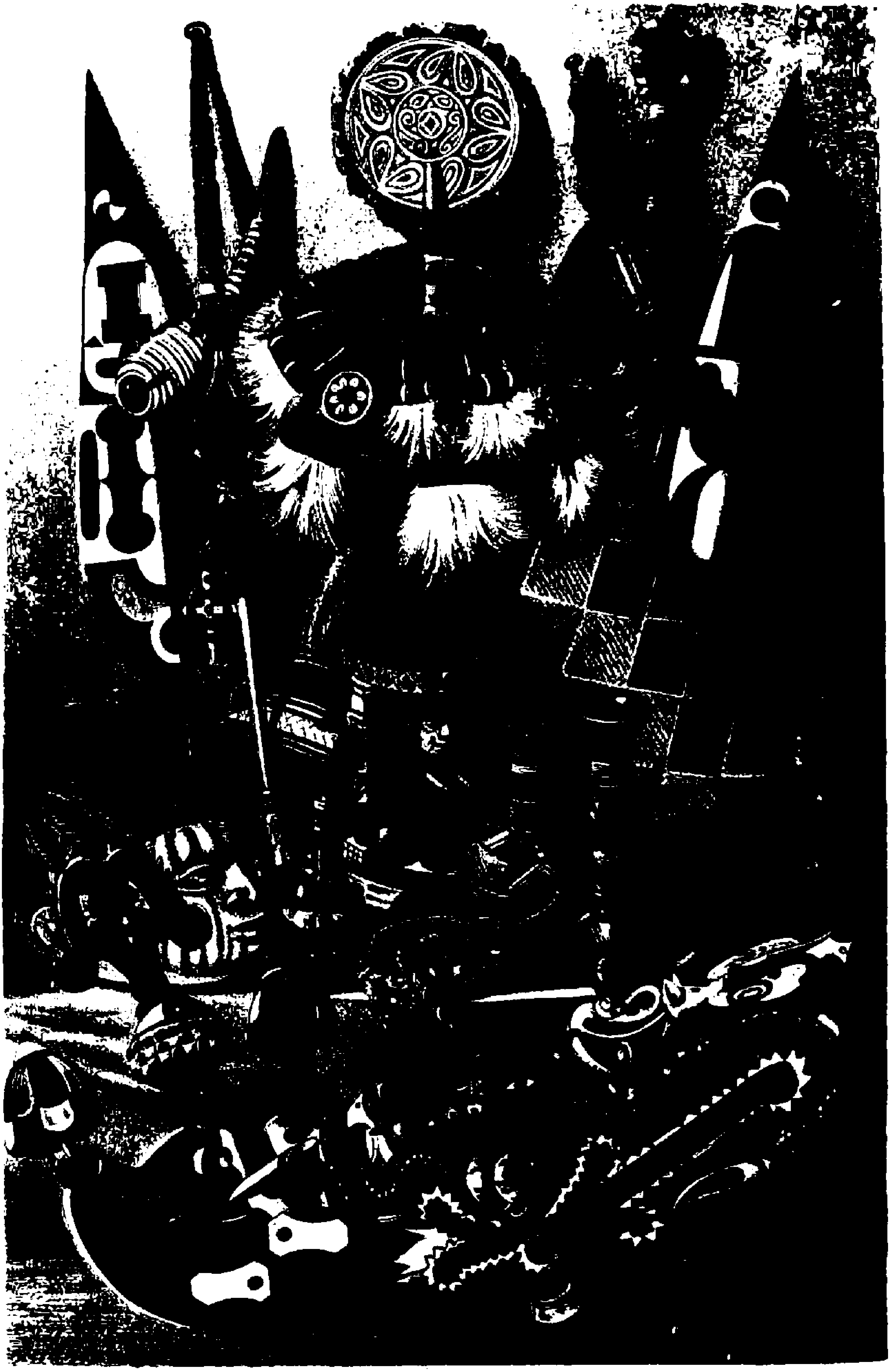
effects. A kind of guitar which Galton saw among them must have been introduced by the Ovambo. Their singing consists of solos with a chorus intervening at regular intervals. Their dances are simple, the chief point in them being an imitation of the movements of animals. In this no doubt the Bushmen were their instructors, but the Hereros have made a great advance in it. Galton mentions one who did the hippopotamus so like life that he instantly recognised the characteristic movements. The imitation of the baboon's clumsy bawling passes for the height of comicality, and is the most effective item in the programme of every Herero musical entertainment. They chatter endlessly with shouts and laughter; and they are no less industrious narrators, though their fund of stories does not compare with that of the Hottentots and Bushmen. Above all things the Herero loves freely invented tales, such as are recounted at their genial evening gatherings by a narrator who delights to expatiate in preliminaries and digressions. It may happen at one of these recitals that the story-teller will occupy an hour or even two; then the stream of narrative usually dries up, since the narrator is at the end of his invention, and forgets where he meant to get to.



Mountain Damara's belt. (Berlin Museum.)

The Herero is hospitable, but as with all negroes, his hospitality is surrounded with formalities. The stranger remains outside the abattis with which every village is fenced, and leans carelessly on his long bow or his assegai. After a time, often an hour or more, the chief or other inhabitant comes out and begins the following ceremony of greeting, the parties sitting or standing as they prefer. The chief addresses the new comer with "*kora*," or for more than one "*koree*" (*i.e.* tell). The stranger replies "*inde*" (no). The chief: "*kora*." Stranger: "*inde, inde*." Chief: "*kora*." Stranger: "*inde vanja*" (no, emphatically no). Chief: "*kor 'omambo*" (tell words or stories). Stranger: "*hin 'omambo*" (I don't know any stories). If the stranger remains inexorable, the chief's final demand is "*kor 'ovizezé*," (tell lies), which means anecdotes or gossip. At last the news comes; everything has to be set out that has taken place at the stranger's *onganda* or elsewhere, truth or fiction being no object. Then the parts of question and answer are exchanged, and lastly a vessel of milk is brought. Then the stranger is taken into the *onganda*, received at the council-fire before the chief's house by some warriors, and presently is comfortably smoking his pipe. After he has at intervals drawn attention to his empty stomach, a sheep is brought and slaughtered, and the stranger is completely at home. Every stranger must be admitted to the carousals round the hearth. No curse is regarded as heavier than that which one who has been inhospitably treated would hurl at those who have driven him from the hearth.

The Hereros have a firm belief in witchcraft. The witch-doctors have great influence; they surround sick persons with senseless signs and conjurations, and, as their sovereign remedy, smear hyena's dung on the patient's mouth and forehead. When no witch-doctor is at hand in cases of illness they use cow-dung, and bind leather thongs round the face and breast. In addition to the sorcerers they have witch-maidens, *ondangere*, usually the sorcerer's daughters by his first wife.



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NORTH WEST AFRICAN WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS

A few words should be said upon the highly-developed tree-cult of the Hereros. This belief, which recalls similar tree-myths among other negro races, is only an offshoot of ancestor-worship, for it ultimately leads to the tale that a sacred tree gave their origin to the Ovaherero, the Bushmen, oxen, and zebras. The first at once lighted a fire, which frightened away Bushmen and zebras. These have ever since wandered in the desert, while the Ovaherero with their oxen took possession of the land. All other living beings were also begotten by this tree. Worship is paid especially to the Tate Mukururume or Omumboro-Mbonga, a great strong tree with scanty greyish-green leaves, and silvery, deeply-

Mountain Damara chief and wife. (From a photograph belonging to the Barmen Mission.)

furrowed bark "looking as antediluvian as if the present generation had nothing to do with it." It stands among the others the only one of its kin. Formerly sacrifices were offered to certain trees of this kind, and as soon as they saw it from afar the Ovaherero cried out "*U zera tate mukururume*" ("Holy art thou, our ancestor"). In a general way they show poetical feeling for the special points of certain trees. Above all others they love the oak-like kameeldoorn, *acacia giraffæ;* it is called *omuhivirikoa*, "the laudable." In this tree the tender green of the leaves, and the golden yellow of the countless sweetly-scented blossoms, contrast curiously with its pithy figure and its inconspicuous dark bark. Here in the almost treeless plain, where each individual tree with marked features shows on the horizon like a welcome island, one learns to understand tree-worship.

A curious position is held in the Herero district by the so-called Mountain Damaras. They call themselves Haukoin, that is "real men," while they are designated by the Namaquas, formerly their allies and later their masters, by the

indecorous name of Ghu Daunup or Daman. In their way of life they are Bushmen, in their speech somewhat rougher than Hottentots, and in colour darker than most Damaras. Josaphat Hahn, without any more precise foundation, speaks of "indubitable indications" that before their contact with the Namaquas the Mountain Damaras spoke a negro language.

They are scattered in small numbers, some 35,000 in all, over the mountains, where they have their abodes in spots difficult of access. Many traces indicate that they were once far more numerous than at present. Galton visited one of their settlements on the steep, hardly accessible rocky mountain Erongo, north of the Swakop River, and found their existence less debased than it appeared to one meeting them casually in the plain. The chief's hut consisted of several rooms, built together under a clump of trees in such a way that the boughs were bent together to form a roof, and the stems helped to divide the apartments. There was an abundance of utensils, wooden milk-bowls, pipes, and the like. Also there seemed no small plenty of cattle, sheep, and goats, though the inhabitants in their suspicious way denied it. The Rhenish missionary Hugo Hahn in 1871 found these same mountain dwellers, to the number of 400 or 500, assembled at the mission station of Okombahe. "One could see," he says, "in their looks that they had enjoyed a relative liberty; it was stamped on their whole attitude." Like the Hottentots proper, these Mountain Damaras cultivate *dakka*, and, like them, smoke it with avidity in water-pipes to the point of stupefaction. Of tobacco they are also passionately fond, being great snuff-takers. The utensils and weapons of the Mountain Damaras are in general the same as those of the Hereros, only less plentiful and less artistic. Special reference should be made to the drum, as an instrument lacking to the Hereros. The modest and unassuming character of these people is remarkable, as also the facility with which they let themselves be taught to work; for which reason they may some day become of greater importance in the possessions of Germany in South-West Africa.

A Mountain Damara. (From a photograph belonging to the Barmen Mission.)

It is further remarkable that similar people are found on the Lower Omorambo, south-east from Ovamboland; it is said that not all understand Hottentot, also that they are agricultural, and carry on trade with the Ovambo and others. The

position of those living in Damaraland is in any case the lowest of all the races of that country. They are despised and ill-treated by the Hereros and Namaquas, even by the Bushmen. A standing joke is the assertion that they are descended from baboons.

## § 5. GALLAS, MASAI, WAHUMA

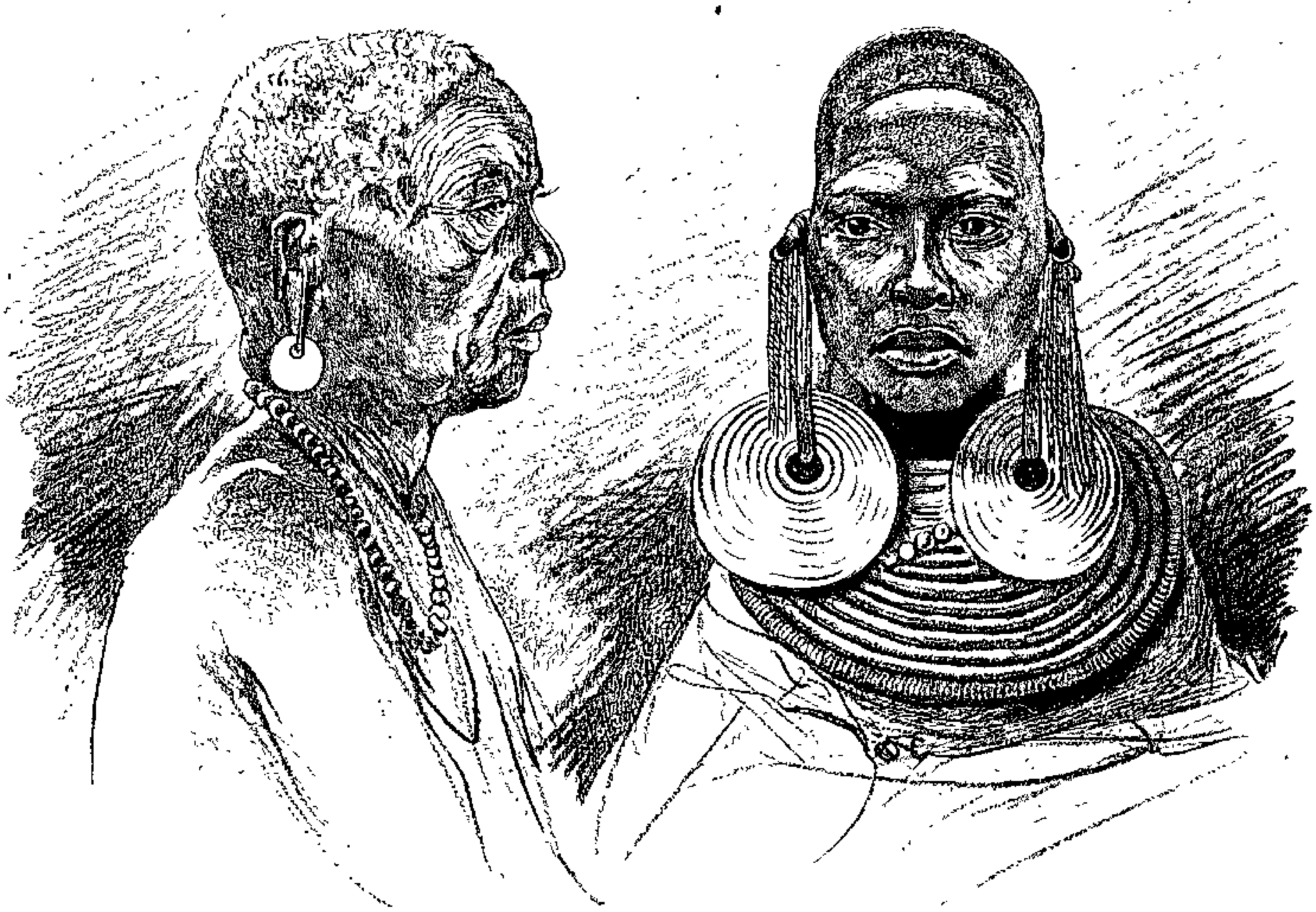
Geographical distribution and central position—Hamites and negro hybrids—Character, dress, and ornament; habitation—The tribe and the chief—The warrior caste—Administration of justice—Position of women—Foreign elements; *Achdam*, *Tumalods* or smiths, *Ramis* or hunters, subject agriculturists—Pedigree legend—Arabic and Abyssinian connections—The Borani and Arusi tribes of Gallas; Masai, Somalis, Danákils—The position of the Wahuma towards the negroes—Their distribution and history—The Langos.

SHIFTING, much-mixed races possess and pervade all the eastern projection of Africa from the northern limit of the Swahelis to Abyssinia, and stray into the interior as far as the high ground extends. As Gallas they have gained great influence over the fortunes of Abyssinia, and to some extent also of the coast Arabs, and have on this side passed into history. Geographically-separated kinsmen of the Gallas are the Somalis in the north-east angle of Africa, the Masai who spread to the south beyond the fifth parallel of South latitude, and the pastoral peoples of the Wahuma and their kinsfolk, who have penetrated to the heart of Africa and brought into subjection wide tracts of negro territory in the region of the Nile sources.[1] Wherever they have been for any length of time in contact with negroes, they have crossed with them, and besides this the pastoral races of South Africa generally, as far as the most southerly Kaffirs, have ethnographically much in common with them. For this reason their limits are often hard to determine, and it is conceivable that Krapf should have seen them emerging again in the Watuta about Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, since their influence extends far beyond their own borders. But one may certainly say that the true Galla races have never made any permanent advance southward beyond the latitude of Mpwapwa and Tabora, even though, as we have seen above, their influence extends to the extreme south-east of Africa, while in the north the wedge of Mussulman Gallas, between Shoa and Abyssinia proper, indicates their most northerly ramification in the latitude of Bab-el-Mandeb. Here the Asabos are the most northerly tribe of the Gallas. The Sahos, counted by Munzinger as belonging to them, form on the north-east of Abyssinia a Galla-like group similar to that formed between Abyssinia and the Upper Nile by the tribes formerly subdued by Egypt—Langos, Latukas, Irengas, and their kinsmen who dwell as far as Beni, Shongul, and Famaka on the Blue Nile. Schuver, to whom we owe the latest detailed intelligence of them, regards them simply as Gallas; and in fact, from a purely ethnographical point of view, they show against the dark background of negroes in the same outlines as do the true Gallas on the Jub. But all the eastern half of the Upper Nile tribes is, so far as the pastoral

[1] According to Krapf the name "Galla" means immigrant, or, in the mouth of the Arabs, infidel or barbarian. They call themselves "Orma" or "Oromó," meaning people, men, mankind. During a long stay in Zeila and the neighbourhood, Isenberg could not ascertain the meaning of "Somali": later enquirers have attempted with doubtful success to find the meaning Som-ali, that is, descendants of Ali. J. M. Hildebrandt derives "Masai" from *masa*, property. "Oigob" or "Orloigob," the name which they and the Wakuafi give themselves, is said to mean strong men, or rulers. "Wakuafi" is derived from the Kiswaheli word *kafi*, a paddle, in allusion to their broad-bladed spears.

life goes, impregnated with the influence of those Northern Gallas and their kin; and to the north they pass imperceptibly through the Bertats and their relations into the shepherd peoples of Nubia, who resemble them even to the details of their weapons. In the direction of Abyssinia, on the other hand, the separation, owing to the abrupt national and religious opposition, is so sharp, that the Legas may be regarded as one of the purest types of the great Galla race.

The Gallas, Masai, and their kin have no uniform racial type. They may be designated as an early hybrid race with even more justice than the Abyssinians, whom so many of them so much resemble. Their common factor is the ethnographic, the uniting force of which, however, extends to north-west and south, far beyond the enclosures of their territory, into the negro countries. Hildebrandt

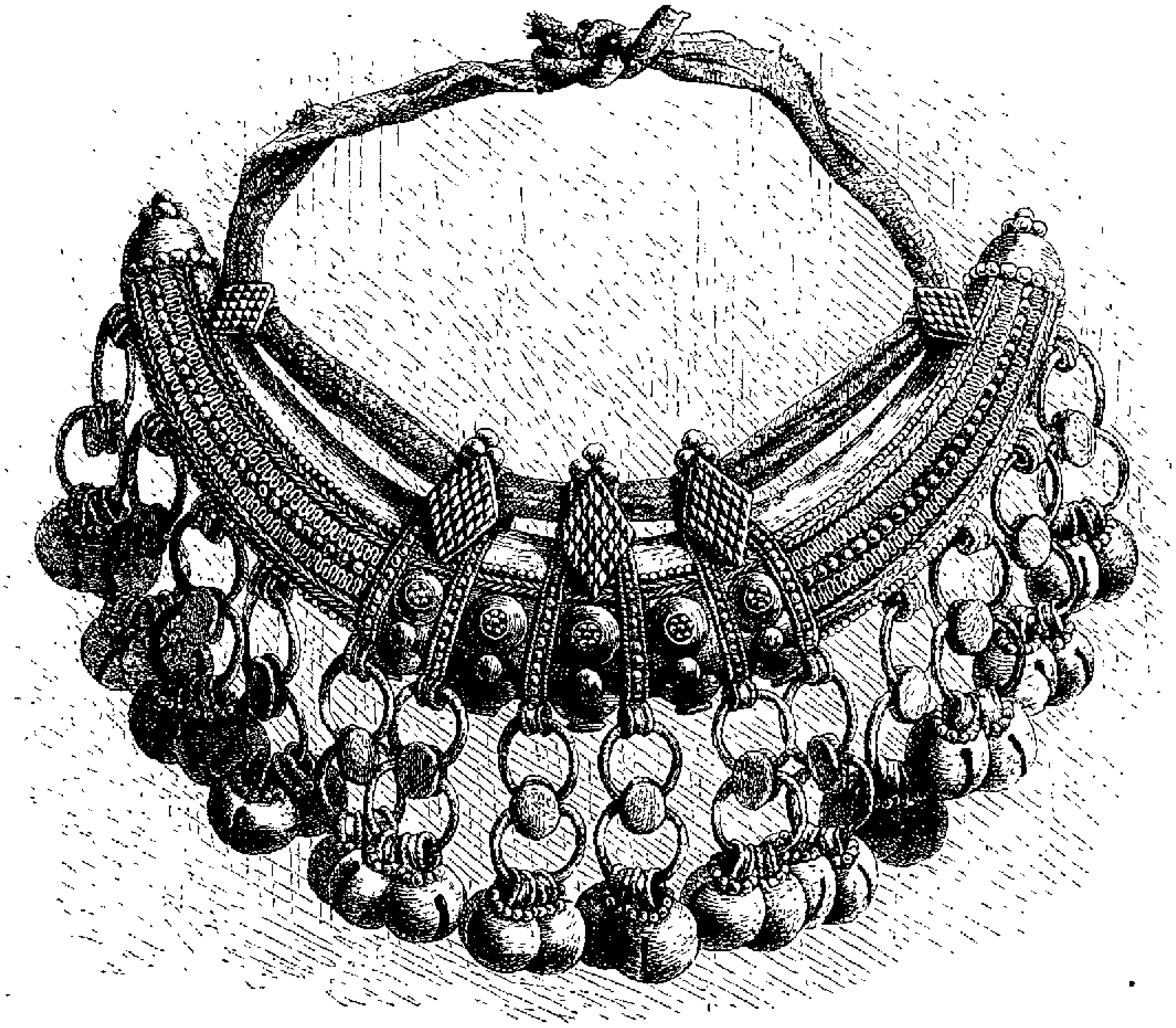


Masai man and woman. (Drawn from life by W. Kalvert.)

placed them "between the Aryan and the African," and in Somaliland wrote: "Although I was for several years in intercourse with this knot of races, I always found it difficult to tell at first sight whether an individual was a dark Hadrami Arab, a Somali, a Galla, a Danakil, a Bedja, or a Masai, a Nikamba, or a Mjagga."

The Abyssinian women, so highly valued in the harems and dancing-saloons of Egypt and Nubia, are frequently of noble Galla blood. In Zanzibar too, Galla girls are in demand both with Europeans and with Indians. "The single mark which stamps almost every member of these pastoral and robber tribes is the numerous scars," says Haggemacher. The Abyssinian or Arabic type, with narrow face, aquiline nose, fine mouth, compressed lips, silky curly hair, is often represented in the same family side by side with the snub nose, thick lips, and broad cheek-bones. Von der Decken found the Southern Gallas in contrast to the negroes of gigantic stature, types of manly vigour, and yet slim. Fischer calls attention to the great leanness of the Wakuafi, while among the Masai he

found people with an expression as pleasant as Europeans beside bestial negro-like countenances. The Masai, though dark brown of skin, are more finely built than the negroes; among the young men especially one sees noble forms. The Gallas of the coast keep, indeed, pretty strictly aloof from foreigners, just as in the interior the nature of the country, or fundamental differences in manners and customs, separate them from the negroes. But strong bodies of immigrants have more than once penetrated to the heart of these races, even in historical times, while they have themselves reached out on all sides and absorbed many negroes into their midst. It is not then surprising if their colour fluctuates from light



Somali woman's silver ornament—actual size. (Berlin Museum.)

coffee-and-milk to dark brown, their hair from woolly to wavy, their type of face from the "Caucasian" to the blackest and most hideous negro. But in all these gradations the Malay type, to which Long would refer the Wakuma of Uganda, does not occur. Among the purer Gallas the lighter tint of skin prevails, and even in Abyssinia the Galla slaves are said to be known by their lighter colour. There is in general more of the negro character in the south than in the north, Masai and Wakuafi are predominantly dark brown, seldom light, while even the Southern Gallas are drawn by Von der Decken with little of the negro in them, and the most Northern Gallas, who are everywhere conspicuous among their neighbours on the Upper Nile by their noble build, were placed by Schuver, in respect of fairness of complexion, above the Arabs of the country.

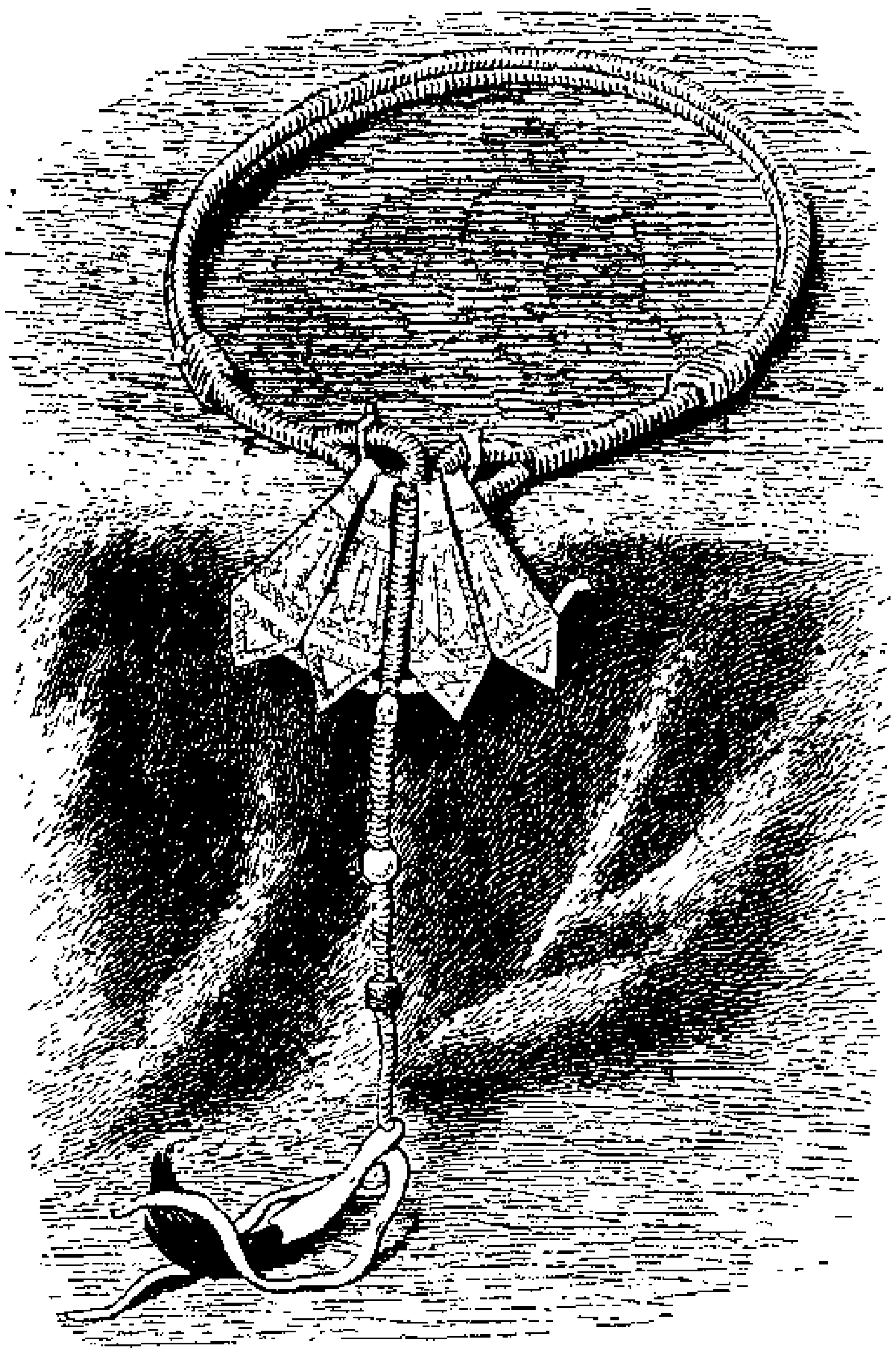
In his mixture of cruelty and generosity, love of plunder and hospitality,

lying and manliness, the Galla reminds us of the Arabs of the days before Islam. The Mussulman Wollo-Gallas, who are in a chronic state of hostile contact with the Abyssinians, are described as notable for fanaticism, faithlessness, and rapacity, while the heathen South Gallas are distinguished for loyalty, openness, and probity. More recent observers, like Von der Decken and Kinzelbach, were surprised by the absence of the bad qualities imputed to the South Gallas on the coast, and describe them as agreeable and attractive.

The original dress is, no doubt, everywhere a loin-cloth of soft black leather, with which often a shoulder covering, and at the best a cloak of the same material, was associated. It must be ascribed to trade that we now frequently see more pretentious persons swathe themselves with a broad piece of cotton, camel-hair, or goat-hair cloth, so as to leave the upper part of the body and the legs below the knee visible. A cotton handkerchief is, as a rule, worn under this. The women wear it as a garment hanging from the hips to the ankles. The women of the pastoral Gallas wear a leather garment round the hips or a leather apron under the toga. They cover their breast with a handkerchief fastened over the left shoulder. The head is uncovered, though the woollen conical cap has, in the north, come in from Abyssinia, while the Somali married women cover their heads with a blue turban. Somali men smear a paste of lime on their hair, which dyes it a yellowish red. The Gallas and Masai imitate artistic ways of dressing the hair from the negroes. In the interior the women let their hair grow free; while the Somalis plait theirs in little tufts as long as they are unmarried, and cover it after marriage. The Masai women shave their heads and remove all hair from the body. The men of the Mussulman Gallas who go to fight shear their heads clean, while the heathen warriors wear copious feather ornaments and throw leopard-skins over their shoulders. Poor persons wear the raw hides of animals. A tanned goat-skin over the shoulders denotes the suppliant. The body, and among the pastoral Gallas the clothing as well, is smeared with mutton-fat; nor is the fumigating of the body with incense of much avail against the intolerable effluvium arising therefrom. The dress of the Wahuma is described further on.

Among the Gallas of the interior an ivory ring on the right upper arm is a frequent ornament. Numerous rings of brass and iron are also found on the same arm, the decoration being in general often sought chiefly in the mass of the appendages, which with many women weigh 6 or 7 lbs. On the coast silver is of general occurrence and is the favourite; in which, no doubt, Indian influence is operative. The ears are adorned with large silver rings, rosettes, and chains. In the interior its place is taken by brass, and the things are often so heavy that a leather thong across the scalp is required to hold them. Silver rings or buckles are worn on the fingers, wrist, or upper arm, but never on the legs or in the nose. The Galla women of the interior often have the whole forearm closely wound round with a spiral wire, like the negro women. Beads of many colours and amulets round the neck are usual. Among the island Gallas beads are still one of the favourite articles of exchange. The Somalis carry a verse of the Koran in a leather pouch by a leather thong round their necks. Men never go without weapons, and these are, among the Somalis, owing to their brisk intercourse with the Arabs, of a most copious and varied kind. On their right side is a large dagger, on the left shoulder two spears over 6 feet long, with long, almost paddle-shaped blades, and on the arm a round shield of rhinoceros or buffalo-hide. Even

women and children carry arms. The Masai warriors carry oval shields of hide, like those of the Zulus, painted in loud colours. Even at this day firearms occur only in limited number. Bows and arrows are left to the old people and children for playthings, and to the subject tribes, but are in general use, in the simple East African form, among many inland tribes, as the Fuga-Gallas, the south-eastern Masai, and others. Poisoned arrows are met with. Dagger and throwing-club are stuck in the belt. Among the Southern Gallas an iron fighting-ring with two crescent-shaped edges, or set with spikes half an inch long, is frequently seen, and the scars from it, inflicted in wrestling, or in the war-dance, cover the breast of many a man. The distribution of circumcision is quite peculiar, and has no clear connection with other distinctive customs. It is not found among the Northern Gallas, the Wahuma and their kin, nor is any other form of bodily mutilation; while among the Masai it is incomplete. On the other hand, a great many negro peoples who dwell among them circumcise. The custom of preserving the navel-string, which is even worn as an ornament of fetish character, spreads from the Somalis to the eastern Wavira, and is found in Uganda and Unyoro.


Galla woman's ornament of brass—one-fourth real size. (Munich Ethnographical Museum.)

Both in agricultural and pastoral labour, and in the industries which produce all these weapons and this ornament, the Gallas on the frontier of Abyssinia and the Somalis of the coast-towns are certainly the most industrious and most expert. Among the Western Gallas a simple wooden plough is in use, with oxen in the yoke. The most widely spread cultivation is that of durra. Cotton is grown by the Gallas and the Somalis. The Gallas of Enarea surpass the Shoans in the zeal with which they tend their coffee-plantations, and the ability with which they manufacture artistic daggers having handles of ivory inlaid with silver. South of Shoa, the *ensete*-plantations surrounded with cypresses cover the Soddo and neighbouring countries like gardens. The art of close weaving, so as to produce flasks in which even milk or water may be carried, is indigenous to the Gallas. Schuver says that they carry waterproof rush mats, sewn together in a conical form, as a protection from rain. They also practise wood-carving. The purely nomadic tribes, on the other hand, make hardly any utensils, but obtain almost everything from the agriculturists in exchange for the produce of their herds. The Masai, true conservatives, still wear only leather, though for many years caravans have been bringing all possible goods into their country. Isenberg said long ago of the Gallas: "Cattle-breeding is better managed among them than among the Abyssinians." Among the Somalis, too, who are almost wholly nomadic, there are groups of agriculturists, and indigo is an article of export

from Bandar Meraya. On the north coast of Somaliland the exports consist of gum, frankincense, indigo, *doom*-fruit, and mats, and the trade is largely in the hands of Arabs, but partly of Indians. But the Southern Gallas, Masai, and Wakuafi, as genuine nomads, live almost entirely on animal food, and drink warm blood, especially at the feast of full moon, or blood and milk mixed. To boil milk they regard as a crime. Their warriors despise all vegetable food, and if they have taken milk they clean their stomachs with an emetic before putting in blood or meat. Butter-making is only practised in the districts on the verge of Nubian or Arab influence. The wealth in herds is very great, many tribes numbering seven or eight oxen per head. The chief component of the herds of the pastoral races, from the Abyssinians to the Gallas and Wahumas, is the *sanga* ox. Sheep of the fat-tailed kind are also very numerous. Ostriches and civet-cats are bred, the latter especially in Kaffa. Oxen, saddled and led by a nose-ring, are used for riding—also horses and mules, in decreasing numbers from north to south; but not camels, though these occur as far as the Sabaki, and inland among the Arusi Gallas. Asses are always to be found in the caravans conducted by Gallas and Somalis, especially to carry the water-skins. Hunting is a favourite occupation with the Gallas. Their weapon for it is the spear, said to be for certain purposes poisoned. The Northern Gallas are almost always on horseback. The Masai leave hunting to the Wanderobbo.

The towns share the unstable character of the whole race. Bandar Meraya, the capital of the Mijertain Somalis, in the dead season contains in its 200 houses some 600 or 700 inhabitants. These are doubled in the trading season, when the Kyles from the interior, laden with gums and other products, meet the Arab merchants from the coast of Arabia. In the 'seventies, when the Gallas retreated from the Jub before the Somalis, a number of new settlements were at once formed in the Osi-Lamu district, as well as along the coast from the Osi to Malindi. A settlement on Ras Gomani, which the Gallas destroyed in 1867, was rebuilt in 1876. In the parts about the Tana and Sabaki, where battles are plenty, the villages are placed on defensible tongues of land or islands in the river. Greater and less density of population go hand in hand with the difference between settled and nomadic life. The wanderings are subject to the requirements of the herds, within certain limits, which are only overstepped for predatory purposes, so that one part of the land is almost uninhabited while another is overpeopled. Their huts, bee-hived shaped, and made of bent boughs and hides plastered with cow-dung, are not very durable; they stand contiguous, like cells of a honeycomb, forming a ring which encloses the herd. The huts of the Northern Gallas, made of straw with conical roofs, 20 to 25 feet in diameter, and divided inside by thin reed partitions, are very like those of the negroes on the Upper Nile. The Wahuma villages will be mentioned below.

While the differences of property are large, there are few slaves to form a servile class. Their place is taken by races in an inferior position, living apart. Pastoral life is the foundation of the family and of the state, and at the same time the motive principle of politics. Over this wide region, between Shoa and its southern precincts on one side, to Zanzibar on the other, there is no fixed political power, in spite of the highly-developed social organisation. We are not here speaking of the hunting nomads, like the Waboni, who have no definite head-men, but at times allow the chief authority to the senior man of the camp.

These are few in number; and though they often live far apart from the Galla, Somali, and other tribes, they are always included in their organisation as subjects, or pretty nearly slaves. Nor do we set much value by negative statements, such as Commander Gissing's, that "the Wateita have no chiefs, no laws," and the like. The positive proof is the lack of any higher organisation, such as may effectively bind a people together over the head of tribal divisions. Gallas, Masai, and in

A *sanga*-ox (Bos africanus).

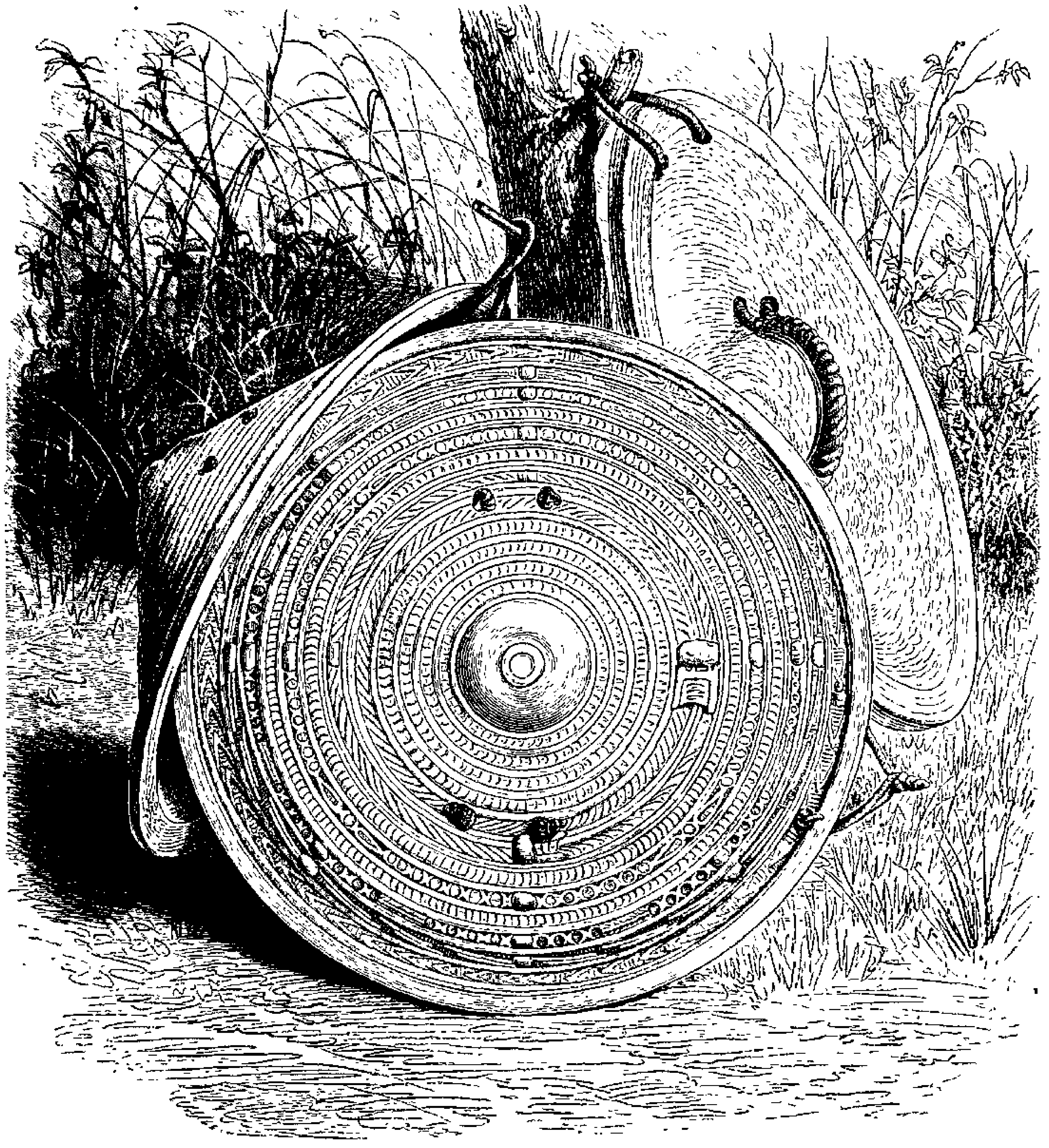
some measure Somalis, approximate more in their organisation to the republican form of state than do any other peoples elsewhere in Africa. The tribe is a confederation of substantial independent men, based upon blood-relationship; and any inequality among these does not rest on relation to a paramount chief, but on the organisation of society. At its head is an elected representative, *heiu* or *heiich*. This tribal head has to look after all requirements in peace and war, and must be a man of courage, cunning, and eloquence; a reputation for practical magic is of even more use to him. His power is not recognised further than is absolutely necessary: and if he ceases to be believed in, he is simply pushed aside. The social organisation of the Masai and Southern Gallas does not permit of a head exalting himself above the generality of the tribe. This state of things is very effective in limiting the individual, not however immediately to the good

of the whole, but to the advantage of his class. The people are divided into warriors, *moran*, and not warriors, *morua*, which is at the same time a division between single and married. Between these is the intermediate class, of *levelé*—persons, that is, who though married still go to the wars. The warriors are further subdivided into four classes, of which the first and oldest leads the rest; and the non-warriors into three classes. Each class has its spokesman, *leigwenan*, who can gain great influence. Besides these, however, one or more witch-doctors in every tribe take part in the speaking on public occasions, as being the persons who make good luck for the tribe in war, ward off illness, and so on. Fischer mentions Mbatian as the most influential man in Masailand, because the most potent in magic and the largest owner; even the Wakuafi came to him for

Somali vessels: 1, firepot; 2, pot with handle; 3, closed vessel for fomentations—one-half real size. (Berlin Museum.)

advice before their campaigns. It is obvious that the chief *leibon* may most readily for a time present the appearance of a paramount chief among the Masai; just as in another way the leaders or spokesmen of the various warrior and non-warrior classes may be taken for so many tribal chiefs. This especially explains the statements about fifty Galla tribes almost independent of each other, twelve undiscoverable tribes of South Gallas, and thirty tribes of Mijertains, and the like. Where a chief is recognised, he is of course the merchant of the tribe, and no subject may trade directly with strangers. The *heiu* is a great landowner, who keeps hundreds of families in a dependent condition on his estate, so that among the Somalis we may be reminded of our own mediæval feudalism. Among the Gallas of Wakaungu, Krapf found a division into seven tribes with two *heius*, a great and a little, who were elected afresh every seven years. Under these two stand two more chiefs, called *mora*, one of whom executes the command of the great, one of the little *heiu*, and attached to them is a public orator, the *laskari*, for the people's meetings, at which no chief speaks himself. Before the Egyptian incursion the Galla tribes about Harar were similarly self-governing. Their

method was that every subdivision of the tribe was subordinate to a chief half-hereditary, half-elective, for a term of eight years. His title was the *Boku*. Below him were two officials of lower grade, called among the Ala tribes *dori* and *raba*. The Boku was usually the leader only in times and on occasions of peace. Révoil heard of an accurate delimitation and division of landed property in the



Somali leather shield—three views—one-fifth real size. (Christy Collection.)

frankincense-producing mountain districts of Somaliland, where any one gathering frankincense, gum, and the like, on another person's land was punished. The Somalis pay a ground-tax to the sultan, while strangers have to pay a poll-tax called *ashur*.

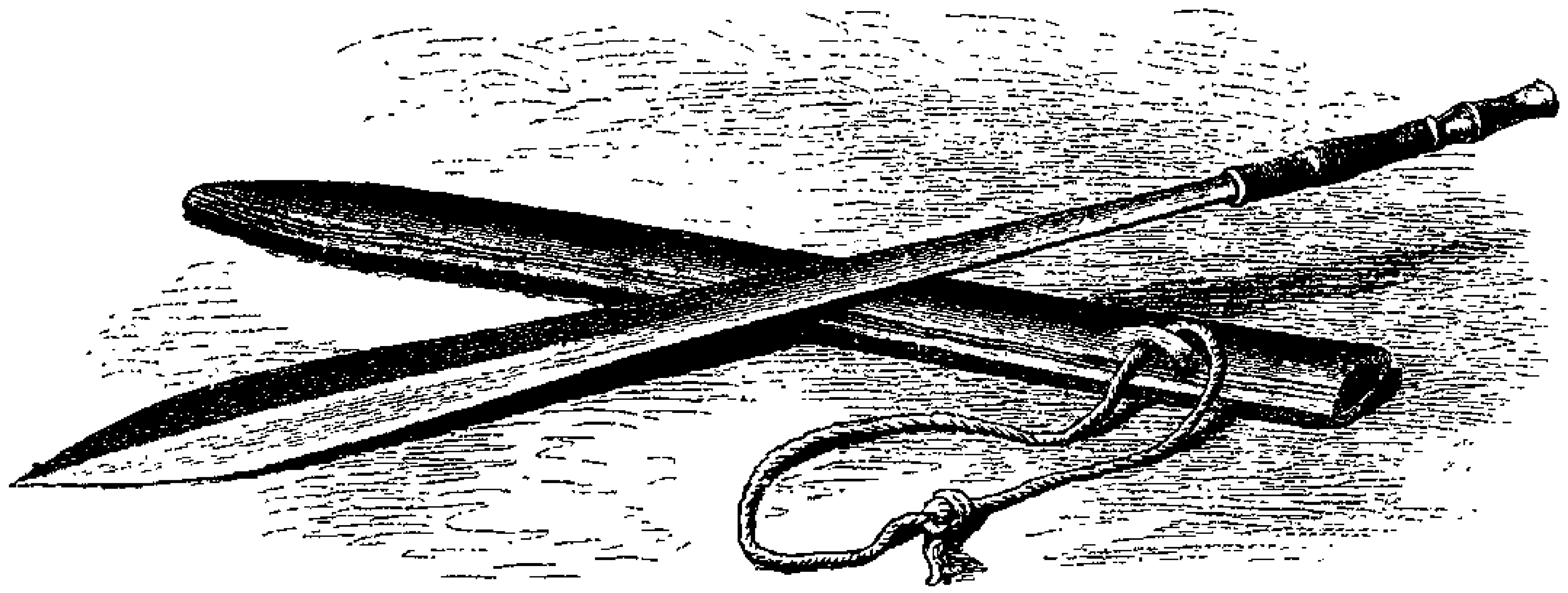
The so-called kings of the Mussulman Somali tribes Eesa and Gudabirsi, wear for a crown a leather cap with radiating furrows and running to a point in the middle, provided with a gold button and galoon at the point, and wound round

with a turban; they wear also a red mantle. But their authority does not correspond with their outward splendour. The Northern Galla chiefs wear a diadem-like head-dress of sheet copper. These kings stand in a position of dependence, if only formal, on the Emir of Harar. The Mijertain Somalis, the best known and most numerous Somali tribe, have a common head, *Boghor;* who, however, seems equally to exercise only a theoretical sovereignty, since there are below him not less than thirty sub-tribes, each with a chief of its own; while the inhabitants of the coast villages, who in their calling as wreckers do not recognise much authority, and the nomads, each according to their various ways of life, are far apart from each other. Traces of female rule, such as ran among pastoral peoples, are met with in the ruling families of the Wahuma, in the negro districts, and similar female sovereigns occur among the Gallas. In Unyoro the queen-mother enjoys as much respect as the king, if not more. She inhabits her own town, has ministers, officials, head-chiefs, and above all, great herds of oxen. In war time, the first thing is to hide her, since, if she were taken prisoner, the king would wholly lose the consideration of his subjects. The absence of any political authority in Somaliland has imposed upon the coast-tribes the task of protecting the markets. In the two most important trade-centres, Berbera and Bulhar, until their occupation by Egyptians in 1873, the government and policing of the markets was performed by the Ayal-Achmed and Ayal Yunis tribes, in Zeila by the sultan of the Southern Danakils, with the aid of a small Turkish garrison. For security's sake, every trader who came had to select a protector or *abban* from one of these tribes, who also acted as broker.

The chief tasks of these sovereigns or chiefs are the management of wars—of which the chief aim is cattle-lifting, the partition of the plunder, and the conclusion of peace. Among the tribes that have remained warlike, the warriors keep apart from the mass of the people; they do not marry, do not smoke nor drink brandy, and have their quarters on the frontiers and trade-routes. Often a disinclination for war or, with wealthy people, indifference to the acquisition of more cattle, decides a man to enter the class of non-warriors. As a rule, the Gallas fight well and bravely, but they used to have a superstitious dread of firearms, and when they see some of their people fall, they take to flight. More recent expeditions have shown how exaggerated was the estimate formed of the military virtues of the Masai, and how little their dense masses of fighting men could do against a small band of well-armed people under firm leadership. The mishaps to Arab trade caravans, numbering up to 2000 men with muskets, and to some considerable expeditions like those of Burton and Von der Decken, had increased their power. If an enemy is killed in battle, he is mutilated, and the ferocious foe carries portions of his body home, where they are preserved to be worn as ornaments on the neck of the conqueror and his wives. In some tribes the number of ivory rings that a man wears indicates the tale of his slain enemies, and a youth is not regarded as a man till he has killed a stranger. The territories seem to be separated by unoccupied marches, which in many cases serve as abodes for hunting tribes. Thus Kikuyu is a clearing in a belt of forest, 25 miles wide, which serves as a protection against the Naivashas; and Sotik is surrounded to south, east, and north, by forests in which the Wanderobbo hunt elephants.

Justice among the Gallas is that of a predatory and pastoral race—simple and ferocious. The murderer is handed over to the relations of the victim, who

may do what they will with him. If the murdered man has no relations, the murderer is given up to the king, who has him put to death with the weapon used in committing the crime. A thief caught in the act has to pay up twice the value of the stolen property; but if he has only stolen to appease the pangs of hunger, he is let off. A thief caught in the act while the public market is going on, is taken into the thick of the crowd, and after having his clothes stripped off by them, is taken round the market by two or three men, who call upon the crowd to treat him to a flogging with whips and cudgels. When the Gallas take an oath, they dig a pit, stick some spears in it, and cry:—"If we swear falsely may we be thrown into this pit." Or the person swearing must clean his cattle-stall with the leaves of a particular plant, and say: "As I wipe out this filth, so may Waka wipe out my name and my house, if I speak untruth." In the belief of the Gallas, says Krapf, the Abesjo tribe perished, like the house of Glaucus, because its founder swore falsely. Blood relationship is held sacred.



Somali sword, probably of Arab origin—one-fifth real size. (Munich Museum.)

The position of women is not low. Young girls and boys, while at their entrance upon maturity, are separated from their associates; and at this time an operation like circumcision seems to be performed on both. Then they live, the youth as a warrior, the girl as his companion, a free wild life, apart from parents and families; within the circle of which they do not return till the youth ceases to be a warrior. The seclusion of young girls from intercourse with men is only found where Mussulman influence is strong. Nothing is reported as to purchase of wives. When a Galla marries, the wife has a dowry from her father; and if she separates from her husband, he keeps the dowry. This is just the contrary of the prevalent practice among negroes. Marriages are sanctioned by the *abadala* or village president. After a man's death his brother has to marry his widow. Polygamy is customary among wealthy people.

The social relations of the Gallas are peculiarly complicated owing to certain groups of foreign elements which are intermingled among them, but have obviously also mingled intimately with them. Beside the valiant predatory Galla dwells the timid Wapokomo who subsists peacefully. The former is proud, the latter humble —the master wants his servant beside him. Such is the rule, which reminds us strikingly of the social organisation of the southern Arabs. With the Somalis live the Achdams, serving them and paying tribute, but with other laws, occupations, and habits. We cannot say with certainty whether physical differences of importance keep these pariah tribes separate from their lords. Their social

position, though not their racial features, reminds us of the Bushmen and dwarf peoples. Cust was disposed to assign the Wanderobbo to the Bushmen, but we now know for certain, through Höhnel, that they speak the Masai language like their masters. Among the Achdams, the most noticeable are the Tumalods. They are at once a blend compounded of all the tribes of the country and the slaves of the neighbouring countries, and a guild of smiths. They are tributary to the tribe among whom they dwell, and subject to its jurisdiction. No free Somali enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none takes a wife from this stock, or gives his daughter to a member of it. The Tumalods are spread over the whole country, they are all smiths, and no instance is known of one of them giving up the trade. Still more debased and poorer are the Ramis, the Somalis' hunters, who are not allowed to hunt on horseback. In war they serve as mercenaries. They shoot with long light arrows, having poisoned tips; their bows are of the *nabak*-tree, the strings of camel sinews. The smith-tribes or castes sometimes enjoy a semi-independence, and exercise some effect on traffic. Among the Masai, according to Höhnel, not more than a couple of dozen smiths, *elkonono*, live scattered among the large kraals. But Likonono, the centre of a tribe of smiths dependent on the Wakuafi, is one of the most frequented trading-places by reason of its smith's work. In the most northerly Galla territory, again, the Sienetjos of Schuver, an isolated population in the mountains of Legaland, seem to represent a colony of weavers and smiths; in any case they are the only persons in the country practising those trades. No fixed habitations can be assigned to the hunting races among the Gallas and Masai, such as the Waboni, Wassanieh, and Wanderobbo, for they roam about; they seem, however, to keep to certain districts, because they are closely attached to the frontiers of their lords.

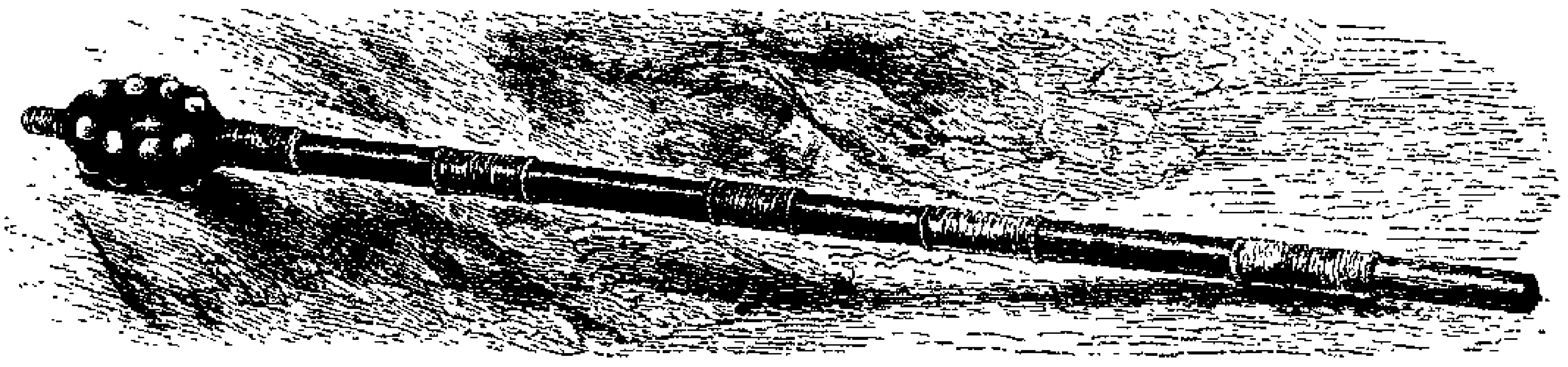
South-west from Berbera, and south of 10° N. latitude, lies the country of Gerbatir, abounding in game; where the hunting-people called Ramis, who belong to this part, have their standing quarters. The gipsies of Somaliland are the Yibers, who are said to have wandered in from Arabia, and go in families begging from place to place. They never enter a Somali's house or premises, nor may they touch any article belonging to him. Their medical talents are valued; people look on at their jugglings and dances, and do not like to refuse them food and drink. In this region, too, the dwarf legend appears; the social conditions for the production of a miserable race, pining away in a state of subjection, being amply fulfilled. Among the agricultural Sukus, west of Lake Baringo, Fischer was told of dwarfs living in caves; and north-east of Kavirondo, Thomson found caves, but no dwarfs. We have spoken above of the dwarfs of Kaffa.[1]

Impoverished branches of the tribes carry on some cultivation on the rivers of the Masai, Galla, and Somali countries, and the Aussa oasis in Danakil Land. They are despised and laid under contribution. The genuine Masai, Galla, or Wakuafi man, as long as he is a fighter, cares only for animal food. They hold the same position as the oasis-dwellers of Borku to the Teddahs, or those of Bilma to the Tuaregs, only that they are still more powerless. That they are not exterminated, proves nevertheless that the ruling races wish to keep them going. To these degenerate people belong the agricultural Wakuafi of Nguruman, those of the same tribe in the district between the Baringo and Naivasha Lakes, which

[1] See p. 301.

was once inhabited by Wakuafi, but afterwards conquered by the Masai, and the Gallas who have settled near Takaungu.

In their pedigree-legends the Gallas blend mythological elements with some that have come over from Arabia. They call themselves descendants of Wolab, and say they crossed a great water before coming into their present dwelling-place. Or else they trace their descent to Esau. When the Somalis make a son of Noah the first inhabitant of their country, we see the appearance of a historical element connecting East Africa with Arabia. Kings of Saba are found as sovereigns among the Somalis, and since their conversion to Islam they like to regard themselves as pure Arabs, and allege that their founder Darod was the son of the great Ismail Jeberti, the patron saint of Somaliland who is buried between Mecca and Jeddah. The Somalis still lay claim to certain houses in Mecca, as having been built by their ancestor. Darod, having been exposed in the desert, came in miraculous fashion to the Somali coast, married a shepherdess, and spread the Mahommedan faith. The northern group of the Somalis, the Mijer-



Brass-studded sceptre of a Somali chief—one-fifth real size. (Munich Museum.)

tains, profess to be specially intimately connected with this half-mythical representative of the Arab immigration, and indignantly repudiate any suggestion of Galla descent. The tale of shipwrecked Arabs, to whom this or that tribe owes its origin, by their marriage with the daughters of the land, occurs repeatedly. Arabs are found also in the garb of local saints, like Isaac ben Achmet from Hadramaut, in whom many tribes see their patriarch. With this agree also the numerous Arabic words in the eastern Somali and Galla dialects, and the constant and lively traffic, depending predominantly on Arabia, between the ports of the Somali coast and South Arabia. The Somalis relate with some appearance of historical certainty that the first great Arab immigration took place 200 years after the Hejira, though Arab traders had already been living on the coast. Another legend speaks of a Parsee immigration about 500 A.D., which is said to have monopolised all the trade of the country. To them are attributed the numbers of sepulchral monuments scattered over the country; ruins of fortified settlements, aqueducts, cisterns, and artificial rock-caverns. There can be no doubt of the presence of Indian influences. It is certain that when Gama and his Portuguese came to the Somali coast, the sovereignty of one fanatical Mussulman extended, in the Adal empire, from Cape Guardafui to Tajurra.

The Arabian origin is perhaps even more plainly conspicuous in the pedigree legends of the Danakils. Not only is their intercourse with Yemen known to be very intimate, but tradition speaks here even more decidedly than in Somaliland of an Arab immigration. Some tribes trace their origin to Yemen, the Hadarems to Hadramaut. They crossed the Red Sea, occupied Tajurra, Bailul, Raheita,

and Adal, and hence moved northward to their present place of abode. The Danakils, whose northern limit is formed by the basin of Arrho, stood formerly in a position of dependency on the Grand Sheikh of Mecca, through the Naib of Arkiko. Even when, owing to the Egyptian conquest of Gedda and Mecca, they came under the Egyptian officials in Massowah, they maintained "a sort of amicable business-dependence" on the Shefeef of Mecca, but had much less to do with the Turkish governor of that town.

The Gallas of the interior have remained untouched by these influences. They too have tales of migration, mingled with mythological ingredients; but for us they are among the races who have appeared suddenly on the stage of history, and who, after sending mighty waves into its stream, have, as if wearied, retired into a corner. The Gallas themselves say that they came into their present quarters about 300 years ago. No one doubts the fact of their immigration; their very name is evidence for it. Bruce mentions the Galla tradition, that before their immigration they lived far within the continent, and thence made their way across great lakes. Ludolf even gives the year 1537 with certainty as that in which the Gallas invaded Abyssinia from Bariland.

The historical side of the Gallas is their connection with Abyssinia. Forcing themselves, 300 years ago, like a wedge, into the ancient empire, between Gondar and Shoa, they became a factor of quite extraordinary importance in its history. From west to south-east they overlap Abyssinia, and are its most dangerous foe. But when they reach the coast, their status, both in politics and culture, is overlain by a thick varnish of Arab importation, and the northern coast, or Somali coast proper, which alone is open in any great measure to intercourse with the civilised world, looks to a superficial observer as no more than a replica of Oman or Hauran. Even the Somalis may be most appropriately regarded as a sea-coast variety of the great Galla race, in which, owing to Arabian influence, a transformation has taken place in customs, tendencies, and even language, similar to that found among the Swahelis or the so-called Arabs of the Upper Nile. This view is in no way contradicted by the deadly enmity existing between Gallas and Somalis, since even the Somali tribes live in a state of constant feud. Unluckily we have no record of the Gallas themselves. We do not know how and when they acquired the ponies which in our times have made it possible for hordes of mounted Gallas to cross the Equator. The Arabic word *faras* for "horse" is in general use among them all. Yet this was unquestionably the most important event of their recent history. The best we can hope is that comparative philology will some day be in a position to enlighten us upon the questions to which no tradition even hints at the answer. Even now it indicates, as the fundamental fact in the history of this great Galla stock, that it has a wide connection with the Hamites of the Nile district and East Africa, that the connection is interrupted only by the Semitic wedge of the Geez peoples, and that Somali is less nearly akin to Danakil than to Galla. Starting from this we may perhaps understand the Gallas as a group of peoples whose centre formerly lay further to the north than at present, possibly even north and perhaps also west of Abyssinia, and whose history, looked at as a whole, shows as its main feature an irresistible extension southwards, which for centuries has gone on in the same manner as with the Wahuma, Masai, and Wakuafi. This wave-like advance does not exclude possible backflows to the north. The Masai probably pressed northward for

the first time within the last few decades, and forced back the Wakuafi who were advancing to the south. But the southward advance of both ultimately became all the stronger.

The most powerful Galla tribe are the Boranis or Bevoranas, whose name was known even in Lobo's time. Their territory extends from the Lower Jub to the Abai and Havash, and into the Conso country, and is bounded to the west by the grass country of Sera or Serto, "the forbidden land," probably the uninhabited frontier tract towards the negroes of the Shillook stock. The Boranis are divided into the purely pastoral people, the Yas in the north-west, and the Yals or Yabs, who are to some extent agriculturists. The Bararettas or Wardais also claim kindred with the Boranis.

Next to these come the Arusis. Pinchard describes the Aroosi- or Arusia-Gallas as a powerful tribe, whose chief Ra Nia Kharu inhabits a capital composed of twenty contiguous villages. Northward their territory extends as far as the Havash, westward to Lake Zuay. These must not be confounded with Wakefield's Aroosas, who are separated from them by the Gerire, and at the same time from the Boranis by the Jub. These Aroosas are noted as the parent-stock of all the Gallas. Their trade chiefly follows the line of the Jub. Next to the Arusis live the tribe of the Itu-Gallas, who touch the Afars or Danakils on the Havash, the northern limit of the whole Galla race.

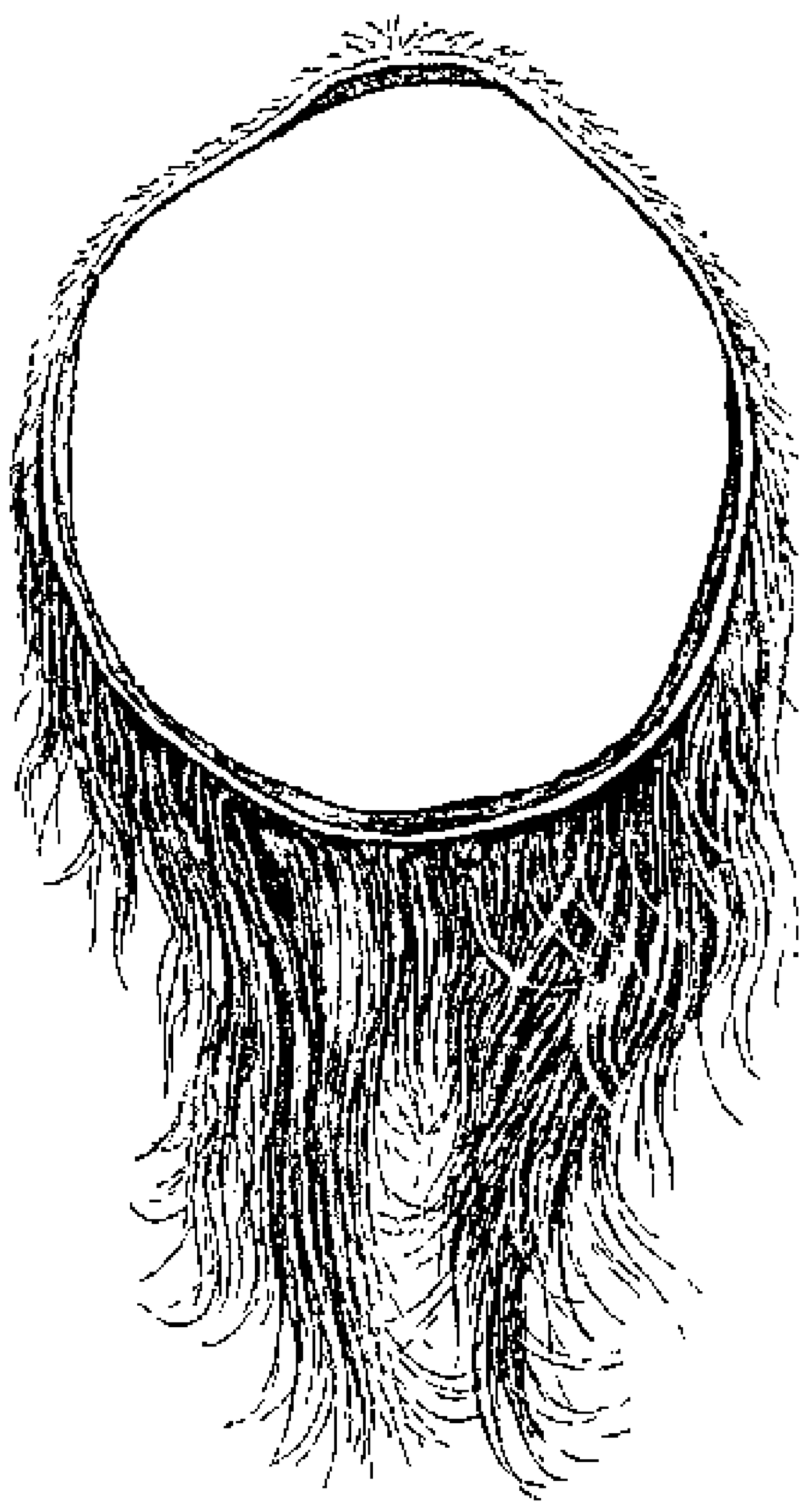
A considerable people again are the Sabs or Rahanwins, who occupy a large space between the lower courses of the Jub and the Webbi. This is not a pure Galla people. Kinzelbach says it is descended from Somali fathers and slave mothers, which the Somalis do not recognise as belonging to them. Krapf's twelve South-Galla tribes are separated only by differences which, according to Fischer, go about as far as those which divide the Swahelis of Lamu, Malindi, and Mombasa. The Bararetta-Gallas inhabited both banks of the Sabaki. Joining on to them is the tribe of the Wasanya, very like the Gallas, but at the same time subject to them; these dwell from the right bank of the Sabaki to the confines of the Wakamba on the Upper Tana. On the Tana they are agricultural, but in the rest of their territory live like the Gallas. Other Galla-like tribes in this southern district are the Waboni, who live north of the Osi in the Wapokomo country, and the Watua further to the north; both hunting-nomads who live in a poor way, but resemble, not only in dialect, Gallas more than negroes.

A pastoral people, externally resembling gypsies, in whose herds horses and camels appear, and who have a number of Somali words in their language, are the Randiles, in the east of the Samburu country. In the lowlands to the north of Lake Rudolf are the Reshiats, herdsmen and agriculturists, who change their abode to the high ground every year when the lake overflows; they are more negro-like, but speak like the last-named. Their women pierce the lower lip and wear ample leather petticoats. East of the Reshiats are the Amars, living in a district rich in iron, from which were brought weapons and iron ornaments, which are as freely worn here as in the Nile countries. At the north end of Lake Stefanie dwell the trading Marlebos. All these peoples, and yet smaller groups, of which only the names are known, march on their eastern side with the Boranis, with whom they are probably connected in language; while trade relations seem to connect them with the Somalis.

The boundary between Gallas and Somalis has been constantly changing, so

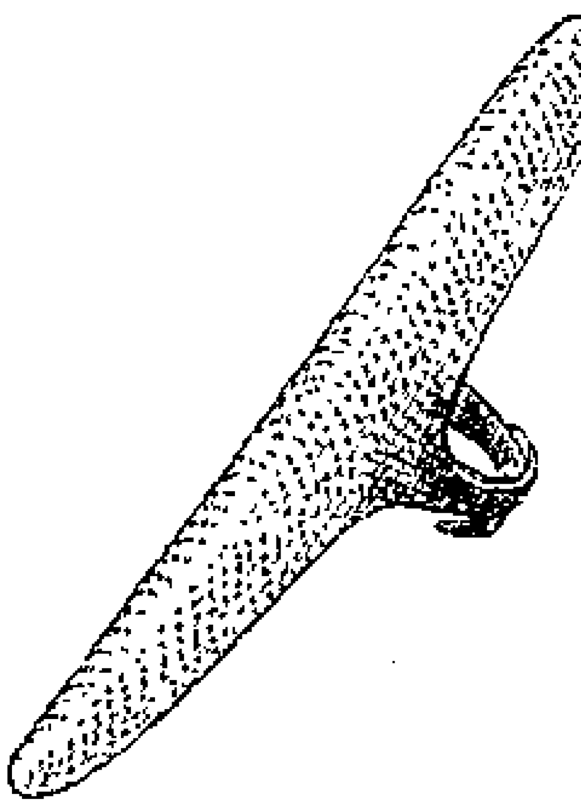
far as our knowledge extends. The two races are in a state of hostility, like the Masai and the Wakuafi, and their frontiers are in an unstable condition accordingly. In Brenner's time the Jub could still be regarded as the limit between them; but since 1870 this has been pushed forward almost to the Tana. It is still practically formed, as when Fischer indicated it in 1877, by the Osi, the Tana, and the Wapokomo country, so that west of the latter district a connection exists between the South Gallas and the Boranis. In recent years the movement seems to have set more westwards, towards Lake Rudolf.

Closely connected in language with the Gallas, but geographically and ethnographically with the Nile negroes, especially the Shulis, and related to the Gallas as the settled Wakuafi are to the migratory, we find the Langos, as outliers of the great East Equatorial African family of nomad pastoral races, stretching in from the south-east, and to some extent forming only small islands of population. They are themselves nomads in the east; but towards Usoga they begin to inhabit settled villages, forming almost as many little states. Their largest state is called Umiro. The Latuka, Irenga, and Akkara languages are all dialects of the Lango group, which again belong to the Galla languages. But those who speak them are so copiously crossed with negro-blood that they appear even darker than the Shulis, not to mention the Wanyoro. Tall and slim of stature—the average being, according to Emin Pasha, 5 ft. 8 in. to 5 ft. 10 in.—with longish countenances, an open look, warlike, jealous of their independence, they hold a position of freedom and hostility even towards the powerful Wahuma states on their western border. Their head-dress with its broad wings and cowry ornament, the value of which diminishes rapidly towards the Nile, is distinctive. The Latukas are an *enclave* among the Shulis, in the mountains east of Lado. They are wealthy herdsmen and agriculturists, living in large, well-peopled villages. Tarrangolle, the largest, is said to contain 4000 huts, around which sentries are posted on elevated points. Similar to them are their neighbours, the Obbos. Latuka tradition places older abodes in the direction of Jebel Keljamin, in the north-east of their present territory. The Lirias, who once had a bad name for their raids as far as Behr and Kirri, are an intrusive branch of the Baris, whose affinities must be sought in the Wakuafi direction.


Wakamba warrior's knee-ornament, an imitation of that worn by the Masai—one-third real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Of all the Galla races, the Somalis are those who have been most touched by foreign influences and mingled with foreign elements. Agreeably to their situation they have been thrown into close intercourse with Arabs, have connected themselves very nearly with Islam, and have on the coast devoted themselves to trade and navigation after the Arab model. Great part of them belong to a pronounced form of coast people, but most Somalis are yet herdsmen, departing little from the Galla type. They may once have been further from it than they are now, when they held a more independent position in the interior, especially in the Harar district, now inhabited by Gallas. At that time a higher civilization

flourished in the land; ruined buildings speak of a larger population and more prosperous tillage of the soil, with artificial irrigation. Driven back to the eastward as the Somalis were by the Gallas, there still remain groups of them who, just like the Masai, undertake organised raids for cattle and ivory in the Galla and Masai countries. In Enarea, Cecchi gathered information about southern countries, relating to such a raid on the part of the Somalis as far as Lykipia. Dialectically the Somalis differ little among themselves. Among those on the north coast, the most westerly, the Eissas may be mentioned, while conspicuous tribal groups in the interior are the Ogadayus and in the north, the Hawijas, who deem themselves the best and oldest Somalis.


Wakamba iron fighting-ring—one-half real size. (Berlin Museum.)

The Afars or Danakils, like their neighbours to the south, fall into an inland pastoral group, and coast-dwellers. Besides this, a number of head-tribes are reckoned, and numerous patriarchal family groups. Among the coast and the pastoral tribes alike there is a class of nobles who call themselves "red men," and of subordinates, or "white men." There is no real town population. Of the trading-places on the coast Ed consists of some hundred huts, two stone mosques, and two prayer-houses. The sheikh of the place trades to Yemen in five *sambuks*, or open boats.

The territory occupied by the Masai centres in the area between Mounts Kenia and Kilimanjaro; they are the western and north-western sections of these pastoral tribes. If with Thomson we regard the Wakuafi as only a clan of the Masai, the district over which the Wakuafi spread, extending to Lake Victoria, must be added on. And since linguistic resemblances make it appear that the Langos and Latukas of the Upper Nile are a transition from the Masai to the Baris and Dinkas, the territory of the Masai and their kinsfolk extends to the old Shillook country, which once had its frontier in the region where Khartoum now stands. To the east the denser settled agricultural and trading population, depending on the situation and nature of the coast districts, causes the frontier of the Masai to fluctuate. The entrance to the country of the independent predatory Masai lies on the western slope of Kilimanjaro. But that they often break through this gate we learn, among other sources, from the fact that in 1877 J. M. Hildebrandt found the raids of the Oigobs (Masai or Wakuafi) pushed to the environs of Mombasa, where the troops of the Sultan of Zanzibar did not venture to meet them in the open field. Still their limit may in general be drawn from the Upper Pangani, round the northern foot of Kilimanjaro to Kimangelia, and to the western foot of Kenia, in about 35° 40'[1] East longitude. For some years the Masai have gone on spreading further to the south. Formerly they possessed only the tract between the right bank of the Pangani and Ugogo, and pushed the Wakuafi to the westward. Of the latter, only a few tribes took to agriculture and stayed in their old territory, while the nomads were for the most part forced into the region between Samburu, Lake Baringo, and Kenia; a small part took to nomad life east of Lake Victoria, while Fischer found another part which had gone over to the Masai on Lake Naivasha. Some are found scattered about Kikuyu. As the northern limit of the Masai, von Höhnel fixes a line drawn

[1] [*Sic*: but the points given seem to place it nearer to 37° East longitude.]

south-west from the point where the Guasso Narok joins the Guasso Nyiro. The most southerly outposts of the Masai are the Wahumba, who pasture in Ugogo to beyond the caravan-road from Mpwapwa to Tabora; they are few in number, and their military organisation is so feeble that the Germans were able to drive them off with little trouble. Their four-cornered huts of brushwood plastered with cow-dung are also wretched. Near Tabora they even pasture the herds of the Arabs. Their customs, and their name as well, may suggest that the Wahuma who roam further to the westward are not to be sharply separated from the Masai; the two conceptions merge in each other. Livingstone even collected Masai words in Ujiji from Arabs or slaves, when he cherished in his later years the plan of pushing forward thence into the districts which Thomson and Fischer explored twelve years afterwards. To the north, however, we again come upon kindred, in language and partly in customs, of the Masai, in the equally pastoral but also partly agricultural Dinkas and Baris, more densely packed and less warlike. These will be hereafter considered, together with the other dwellers on the Upper Nile.

Even before European expeditions penetrated their territory, and very quickly reduced their military reputation, which had rested rather on impudence than on courage, and had been especially exalted through the timidity of their neighbours, the Masai had dwindled considerably owing to a plague which killed their cattle. This appeared some twenty years ago, and shattered the foundations of their peculiar mode of life. Sheep, which had formerly been only food for women, were in constantly greater request, as not being liable to the disease. Cattle-lifting, the chief motive for their raids, has ceased to be so attractive; "it is all downhill," says von Höhnel, "with this interesting race," who by dint of their exclusive organisation had succeeded with wonderful persistence in keeping free from other disintegrating influences. Till a few years ago, neither had their dress of goat-skins been supplanted by cotton-stuffs, nor their original war-panoply by fire-arms. Since, however, they developed few artistic capacities themselves, leaving iron-work to their *elkonono*, and buying bows and shields from the Wandorobbo and Naiberes, they would in all probability have soon ceased to be one of the most peculiar peoples of Africa. Where it is possible for them to do so, they, like the Wahuma to the westward, whose herds were visited by the same plague shortly before the arrival of Emin Pasha and Stuhlmann, will turn of necessity to agriculture.

The Wakuafi or Mbarawui, the scattered and for the most part settled brother-tribe to the Masai, once lived the same pastoral life, till they were defeated in the struggle with the Masai, and retired in numerous subdivisions, to west and north, in order to devote themselves to agriculture after the loss of their herds. In the middle of the 'seventies war broke out afresh, and the Northern Wakuafi or Leukops were utterly routed by the Masai. To-day Wakuafi are found in general resembling the Masai, but bearing the traces of a poorer and more wretched existence, and under certain circumstances just as impudent and even more faithless, on Kilimanjaro, on Meru in Upper Arusha, in greater numbers on Lake Baringo in Lykipia, in the Guasso Ngishu country, and among the Wakikuyu and Burkenejis. There are northerly kinsfolk of the Masai who feed their herds in the Sanburu country, east of Lake Rudolf as far as 5° North, and are connected with the Barawa Somalis, from whom they get the coarse woollen

cloth for their cloak-like coverings. The women, however, wear leather cloaks like the Masai.

A group of members of this stock, owning no property, devote themselves to fishery in Lake Rudolf, under the name of Elmolos; and numerous Burkeneji women are found in voluntary servitude among neighbouring tribes. The Sooks, too, who live between 0° 50′ and 1° 50′ North, in the mountains of the same name, and their neighbours the Mandis and Kamassias, belong to the Masai group; and among them too there are cattle-breeders and settled people. Their dress, of leather, is less ample, and perforation of the lower lip occurs, a plate of brass six inches long being worn in the hole; brass wire is stuck in the edge of the ear, the hair is plastered with clay or worn as a long natural bag-wig. Beside other weapons appears the cutting arm-ring of iron (see vol. i. p. 102)—all this being in harmony with the pastoral Nile races to the north-west. The best in the chain are the Turkanas, or Elgumas, dwelling west of Lake Rudolph to about 5° North. They came from the westward to their present place of abode about sixty years ago, and are a pronounced negro people, in whom the points of agreement with the negro stocks which have begun to appear even in the Sooks, physically like as these are to the Masai, reach such a point that one feels quite as if one was among Baris, or still more Shulis. The more powerful, broader build, the darker colour, the woolly hair, the projecting ornament of iron wire round the neck, the custom of hanging a brass plate in the lower lip, the head-covering made of felt from human hair with cowry ornaments, the leather band often adorned with a cow's tail round the upper arm, the head-stool—which is taken about everywhere, the absence of bows, are all characteristic of the negroes of the Upper Nile. But very unlike them is the imperfect style of the huts, consisting only of a few branches stuck in the ground. In their herds, camels begin to be found in great numbers. Quite similar to them are the Karamoyos, living to the west, and the Donyiros to the north, whose women stick large pieces of ox-horn in their lower lips, which give them a repulsive appearance. With the Turkanas and onwards glass beads begin to be scarce, and beads of ostrich egg-shell take their place.

The most westerly branch of the Gallas in the equatorial region, whom we know under the collective name of Wahuma, have gained a special importance owing to their rule over the rich lands and talented negro peoples in the parts about the lakes which are the source of the Nile. We shall again come across them there, but it will be well to consider them here at once in their given connection with their nearest kinsfolk. In geographical situation, in bodily frame, in character, and in mode of life, their near relation to the Gallas is clear, as, in spite of the lack, not yet removed, of any linguistic basis, has appeared obvious to all observers from Speke down to Emin Pasha and Baumann. The contrast between these lighter and more nobly-formed races, and the negroes over whom they rule, has often been noted. "In an instant we both felt," says Speke, when describing his first entrance into the palace-hut of Rumanika, "that we were in the company of men who were as unlike as they could be to the common order of the natives of the surrounding districts. They had fine oval faces, large eyes, and high noses, denoting the best blood of Abyssinia." Yet this very Karagwe people contains thoroughly negro elements, whose more lively, brighter nature is in strong contrast to the more reserved (Speke calls it more phlegmatic) character

of the Wahuma. Curiously enough the Wahuma themselves do not attach the chief importance to their light skins, narrow faces, straight noses, and so on, but with a kind of aristocratic caprice regard only large projecting ears as appropriate to race and rank. The lighter colour which is universally found to distinguish the women seems here to be regarded more as a social mark, since the darker mass of the population aim at getting fairer wives. Mtesa's harem contained some very pretty fair Wahuma women, and Wilson affirms that the chiefs in Uganda prefer to select their wives from the Wahuma. Those who have advanced furthest north-west, Torus, Nkoles, Ruandas, are the most coveted, as being the fairest and slimmest. Among the Wahuma, women hold a higher position than among negroes, and are sedulously guarded by their husbands, which contributes to render crossing difficult. The mass of the Waganda would not be even to this day a genuine negro stock of "dark chocolate-coloured skin and short woolly hair," were not the two races sharply opposed to each other as agriculturists and herdsmen, subjects and rulers, despised and honoured, in spite of the alliances contracted among their upper classes. In this attitude of separation they are a typical phenomenon easily recognised. Even if Stanley had not expressly indicated Kavalli's milk-can, here figured, as a Wahuma article, the presence in the country of nomad herdsmen with their herds of cattle would be sufficient to place the resemblance between these herdsmen west of Lake Albert and the Wahuma beyond all doubt. "They live indeed in the country of the Wavira, but not in their villages; they give the agriculturists the produce of their herds in exchange for corn and vegetables, but give their daughters in marriage only to born Wahuma." Just the same relations as prevail in Uganda, Unyoro, and elsewhere, to which the Wavira chief's complaint of the haughty demeanour of the Wahuma also points.

Milk-can belonging to Kavalli, chief of the West Wahuma. (After Stanley.)

The Wahuma's own traditions, and such rudiments as we know of the history of Uganda and Unyoro, show through all mythical variations of the theme how the belief in their descent from men of light colour is as persistent as that in their arrival from the north, north-east, or east. Curious variants in these traditions are naturally not lacking. In the royal family of Unyoro the belief prevails that their ancestors were half black, half white, and that Africa once belonged to the white men, of whom they regard themselves as a remnant. For this reason, when Speke and Grant, first of Europeans, approached Unyoro, they believed it was white men wishing to acquire the land again for themselves; and to the same belief Baumann owed his triumphal entry into Urundi. It is noticeable that the chiefs of Unyoro call themselves Wavitu, people from the land of Vitu, and look for this in the north. Equally in Unyoro Emin Pasha heard the

following tale about the history of these countries: "Once upon a time Unyoro, with Uganda, Usoga, Uddu, and Karagwe formed one great country, inhabited by the Wichwesi. Then came from the north-east light-coloured men—men-eaters, *walia bantu*—in great number. When they crossed the Nile, the Wichwesi fled. At Matgumi, a place still existing to the south-east of Mruli, the invaders concentrated, and divided into two bands, of which one advanced on Unyoro, the other on Uganda. Those of the Wichwesi who remained were enslaved. The invaders called themselves Wavitu, while by the natives they were called Wahuma, 'the people from the north'; in Uganda also 'Walindi,' in Karagwe 'Wahinda.' They were herdsmen and are so to this day, while the Wichwesi were tillers of the soil. Where the immigrants remained pure they are still white; where they mingled with Wichwesi the present light-coloured race arose, such as found predominantly in these countries. Pure Wichwesi, however, who are quite black, go about the country as itinerant singers and magicians. In Unyoro the name Wichwesi is now equivalent to serf."

On the analogy of historical movements of races in the neigbouring districts of the Gallas and their kinsfolk we may assume that warlike pastoral races from their seats in the East African highlands made, as is usual generally among warlike Africans, raids to west, south, and north for purposes of plunder and slave-catching, and that on these occasions the younger and more enterprising members of ruling families split off from the parent stock and founded kingdoms of their own. We may assume with Speke that first the Gallas arose out of the Abyssinians immediately to the south, and then the Somalis further off, while the most southerly branch spread as far as the Jub, but had to retreat from an attack upon Mombasa into the interior, where it crossed the Nile and descended upon the rich pastures round the Great Nyanza. The agricultural inhabitants were brought into subjection, and the great empire of Kittara was founded, which later on broke up into the Wahuma kingdom of to-day. It was not perhaps till the last few decades that a fresh extension took place to west and south. At any rate, in the spread of the Kinyoro language to Usinje and Ruanda we have evidence for an advance from Unyoro, and traditions also speak on this side. One daughter-kingdom of Unyoro seems to have reached from Usui to Ruanda within the memory of living men. The Wahuma, in the country to the west of Lake Albert, have many individual points of resemblance with those of Unyoro. They are said to have emigrated several generations back with their herds from the country of Unyoro. By war and plunder they and their herds have undergone constant changes. Over a surface of 1200 square miles Emin Pasha estimates the number of their cattle at not more than four thousand. The chief Kavalli, when Stanley stayed with him, had control over only eighty head. The statement of the Wahuma chiefs, that their agricultural subjects and neighbours, the negro people called Wavira, only came in after them and by their permission, does not deserve any consideration. That shiftings on a larger scale still go on appears from Stanley's observation about the plain between Rusese and Katwe at the southern foot of Ruwenzori: "The stillness of the plain is a consequence of the wholesale emigration of the tribe." The report of white men in the Gambarragara mountains is no doubt based upon these light-brown herdsmen. The southward extension of the Wahuma has not yet been quite clearly explained, since the correspondence of their mode of life with that of the Masai makes it difficult to

decide more precisely. Usinje, the most southerly kingdom founded by these people, reaching nearly to 3° South, is far from being their southern limit. The Watusi of Ubha on Lake Tanganyika, who pasture their herds in Unyamwesi, and are in the service of the Arabs of Tabora as herdsmen, are undoubtedly Wahuma. Though their name as a people has been altered, they still, as in Karagwe, call their chiefs Wahinda. Similarly the Wapoka of Ufipa on Lake Leopold are to be reckoned among the Wahuma. Then in the south the people are quite like the Wanyamwesi, while in the more mountainous north they are stronger and more active. They are governed by two Wahuma chiefs, and cattle-breeding nomads of the same stock roam the country. The smaller chiefs, however, are descendants of those who ruled here before the invasion of the Wahuma. In Unyoro, Speke first heard of the Wahuma 'in the east of that country, who live on meat and milk only. That points to the Langos or some people near them.

In the Wahuma dress the black tanned ox-hide is peculiar. Besides this they have numerous rings round the shin, armlets of copper or brass, and an amulet or two. Even in the west the women wear cloaks made of lozenge-shaped bits of skin sewn together, and on the head a piece of ox-hide. The clothing, completer than usual, of the Waganda and their associates is very probably to be ascribed to their influence. Spears are carried even by herdsmen with their herds. In many respects the Wahuma follow local custom. In Unyoro they pull out their lower teeth, in Uganda and Karagwe they do not. In Unyoro they use only the spear in war, while in Karagwe they are excellent archers, hitting a distant mark with their six-foot bows. Bows of the Nile pattern occur in Unyoro, where Speke saw a whole collection of these bows, as long as a man, hanging from the posts supporting the king's brother's hut, and set up among them sheaves of spears with heads of iron and bronze (or was it copper?), also assegais.

Agricultural and industrial products are mostly obtained by barter from their more settled neighbours; yet the most genuinely Wahuma utensils show dexterity in wood-carving. They do not seem to work in metal; nor, except for their handsome large spear-heads provided with grooves for the blood, to use iron at all. In the west they have peculiar sickle-shaped knives, which they certainly first adopted from the negroes. The tending and breeding of cattle, their one pursuit, which is almost a passion, is carried on essentially in the Galla fashion. Their cattle are of the *sanga* breed. In Uganda and Unyoro it is closely interwoven with the highest interests of the state. Rumanika possessed a famous herd, counted by thousands, on the Kitangule river. Their milk was the chief source of food; and Speke draws an original picture of the family life of a grandee of Karagwe in his visit to an elder brother of Rumanika, who, like a careful father, watched, rod in hand, to see that his sixteen-year-old daughter, "with lovely features, but with a body as round as a ball," imbibed her fill of milk. In many respects, especially when, as in these negro countries, they are in a small minority, the Wahuma accommodate themselves to the customs of the country: by no means, however, in the household uncleanliness, which would naturally be connected with their status as herdsmen. Cleanliness and order in the house is of all things the first in Uganda. Emin's description of a Wahuma village reminds one strongly of a group of dairy huts in the Alps: "a tall thorn-hedge surrounds a number of hemispherical huts for men and beasts. All around

everything is filthy, but the interior of the hut is kept very clean." Even chiefs' huts resemble the others in this, being distinguished only by the size, and by a weapon or two more inside. For the bed-place a skin stretched over wooden stakes serves. Their chief difference as herdsmen is in their diet. Milk is the chief article of food; they use butter to grease their bodies. Here, as in all parts of the interior, the delight in beer-drinking is so potent that in many districts drunkenness is general and frequent. The king takes a stronger beer than his subjects, and regales his guests therewith; but at the same time the prescription, according to which Kabrega of Unyoro might only eat the meat of dark-brown calves with white stars on their foreheads, testifies to his continuing to be a shepherd-king.

## § 6. SCATTERED NEGRO-STOCKS OF EAST AFRICA

The advance of races akin to the Zulus on the Zambesi and Lake Nyassa, and the disintegration of the settled negroes—The Manganja: the *pelele;* agriculture; settlements; political subdivision; tribes of the Lower Zambesi in contact with the Portuguese—Tribes of German East Africa; the races which have been broken up by the Masai and their associates—Arab influence on the coast: Swahelis, Wangwana, and Wamrima.

HARDLY a century has elapsed since the formidable onsets of the Zulu power began to throw eastern South Africa into confusion. They were doubtless not the first, but the quiet work of culture had restored peaceful and comparatively gratifying conditions. When Spilberg visited Sofala in 1602, he found there negroes using bows; but the Zulus made their appearance as spearmen. Far to the south of Sabi were the outposts of a tranquil and industrious population, for whom agricultural employment was no mere secondary affair—the Tonga tribes of Gasaland. Even now they dwell in their old home, but broken up or subjugated by a small number of warlike Zulus. The same fate has overtaken the greater part of the people on the Lower Zambesi and Lake Nyassa, all of whom, up to the Barotse kingdom, welded together by the Bechuanas, were until recent years highly disintegrated in a political sense. In a remarkable treaty between England and King Kapella of Tembe, concluded in 1823, it was stipulated significantly enough that there should no longer be more than one chief to a square league. If we combine all these tribes into a special group, and separate them from the western Zambesi tribes, we do so because even in earlier times a blending took place among these latter between the tillers of the soil and their conquerors, such as could not but lead to the formation of larger and in a measure more durable states; while in the east everything is in a confused fermentation, from which orderly constitutions could only be formed by the aid of the European colonising powers.

The most southerly victims of the Zulus, 30,000 to 40,000 souls in all, were by their own disintegration and their peaceable character left an easy prey to the invaders when they burst into Gasaland sixty years ago. The new domination was most fatal to the flourishing condition of the Tonga herds, which irresistibly excited the cupidity of the conquerors. Some tribes now breed dogs instead of cattle. That we have actually to do with a race which in its whole mode of life

is fundamentally different from the Kaffirs is shown by the fact that the Tongas are the most southerly people among whom we find the clothing of ox-hide which we meet with further to the north among nearly all the agricultural tribes of East Africa. This dress, as well as the language, points particularly to a culture-kinship with the greater race of the Manganja.

These Manganja or Wanyassa form a number of tribes on Lake Shirwa and on the south and west borders of Lake Nyassa. The greater part of their political power and economic prosperity has perished through the raids of Zulus, in this case the Mazitu. Formerly, so Livingstone was informed, all the Manganja from Lake Shirwa to the Loangwa River were united under the rule of their great chief Undi. According to one tradition they came from the west or north-west, to which also their name "Maravi," which in their tongue means "north-west," would seem to point. They are a dark race—said to be darker in the low country on the shore of Lake Nyassa than in the surrounding highlands—and well-shaped. Livingstone calls attention to some quite Greek profiles. They are unwarlike, industrious (except some lowland tribes on Lake Nyassa), clever in agriculture and manufactures, ceremoniously polite. The Manganja are held in small estimation alike by Arabs and Mazitu. Under stress of invasions they have in many places lost in economic activity as well as in courage and the sentiment of independence.

The districts inhabited by the Manganja extend at present on the left bank of the Zambesi northward from the mouth of the Shire to about 12° South. In the valley of the Shire and its tributaries, on Lake Shirwa and on the western shore of Lake Nyassa, they are the oldest-established of the present inhabitants. The larger tribal subdivisions are the Manganja proper in the south, the Maravi to the south-west beyond the Kirk range, the Marimba and Matambuka on the western shore of Lake Nyassa, and the Macheva west of these to the Loangwa and south to the Zambesi. These territories have been invaded from east and south-east by the Wayao, from the south by the Banyai, and from the north by the Babisa, of whom part have settled, part, like the majority of the Wayao, taken possession of a portion of the country as nomads. When Livingstone first came into this district the Manganja lived, with very little admixture, only in the highlands of Deza, between 14° and 15° South or thereabouts. The Macheva have kept themselves to some extent independent in the south and west of their old territory; about Kasungu, four days' journey west from the south end of Lake Nyassa, they have collected in especially large number and maintained themselves. All these peoples, together with the more southerly Makua, have in recent times often been classed together under the geographical designation of Wanyassa.

The Manganja clothe themselves in skins, mostly goat-skins, wrapped round the hips, the women in home-made cotton or *buaze*-cloth, which covers them from the breast downwards; and, since the development of the slave-trade, in cotton-cloth of European manufacture. Ox hides are also much employed. The men take great pride in their *coiffures*, the variety of which is astonishing. Popular models are horns like those of buffaloes, on either side of the head; rays, which stand out, stiffened by long supple stripes of hide, in all directions; long rolls hanging down the back, and so on. Some lengthen the hair by plaiting into it hide or bast; others shave it clean, while among some tribes above Tete even black wigs of the *ife* or *sanseviera* fibre are found. One meets here for the first

time, coming from the south, with the *pelele* or lip-ring, a wooden ring, with a tin disk inserted, some 2 inches in diameter, which is worn in the upper lip. A woman never appears in public without her *pelele*, except when she is in mourning. On the Rovuma the same ornament is also found worn by men; and only exceptionally is the upper lip-ring supplemented by a plug stuck in the lower lip against the gum. Rings in the upper and lower lip also occur among tribes near Zumbo on the Zambesi. In some districts, however, the example of the Wayao has for some years past caused the lip-plug to disappear. Beside this the Manganja wear only the usual iron or copper rings round neck, arms, and legs; one tribe on the Luia wear a single brass ear-ring 2 to 4 inches in diameter, after the Egyptian fashion. Long tattooed scars are frequent. But in men and women short lines are often seen drawn transversely across the nose, forehead, or cheeks. Some tribes tattoo themselves from head to foot in acute-angled figures, which differ in different tribes; others cover the whole face, and especially the nose, with wart-like scars. Some file their upper teeth till their bite is like that of a crocodile; others nick them with a flint into a crescent shape, while others make a triangular notch. It is characteristic of the negro's strong dentition, that with such a maltreatment of their teeth they are able to keep them so sound that they can use them down to the root, and justify the expression used of old people: "He has lived so long that his gums and teeth are on a level."

The Manganja being the settled and more peaceful, that is the passive, element in the racial dualism that is so conspicuous in the region where they live, weapons play practically no great part among them, but as they are excellent smiths they are in the iron districts proper very much better furnished with them than their more warlike nomad neighbours. Spears, bows, and arrows, are again the chief weapons among these peoples, and beside these, artistically ornamented knives. Their spears, like those of the Zambesi races, are of remarkable weight, the head being finished with large angular blades, and the shafts set with iron rings. Their bows are of the simple East African shape, and attain a length of 6 feet. Some tribes are dreaded on account of their barbed and poisoned arrows; as the dwellers on the Shire in the neighbourhood of Momba. Formerly bows and arrows alone formed the constant accompaniment of the Manganja.

In agriculture they are among the most progressive peoples of interior Africa. Upon their capacity and fondness for this pursuit rests the best hope of a favourable development of the highlands about Lake Nyassa, the Kafue, and the Loangwa. The neighbourhood of the English settlement of Blantyre above the Shire is said, since peaceful labour has become possible for the negroes, to give an impression of prosperity like that of an European village-community. The Manganja cleave very fast to the soil, which causes travellers to complain of their incredibly limited knowledge of the roads. "All the people of a village turn out to labour in the fields, and it is no uncommon thing to see men, women, and children hard at work, with the baby lying close by beneath a shady bush." Troops of neighbours often work on a friend's field, or on that of the chief, for a treat of beer. On the arrival of strangers, the chief is fetched from his field-work. On the west shore of Lake Nyassa, Livingstone found clearings in the primeval forest a square mile or more in area. Even the proximity of the dreaded Mazitu cannot keep the industrious Macheva from their work—they post sentinels while they are tilling their plantations in the valley, ready at the first alarm to fly to their fortified

villages in the hills. Here the traveller from the south first finds cotton in cultivation. Livingstone saw cotton fields an acre in extent, and writes "every family of importance owns a cotton patch." In the Shire district you can hardly enter a village, in time of peace, where persons are not cleaning, spinning, and weaving cotton. Since the growth of the slave trade in the Nyassa and Rovuma district, however, the cultivation of cotton has diminished along the trade routes, the country being flooded with cheap cloths by the Arabs. The inhabitants of the Shire valley, who plant maize in the deep mud, are inventive. They fill each hole with sand, in which they place the grain, covering it up with sand also. In the dry season, women may be seen watering the crops from gourd watering-pots, while the men lop any shady trees in the fields, enough to prevent their cutting off too much light from the growth beneath them. On first seeing the fields by the Shire, Bishop Mackenzie said: "I stated in England that among other things I meant to teach these people agriculture, but now I see that they know far more about it than I do." It is impossible to get guides or porters from these people after the first drops of the rainy season, about the end of October, since they have then to set their crops. Some roam the country far and wide looking for wild honey, often following the honey-bird as their guide. Others collect in the forest the long tough shoots of a bush, *Securidaca longipedunculata*, etc., yielding the fibre known as *buaze*, which is spun, chiefly by the women, and manufactured into a coarse fabric used for making clothes. From the bark of the wild fig-tree they prepare a bark-cloth, and from its juice caoutchouc. Subjection to the Mazitu has cost the Manganja the greatest part of their herds. The cows are never milked, since milk is not taken by the Manganja; and as they equally do not eat eggs, they have not much poultry. But among the Matumboka tribe, which shows many points of variation, fowls and pigeons, of kinds like the Egyptian, are frequent. Beside their black-haired, fat-tailed sheep, the Manganja keep goats. The true cattle-breeders of the country are their oppressors. The chase does not yield them much, but they are not very particular, and in years of famine eat even mice in large numbers. The men take a good deal of beer, the brewing of which is the women's business. The rapid fermentation compels them to drink it up quickly. In the palm-wine season whole families repair to the forest, in order to pass the autumn under their palm-trees. The Manganja obtain salt far beyond their requirements in the saline marshes of the Shire, where whole tribes settle for a time, in order to wash the mud. Whole fleets of dug-out canoes are employed in fishing, the dwellers on Lake Nyassa especially being capital boatmen. Dried fish goes to a great distance as an article of trade. In a bay of Lake Nyassa, Livingstone wanted to buy fish of several men who were fishing there, but was referred by them to their masters, to whom the fish belonged.

The Manganja villages are fenced with pillar-like euphorbias, a plant under which no grass will grow, and which will not burn, also with bamboos or wild figs. They are usually not large, and when the population has not been thinned by war, stand 5 or 6 furlongs apart. The huts are circular. Near the Zambesi attempts are made to erect huts with walls of *adobe* or clay, after the Portuguese pattern. A shady space at one end of the village serves as a place of consultation for the inhabitants. In the neighbourhood of the village it is usual for some spot of difficult access, or enclosed in palisades, to be fenced off as a place of refuge;

and there are store-chambers in it. Villages are shifted more often owing to their destruction as a result of warlike operations than on account of illness or death,

Swahelis. (Original drawing by W. Kuhnert.)

or of the exhaustion of the soil, and they are moved often into the most inaccessible situations. On Lake Nyassa there are pile-villages with a hundred huts on a single platform; and Livingstone relates: "In descending the Shire, we found

concealed in the broad belt of papyrus round the lakelet Pamalombe, into which the river expands, a number of Manganja families who had been driven from their homes by the Ajawa (Wayao) raids. So thickly did the papyrus grow, that when beat down it supported their small temporary huts, though when they walked from one hut to another, it heaved and bent under their feet as thin ice does at home. No one passing by on the same side would ever have suspected that human beings lived there." When a stream of Wayao pressed southwards in 1860, the Manganja who were driven away took refuge on the islands and swampy shores of Lake Shirwa, or settled on the Lower Shire under the protection of the recent Makololo immigrants. The victorious Wayao were in their turn flung into the marshlands of the Upper Shire by a Zulu army which crossed the Shire in 1865. The independent Macheva live in the hills, while their plantations are in the valleys.

The Manganja are clever too in manufactures, and make hoes, knives, rings, spear and arrow-heads in great quantity for trade. While they set up their furnaces by preference in ant-hills, and deserted furnaces or heaps of slags are among the common objects in the country west of Lake Nyassa, among the Matumboka on the western shore of the lake we find in every third or fourth village a bottle-shaped furnace, about 6 feet high, for smelting iron. The Macheva are said to be the most expert workers in that metal. The smiths are often headmen of their villages. Cotton-spinning and weaving is very general both on the Shire and on Lake Nyassa. Near Lake Shirwa pottery is manufactured on a large scale; the vessels are ornamented with lead ore. The people are also clever and industrious in weaving water-tight baskets or mats, of which every hut usually contains several. The trade in these products of native industry was pushed into the background by the slave-trade, which was carried on by the Portuguese on the Shire and the Zambesi, and yet more vigorously by the Arabs from the Rovuma. The wars between the Manganja and the Wayao having at last degenerated into slave-hunts in which the former were the victims, the home trade was crippled, and the country swamped with European goods. The women of the western Manganja or Basenga display a brisk independent activity in trade. Here and there traces of female rule and mother-right crop up; even among the Wanyamwesi the mother's brother settles the name of the child.

The village headmen are the only representatives of political organisation, the only potentates and judges. As a rule, only cultivated land counts as property, uncultivated country being masterless; but the Maravi near Tete readily recognised the right, long ago acquired but not enforced, of the Portuguese to certain tracts of their territory. It is a sign of the powerlessness of these petty chiefs that they let themselves be disowned before strangers in order to escape certain claims upon them, and that several admit no strangers at all into their villages. The Manganja are a people no less honest than courteous. No chief enters the village "place" without a salvo of hand-clapping from his subjects; and yet these lords sell their faithful vassals in numbers to the Wayao for 2 or 3 ells of cloth per head. The dignity of chief is directly hereditary, the descendant of the chief's sister being preferred only in cases of doubt. The part of the Macheva people which is subject to the Wangoni receives its village headmen from a Wangoni chief residing some two days' journey south-west from Lake Nyassa.

What Livingstone says of the Manganja on the western shore of Lake

Nyassa, that they know the river and tributaries, in general, well, but know little of the dwellers on them, holds good of many "natural" races. Nature is neutral, men are hostilely disposed towards each other; but few could have felt themselves more constantly threatened with hostility, or less in a position of tranquil equilibrium, than these powerless fragments, thrown between the hammer and anvil of the marauders intruding into their midst, and the slave traders. Curiously one of the least molested tribes was one in the Upper Shire valley, governed in Livingstone's time by a woman, Nyango. Women are otherwise by no means devoid of influence among the Manganja; which is partly connected with the comparatively small numbe of their women, raids and slave-hunts having always abstracted chiefly the young females. The majority of the 20,000 inhabitants who, according to Young's reckoning, were yearly carried away from the country about Lake Nyassa, were always women and children.

On the Lower Zambesi, the neighbourhood of the Portuguese has favourably affected the natives; an observation which impresses itself irresistibly on the traveller coming from the south. In especial the tribes about Zumbo are relatively cultured, the Basenga and Bapendi on its north bank, the Makandi to the south of the river, while the Balangi represent the unquiet element in the population, and even in 1888 attacked Zumbo with 2000 men. In the Zambesi delta, on the other hand, the too powerful stress of "culture" with the slave-trade has rather had a destructive effect; the old arts of the people, weaving and smith's work, are here almost forgotten.

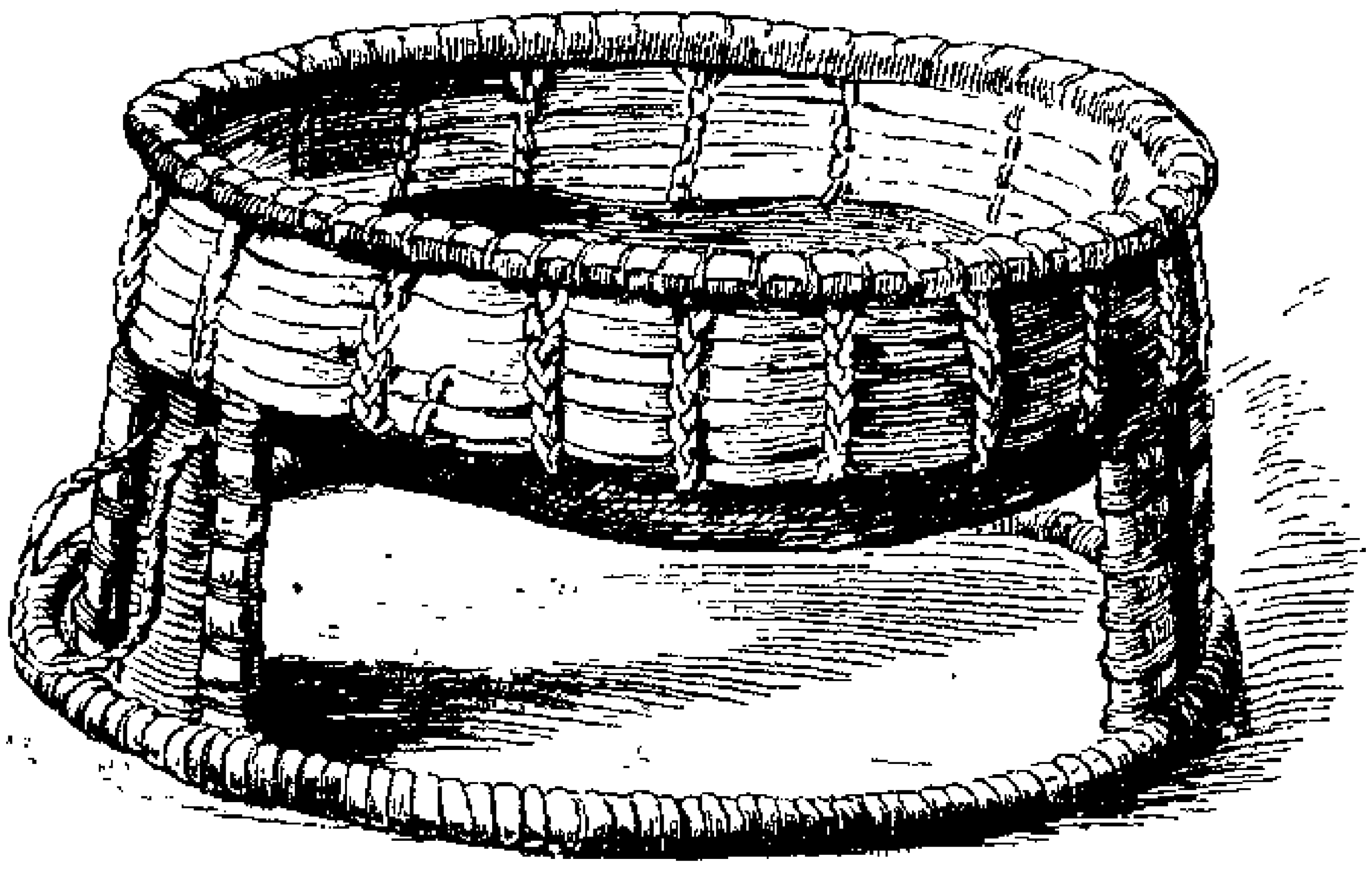
The Badema people are mentioned by Livingstone as living scattered among the southern Manganja. They till the land to some extent, but do more fishing, even with casting nets; they hunt game among the great baobab labyrinths which surround the gorges of their country, and are highly suspicious of strangers. They seem to be kept in a certain subjection by the Manganja, holding fast the position of the dwarfs in the interior. Next of kin to the Manganja are the Banyai or Banabia on the south bank of the Zambesi and on the Umsangani. To them belong the Bambiri, often adduced as a distinct tribe. Their dwellings extend from the mouth of the Kafue to near Tete, and they are connected with their kinsfolk on Lake Nyassa as a southerly and westerly outlier. The so-called Shidimas near Tete are also Banyai. To them too most probably belong the Banayoa at the lower part of Lake Mababi, a tribe of pile dwellers who pay tribute to the Bamangwato. The colour of the Banyai is frequently a light brown, and they are valued by the Portuguese as the handsomest and strongest peoples of Africa. Their women wear the *pelele*, but only of a small size and made of tin; and file a gap in the upper front teeth. They are capable agriculturists, iron workers, and gold miners. Nor are they unwarlike—they used to carry large bows, had poisoned arrows and massive spears. Their huts are often built on piles. They have completely adopted the Mashona language, which is the usual medium of intercourse among the neighbouring tribes. While their fellows of the same stock to them north and east have quite lost all political individuality and independence, they live in a sort of republican feudalism. The chief is chosen from the line of his predecessor's sister. The period, often lasting long, between the death of one chief and the election of another is a time of lawlessness, in which foreigners especially are regarded as outlaws. The new chief takes all the property of the late one, including wives and children. Chiefs' children and relations cannot be

sold into slavery. The children of the former chief often leave their ancestral village to become lords in a new home. The "king of Monomotapa," renowned for his gold and famous in story, was a paramount chief over those petty chiefs, as his descendants are over the petty chiefs of Katolosa, in the Bambiri stock. Their name Motape, combined with the word *Mono* (= Moene, Mwana, and so on), that is, "chief," produced this undeservedly famous name, the greatness of which can only be understood when it is regarded in the perspective of South Africa. In this sense Monomotapa covered the whole of Inner Africa. The Portuguese long paid tribute to the chief of Katolosa for trade passing through his territory, without being thereby in any way freed from the toll to the petty chiefs which even immediately above Tete was levied with the utmost impudence.

The connection between the tribes living on Lake Nyassa, and the already much-mixed coast population is formed by some tribes, decimated by the raids of the Kaffirs to the south, in the country inland from Quilimane, Mozambique, and Kilwa. These are closely connected with the Nyassa tribes. The Mwera seem fifty or sixty years ago to have extended much further to the south than at present, even beyond Masasi to the Rovuma. The oft-repeated inroads of their southern neighbours have driven them back, as also the much more widely spread Makua, living to the south of them.[1] They are indeed far more numerous than their northern neighbours, but their strength is far less than it was some decades ago. Yet they still prevail over a space of 5° of latitude and longitude on the branch of the Rovuma. There are indeed in this space many subdivisions or branches of the Makua, of which the most important are the eastern Makua, distinguished by special tattoo-marks, as Lomwe, Medo, and Mana. To all these, however, a crescent-shaped scar on the forehead seems to be common, as well as a language with unimportant dialectic variation. The Makua have been especially weakened in the last decades by the intrusion of the Wayao into their midst. When these first came in small numbers seeking for an abode where they might withdraw from the oppressive rule of Makangila, the Makua let them have land, reserving their own rights of ownership, just as in the case of that which they gave up to the English mission-stations of freed slaves at Masasi. But gradually by dint of cunning and impudence the Yaos managed to raise themselves from the position of tolerated settlers to that of rulers. The Makua are described as a well-disposed people with an active sense of the family, and a strong feeling for the honour of their wives and daughters. But they are at the same time somewhat heavy and stay-at-home, though in industry not inferior to the Wayao, who are almost the opposite of the Makua, treating their women pretty much as common property, and having consequently very little family sense, while they are active and delight in travel. Their government is not the trustful patriarchal system of the Makua, but has a trace of despotism running through it. It is consistent with the contrast in the characters of the two races, that nearly all Makua speak the Yao language, Wayao rarely speak Makua. A half mythical people is that of the Mavia, south of the Rovuma between that river and the Mozambique coast. They are described as hill-dwellers, who in their own country go naked, and put on an apron only when on a journey to other tribes. They have also been depicted as highly inhospitable, refusing meat and drink to every stranger, and keeping quite to themselves. Men and women wear the lip-ring.

[1] The far-travelled elephant-hunters called Makua, in East Africa, are not connected with these people.

To complete the picture of the peoples about Lake Nyassa and its affluents, we have yet to name some small tribes protected by the mountains which surround the lake to the north. In Kondi, the country at its north-west end, which is enclosed by the rim of the highlands rising steeply to a height of 6000 to 8000 feet, and is open only toward the east, the population consists wholly of Wakinga who have come down hither from the hills by reason of internal dissensions. On its western frontier begins the ascent to the elevated Nyika country, a mountainous rugged district, with little cultivation, but pasturage for goats and a few cattle. The population is a secluded rough mountain-race, without much internal cohesion; every little village headman is his own king, and fights out his own quarrels with the Merere, who here too plunder incessantly. Beyond the Chingambo mountains comes the country of Inyamwanga, a forest region with some open spaces, ruled by a small chief. The Mkalisa forms its frontier towards Mambwe, in which grassy levels alternate with wooded ridges. Its chief place, Mulichuchu, lies at a height of some 5000 feet. Hence there is a descent through the fertile country of Ulungu to the shores of Lake Tanganyika, where the population has been so thinned by the devastations of robber-tribes that it now contains only small settlements in the most sheltered spots. In Itawa Thomson found inhabitants only near the mouths of the rivers.



Basket from Unguhu. (Stuhlmann Collection, Berlin Museum.)

In conclusion, we may turn to one group of peoples, connected both locally and in some measure ethnologically with the Nyassa tribes, and in the other direction forming a bridge to the inhabitants of Central Africa south of the Equator, while again they have an affinity with the Manganja, the Makua, and the rest in the way in which they are oppressed and crippled by warlike Zulu tribes.

In the space between Lake Nyassa and Lake Bangweolo, and from the Lokusha to the south end of Lake Tanganyika, dwell a widely scattered and in many respects peculiar people, the Babisa, who look, according to Livingstone, "as if they had a lot of Bushman blood in them, and a good many would pass for Bushmen or Hottentots." They wear bark-cloth, their teeth are filed to points, and their hair is gathered at the back of their heads in a net. They sprinkle their hair and clothing with the powder of a deep-red wood called *molombwa*. All Babisa are recognisable by the tattooing on their foreheads and chins. They have been reproached with cunning, selfishness, and a suspicious nature. Their place of abode is one of the districts overrun by the Mazitu, so that they often live in extreme poverty and misery. In these dangerous regions they cultivate far apart small round spaces in the forests. When Livingstone came, on his last march in 1873, to Ishitambo's village he found it almost empty. The harvest was ripening and according to their old custom the inhabitants had taken the

roofs of their huts to build shelter-places in the fields. The most wretched life is that of the Babisa who are subjects to the Babempa, and live on wild fruits. Their cattle-breeding is everywhere insignificant; only the chief seems still to possess a few cattle, sheep, and goats. The larger villages are surrounded with palisades, and in some cases even by dry ditches. Of the artistic aptitudes of the Babisa we know only that they make their clothing out of bark or bast, and mats from the stalks of the *raphia*. In trade their activity since they were driven back by the Mazitu, is confined to their participation in the slave-trade. Their mode of greeting consists in bending back the body as they sit, so that the back nearly

Negro half-breed from East Africa, probably from the Somali west—full face. (From a photograph in Pruner Bey's collection.)

touches the ground, clapping their hands at the same time and giving loud smacks. The chiefs who, it may be observed, exercise little power, surround themselves with wives, who, axe in hand and with smeared faces, perform dances with an imitation of men's voices. On festive occasions the men appear without guns, armed only with bows, arrows, and spears.

In the shelter of the swampy regions round Lakes Bangweolo and Moero are the so-called swamp-Babisa, a mixed race fused together of all kinds of fugitives, stamped with a certain external uniformity only by their curious amphibious mode of life.

The Babisa have their dwellings on elevated points, isolated by the water and marshes which lie around. Like the Manganja who use the mounds of termites as watch towers, they also turn these natural elevations, which in the rainy season are often the only firm and dry points in the sea of inundation, to use by planting durra and maize on them. They seek eagerly for the tubers of the lotus-plant

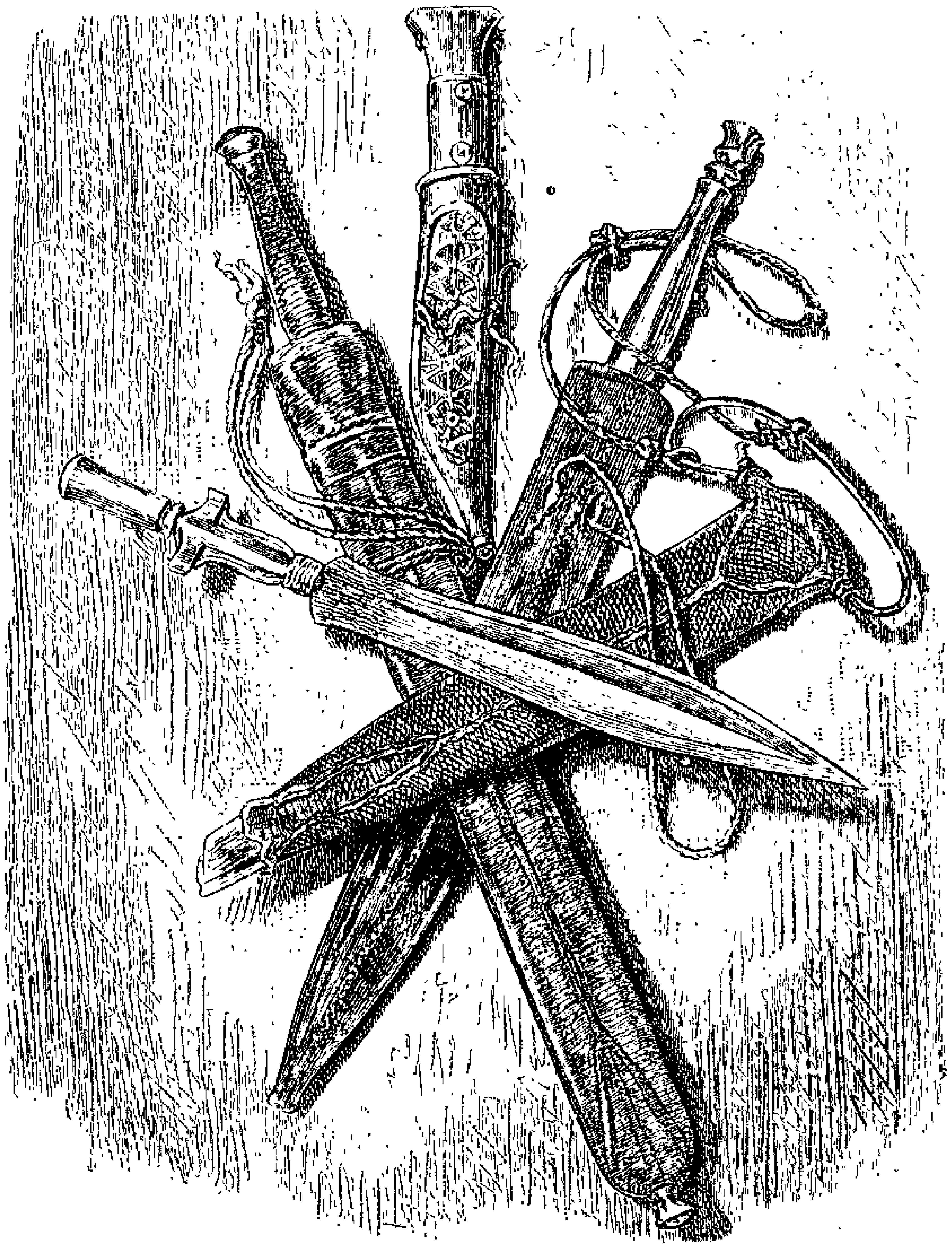
and for the pith of the papyrus. For many, fishing is the only source of food. Their little canoes are only fit for punting with poles over the flooded plains. In this respect the island-dwelling Babisa on Lake Bangweolo are better provided. The four larger islands of the lake are peopled by fairly expert fishermen with well-equipped canoes.

These people are distinguished from the neighbouring tribes by their head-ornament with ear-like hide appendages, having some resemblance to the Herero caps shown on p. 249. The character of the swamp-Babisa, too, has something peculiar. "Islanders," says Livingstone, "are always disposed to be hostile, from a feeling of security in their natural fortresses." They have been driven by the Mazitu into these hardly accessible swamps. Experience has taught them that it is as well not to come into too intimate contact with others. When Livingstone, seeking the sources of the Nile shortly before, asked some Babisa if they did not know of a mountain where four springs arose, he was answered that all those who used to go on journeys were now dead. In former years Malenga's town was, they said, the place where Babisa traders assembled, but these were driven away by the Mazitu and they themselves had retired to these swamps. While these swamp-Babisa live on the east shore of the lake, the drier and more fertile southern shore gives shelter to a few other fragments of the tribe, who are mainly agricultural. They guard their crop carefully, and are always ready for flight.

Profile view of the man shown opposite.

A peculiarity of East Africa is the broad coast-country, descending gradually in hilly steps. Allowing as it does space for wide habitable tracts before the highlands are reached, it has given the east an advantage in the way of culture over the west, which can show no Natal and no Zanzibar. It is from the east too that the most successful steps have been taken to open up the interior, and to the eastern side that the prospect in the immediate future of making connections between the coast and the interior is attached. This, if any part of Africa, seems to stimulate to the most powerful growth any germ of development there may be in its people, and it is a disappointment not to find till some distance from

the coast, and amid just the stationary components of the African populations, a more copious unfolding of culture and the formation of more powerful states. Apart from the Arab settlements, the coast is poorer than the interior. To what are we to ascribe this disproportion, which prevails so far as negro races dwell up to the eastern border of Africa, while it is not found among Hamitic and Semitic tribes north of the Equator? The special productions of Unguhu, Unyamwesi,



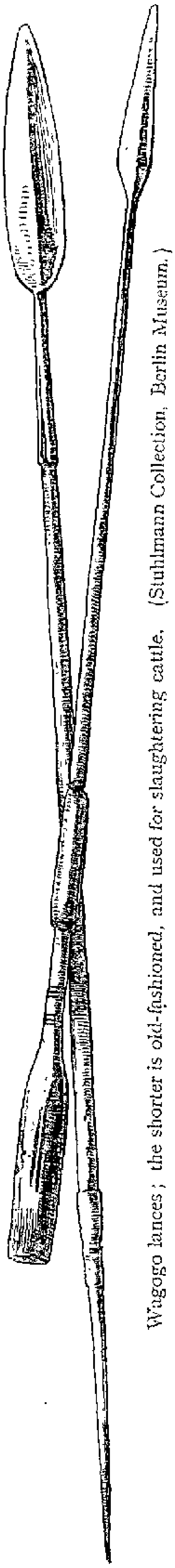
Swords of the Wandaruma and Waseguha, after the Arab pattern—one-fifth real size.
(Munich Ethnographical Museum.)

and others which turn up here and there, show that a higher stage was once attained. It is primarily the Arab slave-traders, more remotely the warlike Kaffir hordes, which make the south insecure, and lastly the nomad races, Gallas, Somalis, Masai, pressing down from the north. These intrude themselves, pillaging, destroying, spreading unrest between the settled agricultural tribes, who in Africa are always the weaker; and in the course of the last fifteen years have appeared as troops of horsemen even south of the Equator. Cast between these millstones, it will be only under most favourable conditions

that those in possession will have any better lot than has fallen to their kinsmen on Lake Nyassa and the Rovuma. A whole list of ethnographical features characteristic of the pastoral races has transferred itself to these tribes, especially in the way of weapons, as the cut above shows. But undoubtedly the deepest injury has been done them by the slave-trade, the special district of which lies precisely in the countries inland from the coast, and from which the tormented people have sought and found protection even among the Gallas and Masai. With all the advance which the coast populations may have made owing to them, the Arabs are still the curse of these lands. Few cases are known in which these lords of the coast-districts have had a favourable influence on the natives, one being the compulsory settlement on the Rovuma, by order of the Sultan of Zanzibar of those predatory "Zulu-apes," the Mazitu or Maviti. Now the period of Arab domination must be definitely at an end, and with it the slave-trade on the coast is on the road to extinction. As far inland as Ugogo the influence of the Arabs and Swahelis has outwardly transformed the old negro customs. So far do we find neither bark nor leather as clothing, but imported cotton-stuffs; we find the Arab sword in a leather sheath, somewhat shorter and broadening towards the point, side by side with the simple bow of the East African shape, and the arrows in a leathern or wooden quiver. The fantastic modes of dressing the hair are disappearing more and more, and the head is shaven. Boring of the lips is dying out everywhere, that of the ears in many places; on the other hand, beads and numerous brass rings are worn, and with especial frequency often rolls of beads round the hips.

The parts of Unyamwesi which lie nearest the road leading from Kaseh or Tabora to Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria, especially Unyanyembe, show in their development the typical destiny that awaits Africa under Arab influence. The inhabitants suffered grievously at the hands of Arabs from Zanzibar. When Speke, first of Europeans, came that way in 1857, the Arabs were traders, living as strangers in the land. When he went the same way a second time in 1861, the Arabs already resembled great landlords with rich estates, and were waging war against the hereditary sovereign of the country. This process, which has indeed been repeated in many other countries of Central Africa, results necessarily from the conditions. The foreign traders, Arab and Swaheli, ask permission to pass through, for which they pay toll. They found depots for their goods, which suit the chiefs as seeming to afford an opening for their extortion and vanity; they then become rich and get connections, whereby they become objects of suspicion; they are oppressed and persecuted, and decline to pay the tolls and taxes which have grown with their prosperity. Finally, during one of the inevitable quarrels for the throne, the Arabs take sides with a pretender who promises to be accommodating to them, and thereby get drawn into the internal dissensions of the country and entangled in often endless wars. In this way Mirambo, in an interview with Stanley, referred his hostile position towards the Arabs to their intolerable overbearing ways. Female chiefs occur not uncommonly. In German East Africa the government has often had to do with them. Speke even mentions the servant of a female chief who became her mistress's successor. According to Baumann's information the first Wanyamwesi went to the coast seventy or eighty years ago.

Under these circumstances the weaker race has experienced the common fate



Wagogo lances; the shorter is old-fashioned, and used for slaughtering cattle. (Stuhlmann Collection, Berlin Museum.)

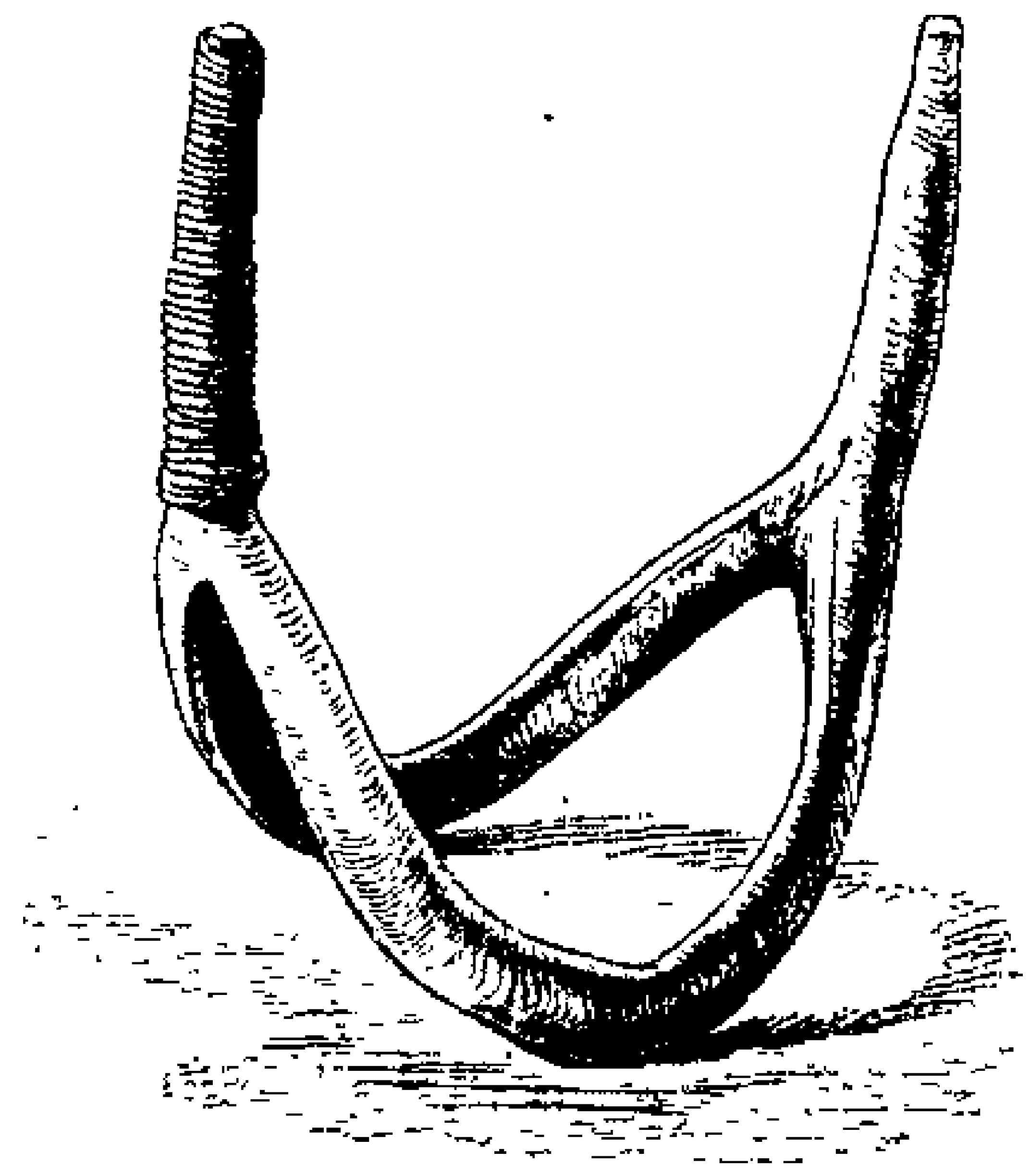
of the weaker in so unequal a struggle; it has been forced back into the less favourable districts, impoverished, brought low, rendered incapable of forming states of any size. Here and there small tribes have maintained themselves on a higher level, especially when the nature of their "places of abode secured them protection," like the Wasagara or the Jaggas on their hill-tops, or else where circumstances allowed them to participate in the Arab trade, like the Makonde, who to all appearance resemble the Makua.

On the caravan-roads, daily growing in importance, and at this day traversed by perhaps 100,000 negroes on the average every year, which lead to the great lakes, and first to Ujiji, a place whose inhabitants have been longest and best known, we have first the terrace land of Usaramo, projecting furthest towards the coast, and forming the first ascent, the threshold, as it were, to the mountains which border the highlands of the East African lakes; a country of low hills, well grassed and wooded, but like all districts where the slave trade comes, thinly peopled. The villages are neither numerous nor large. Before it was opened up by trade the Wasaramo were dreaded as highway robbers, cowardly indeed, but furnished with poisoned arrows of the deadliest character; but when their territory was invaded they showed themselves extremely weak, deserted their barricades in the thicket of their own accord, and laid out fields and villages; soon people could travel among them unarmed. The Wasaramo live by the sale of their goats and their crops in the coast towns, dress in cotton, almost as well as the Swahelis, but smear themselves with grease and ochre; and have taken to building square, barn-like houses, while the Waseguha still have round huts.

Next comes Usagara, extending westwards from the junction of the Mgeta with the Kingani, to the edge of the plateau. It is a mountain country, in which the hills are covered with a copious growth of bush and trees wherever fire and axe have not made a clearing. In spite of its beauty and its favourable position so near Zanzibar, its inhabitants, the Wasagara, are poor timid creatures; they dwell mostly on hill-tops difficult of access, in round huts of grass. The large rectangular mud-huts, or *tembes*, are first met with in single specimens towards Ugogo. The Wasagara are half nomad, half agricultural. When the caravans approached they used to prefer to fly to their mountain villages, mindful of the slave-hunts. "Dingy in colour, spiritless, shy and timid, they invite attack in a country where every human being has a market value." This remark of Speke's reminds us that we are here in presence of one of the weaker, straitened, oppressed races. Some wear loin-cloths, others only grass petticoats. Cameron describes a curious neck ornament from this country, of brass wires arranged in a row, so as to stick out horizontally from the neck, like the iron collar of the Masai.

Brass, in the shape of the arm and neck rings of the Masai and the negroes, the ornaments on the Somali clubs, and recently as the decoration of guns, is the characteristic metal of equatorial East Africa. Politically Usagara forms a number of independent districts. Since the predatory Wadirigo have forced themselves in from the west, and established themselves in good positions, a complete mixture of races has begun to form here, just as in every place where weaker races dwell.

To the south-east dwell the Waseguha, who ten years ago were governed by a queen. Her husband was a petty chief, and she was succeeded by a brother. Their language is that of Usaramo, but there is no political connection. Their neighbours on the east are the Wadoe, who have their villages mostly on mountains or in other spots of difficult access. Their country is divided into four parts, each under a chief or *Mwene*, who in turn is over the village headmen. Hated by their neighbours as kidnappers and cannibals, they have contrived in spite of several attacks to maintain themselves in their fastnesses. Father Baur relates an improbable tradition "of the oldest people" which makes them immigrants hither from Manyema, and thinks that apart from the practice of cannibalism which is common to both peoples, he can support this theory of descent from language. The numerous little tribes on the Rufiji form no political community. Dialectically the Wasaramo are like the Waseguha and Unguu people, connected with the Wadoe, and with the Wasagara and Wakami form three kindred groups.



Wagogo arm-clamp—two-fifths real size. (Stuhlmann Collection.)

Next to this country on the west comes Ugogo, an undulating tableland, which extends far beyond what is politically understood by that name. The country of Ugogo, though small in circuit, is broken up into numerous independent districts comprising several villages apiece, each of which formerly exercised its sovereign rights by demanding the *hongo* or tax on travellers. A number of the predatory Wadirigo still live under the Wagogo in villages of their own. The Wagogo power has in recent times almost disappeared. While in former times they assimilated Wanyamwesi tribes, among other portions of the Wakimbu, they have now adopted many customs and usages from their oppressors the Masai, from whom probably have also been borrowed the clamps (first known from the Wakamba) worn to compress and strengthen the upper arm. Mpwapwa on the western slope of the mountains of Usagara, on the edge of the forest region which separates this district from the plateau of Ugogo, a station much visited by missionaries and merchants, is now an important point of support for the German influence. Here the quite un-African mud-houses, or *tembes*, first appear as the prevalent habitations, becoming then throughout nearly the whole extent of that undrained country the usual dwellings of the settled population. Ugogo is the centre of the *tembes*; in Unyamwesi the building of round huts has come in. The *tembes* may reach a length of 320 feet in the side. They consist of a framework of

beams, the walls of which, usually not much over 6 feet high, are coated with mud, the flat roof too being thickly plastered with the same as a protection from rain. These *tembes* stand in a square enclosing a courtyard, in which the herds pass the night. One or two gateways in the outer wall are closed with strong wooden gates; the different chambers and buildings opening, for greater security against hostile attack, into the court only, and the outer walls being in many cases provided with loopholes. Among the Wanyatura and other peoples of the Manyara districts subterranean places of refuge are connected with the *tembes*. They are, especially in the rainy season, wretched abodes full of damp and mildew.

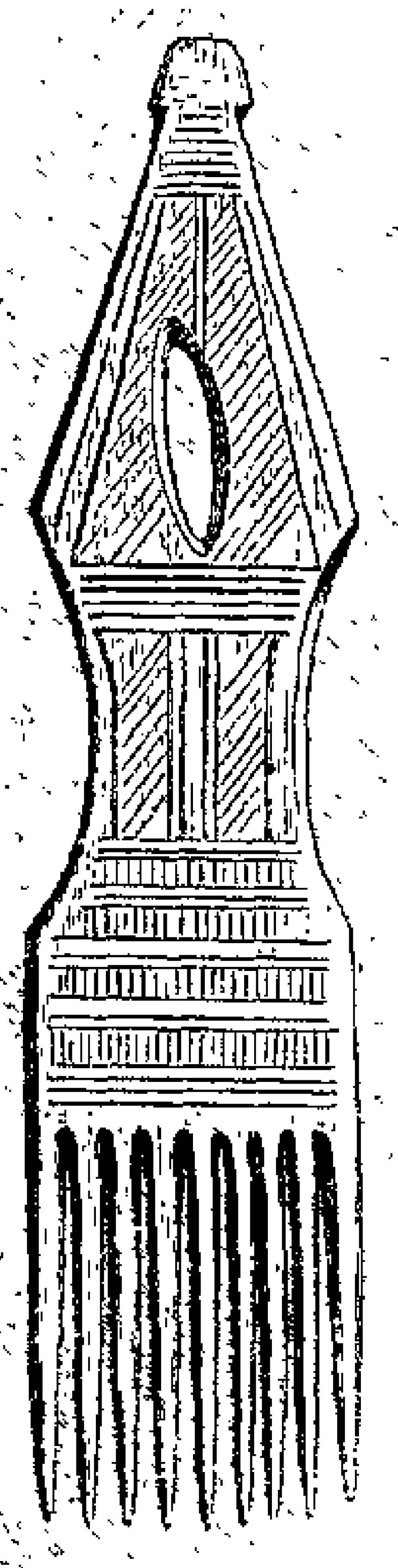
While Mpwapwa, as the frontier district of Ugogo, has a population compounded of members of different tribes, principally Wagogo, Wasagara, Wakua, Arabs, and Swahelis, and therewith acquires an international character, Unyamwesi, the country of the Mountains of the Moon and the Nile sources, and, owing to the intersection of the caravan roads leading to Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria, the most busy and important trading country in the interior of East Africa, has more than once seemed as if it must become a province of the coast Arabs. Unyamwesi contains the meeting-point of those roads, namely Kaseh or Tabora, which again under German government has become a centre. Unyamwesi, "the Land of the Moon," must once have been one of the greatest kingdoms in Africa—according to Speke's estimate, not much smaller than England; but in the course of its most recent history it has broken up into a number of petty states. A great part lies on the tableland, 3300 to 4000 feet above the sea, and forms the watershed between Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria and the Rufiji. To the north it slopes to the latter lake, the southern edge of which is within its borders, and here it includes the fertile regions of Umanda and Usanda. This most northerly part is by the inhabitants called Usukuma, "Land of Midnight," in opposition to the southern Utakama, "Land of Mid-day."[1] The country is in general one of the most fruitful and populous in equatorial East Africa. Its inhabitants, called Wanyamwesi,[2] too, are better adapted and more inclined than many other tribes of these parts to make use of these advantages. They are darker in colour than their neighbours of Ugogo and Usaramo. In general they are people of a delicate bony frame, and often finely-cut features. Indoors the men wear two skins about the hips, or in place of these, bast-cloth (*sani*), while for field work or when travelling they fasten goat-skins from one shoulder diagonally across the body. The women wear cloths of bast or cotton, and a breast covering; but as a rule only the string on which this is customarily fastened. Both sexes chip a triangular gap between the two upper front teeth; both wear strings of beads round the neck, and rings of the giraffe's black hair (*sambo*) round arms and legs. On the forearm the women wear spirals of copper or brass wire, the men heavy rings of copper. Circumcision is not practised here, nor among the Waseguha and Wasagara. Both smoke tobacco or hemp and drink hard; but they are also industrious workers, tilling their land well under the direction of their chiefs (*mtemi*). As colonists on new ground they are excelled by no negro race, and owing to this faculty, promise to be valuable in bringing under cultivation the

[1] [Assuming that these renderings are correct, it seems curious that dwellers south of the Equator should connect the *South* with mid-day.]

[2] According to O. Baumann's information this is only a collective name used by the Arabs and other dwellers on the coast.

broad desert tracts of interior East Africa. As traders or porters they may be met with everywhere between Zanzibar and Ujiji. Maize is widely grown; and rice is also found, though the natives like it so little that the Arabs already prefer to grow it as a crop not likely to be stolen. The Wanyamwesi weave cotton cloths on their own looms, but not of a kind to sustain the competition with imported stuffs. Here, and still more in Usinja, the next country to the north, hoes are forged of a heart-shape, which are bought by the caravans. Fine iron and brass wire is also drawn here, and elegant iron tubes for tobacco pipes are manufactured. In spite of the passion of the people for meat, cattle-breeding is little developed; while bee-keeping, as almost everywhere in these parts, is eagerly carried on.

The Wanyamwesi are broken up into a number of tribes which in some degree differ materially from one another in externals. The most important are the Wagaraganza, the most easterly of all. Further there are the Wasunga in the west, the Watakama in the south-west, the Wakonongo in the south, in the north-west the Wasinja, forming a transition to the peoples of the lake-districts, and in the north the Wasakuma. Among them, as a pastoral people, live the Watusi tribe, a branch of the Wahuma races, who transitorily were masters of the land.



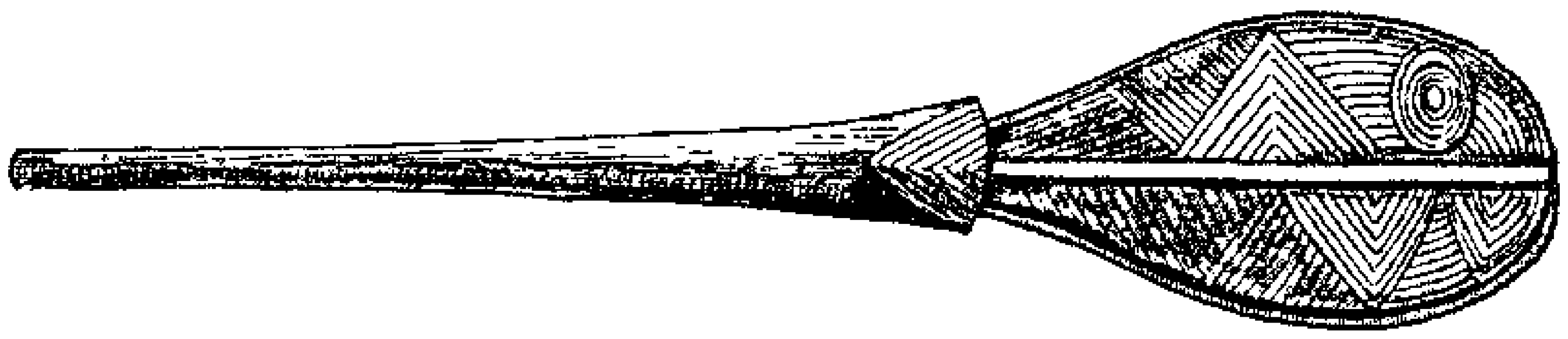
A Wanyamwesi comb—one-sixth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Their intercourse, lasting for some decades, with the Arabs, has turned the Wanyamwesi, from an economic point of view, so far into Arab ways that no small part of them, perhaps a third of the men every year, take up their travelling-staff and devote themselves to the slave and ivory trade between Zanzibar and Ujiji. Ten years ago an immigrant from Unyamwesi, with the help of a number of colonists of a similar restless spirit, had founded a real robber-village on the south-east shore of Lake Tanganyika, a place of assembly and refuge for slave-traders, where masses of slaves were constantly kept on hand to be exchanged for powder and firearms. The status of professional brigands, *ruga-ruga*, is conspicuously developed in Unyamwesi, and successful leaders of gangs usually enjoy a certain popularity. Before they were beaten and compelled to settle in Usui by the Germans, the Wangoni or Watuta had extended their raids as far as the southern shore of the Great Nyanza, and into Western Unyamwesi. They had stood successively in alliance and in feud with Mirambo and other Wanyamwesi chiefs.

With its provinces of Uvinza, Kawende, and Ukoningo, Unyamwesi reaches to the thinly-peopled east shore of Tanganyika. On the south-eastern shore it joins the Wafipa country with a dense population. The peaceful Wafipa, whose colour varies from light to very dark brown, are agriculturists breeding a few cattle, and busy weavers of cotton. They make no slaves, but rather try to add

to the strength of their people by receiving fugitives. The Maurungu, a hunting people on Lake Rikwa, who have trade relations with the Wanyamwesi, should be mentioned.

Having found the negroes, on the road from Zanzibar to Ujiji, in a predominant degree under Arab influence, we shall find it not uninteresting to consider the tribes lying to the north of that road, and even more hardly pressed by Gallas and Masai, who have suffered no political organisation to exist between Abyssinia and Zanzibar. Like the Wagogo and Wanyamwesi, they have undergone an anthropological and ethnological disintegration which is in the highest degree instructive. We are here chiefly thinking of the Wakamba and Wanika.[1] The Wakamba live between $1\frac{1}{2}°$ and $3°$ South latitude, and to the westward are limited, if not sheltered, by the mountainous slope of the lake-plateau. Eastward they have thrust themselves so far into the territory of the Wanika, who live



A Wanyamwesi stirrer—actual size. (Stuhlmann Collection.)

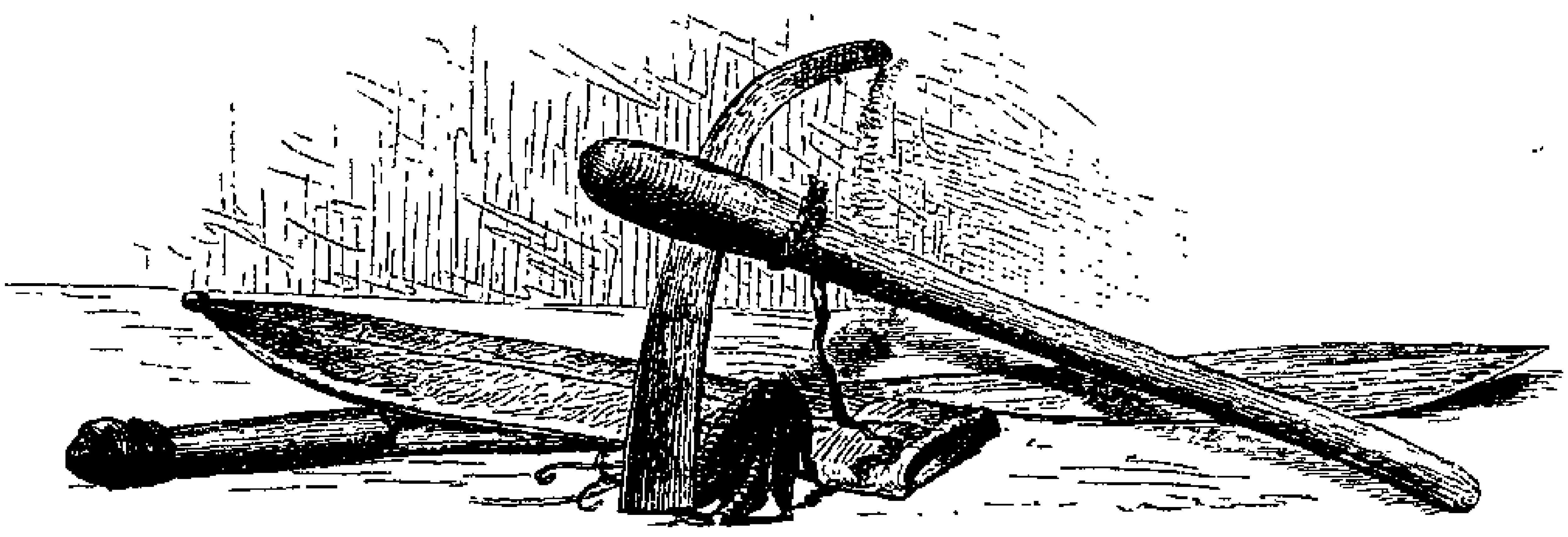
inland and south from Mombasa, their dwellings beginning inland from the mission-station of Rabbai, that they have acquired direct communication with the coast. To them, however, as to their neighbours, the Wakamba and the Wapokomo, no road to their interior remains open and unobstructed, since here the nomad hordes of Wakuafi and Masai thrust themselves between them and the Wahuma states on Lake Victoria. For this reason their caravans often assemble to the number of 200 men armed with guns. Greater order and discipline is nowhere to be found than in these caravans, and nevertheless in former times many had to retreat before the Masai spears.

Wakamba and Wanika are genuine Bantu stocks, bearing much resemblance to the Wasagara, Wasambara, and that class. But the neighbourhood of fighters has made them more peaceful. Dwelling on the border between the plains and agriculture, in a district of uncertain rainfall, they stand lower as regards culture than their neighbours to the south. The Wakamba own great herds of cattle, goats, etc., but all do some cultivating. In dry years they take altogether to a pastoral life. They forge iron into two-edged swords of the Arab type, and carry on a lively barter trade in the produce of their farming, especially tobacco, and of their cattle-breeding, with the Mussulmans on the coast, getting even gold coin from these in exchange. In the Kaffir style they let a crown-like tuft of hair grow at the back of the head. Bow and arrow are their chief weapons, while their oppressors carry spear and shield almost as exclusively. The northern part of Ukamba is called Kitui. The Wanika have come to live in gabled huts, learnt from the Arabs; while the Wakamba still keep their conical dwellings. They are under isolated village headmen, the respect paid to whom is purely personal. With the Wanika, the centre of religious and political life is the "Muanza," who may be approached by the chief only. Noisy festivals are cele-

[1] The name Wakamba denotes "travellers," "wanderers;" Wanika "people of the desert."

brated in his honour; the mystery is a top-like instrument of wood, represented on p. 358, which gives out a peculiar humming note. Circumcision is also performed by the Wanika with special festivities. The hyena counts as the ancestor of the whole people, so that the killing of one is punished as a great offence. The Wakamba do not bury their dead, but throw them into the bush. To this group belong also the Wadigo, a tribe skilled in healing and sorcery, who live inland from Mombasa. The Wadigo wear straw bands round the upper arm and the knee, and on the ankles rings made of little pouches full of peas, which rattle.

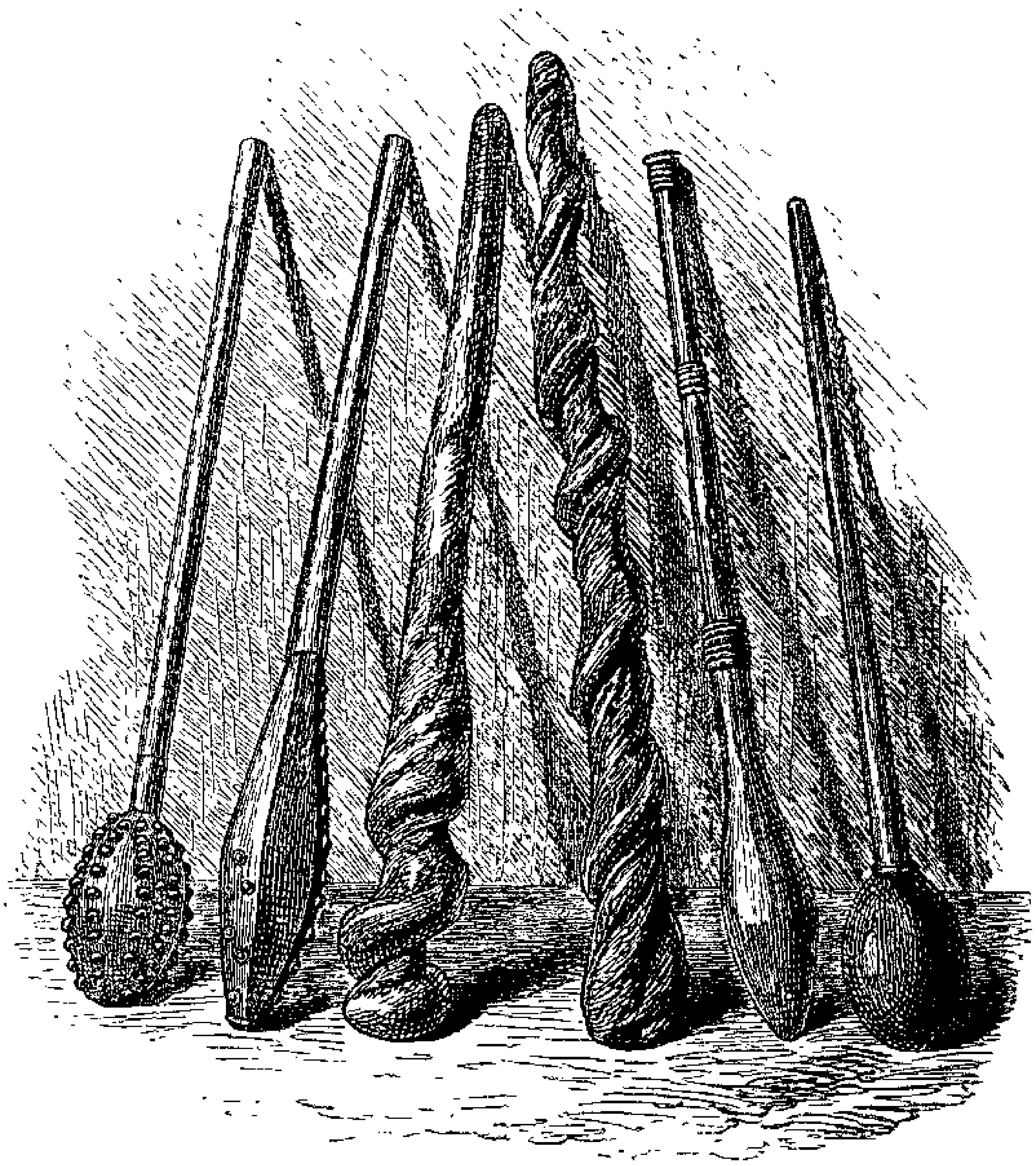
A new group of peoples opens with these scattered agriculturists, who lie about like fragments hurled away before the waves of Gallas, Masai, Wakuafi, surging down from the north. Mixture with Hamitic blood has introduced a nobler strain into the breed, as is pleasantly conspicuous in the Jagga chief Mareale of Marangu, so sympathetically sketched for us by Hans Meyer. Politically and



Wanika sword and battle-axe. (From Dr. Felkin's Collection, Edinburgh.)

economically, however, this influence has cramped and impoverished the greatest number, where a freer development was not rendered possible by sheltered spots like those on the slopes of Kilimanjaro. In several external points they imitate their predatory oppressors, and in this way a curious medley has arisen, especially in the cattle-breeding. As nomad cattle-breeders they cannot make use of slaves, who would be so many more to move about; and so their ultimate aim is cattle-lifting. Accordingly, in the place of slave-hunts we here find raids upon the herds, and where there is reason to fear these, the head of cattle is small even under favourable conditions, as among the Western Wakamba, increasing with the increasing security as we go eastward. "The fear of robbery," says Hans Meyer, "is a most important, even decisive, check to culture throughout Eastern Africa"; its operation extends not only to cattle, but to iron implements and else. But, in comparison with the Masai and their like, these Wakamba are incomplete herdsmen; and if we consider the ways of these half-shepherds in relation to their herds, we get the impression that the origin of their usages is to be sought among the complete herdsmen who quite despise agriculture, and lead a nomad life to the west of them. They allow the women to take a share in the work of the cattle-shed, while with the others the exclusion of women is at the bottom of all customs relating to the herds. Women may not even enter the kraals, and on no account may they milk. The Masai slaughter cattle by a stab in the nape of the neck, the Wakamba strangle them. Camels and horses

are not found among the Wakamba, nor do they use donkeys as beasts of burthen, but seem only to fatten them for slaughter. The Masai and Wakuafi in their free-roaming life are warlike races with a complete organisation, while the stationary Wakamba shirk a conflict in the open. On the other hand, the Wakamba and their associates are superior to their restless neighbours, in all things demanding settled, quiet, steady work. Above all they till the ground, which allows them to enjoy a more varied diet; and they do it with a devotion which excites the astonishment of Europeans. The artificial irrigation of their

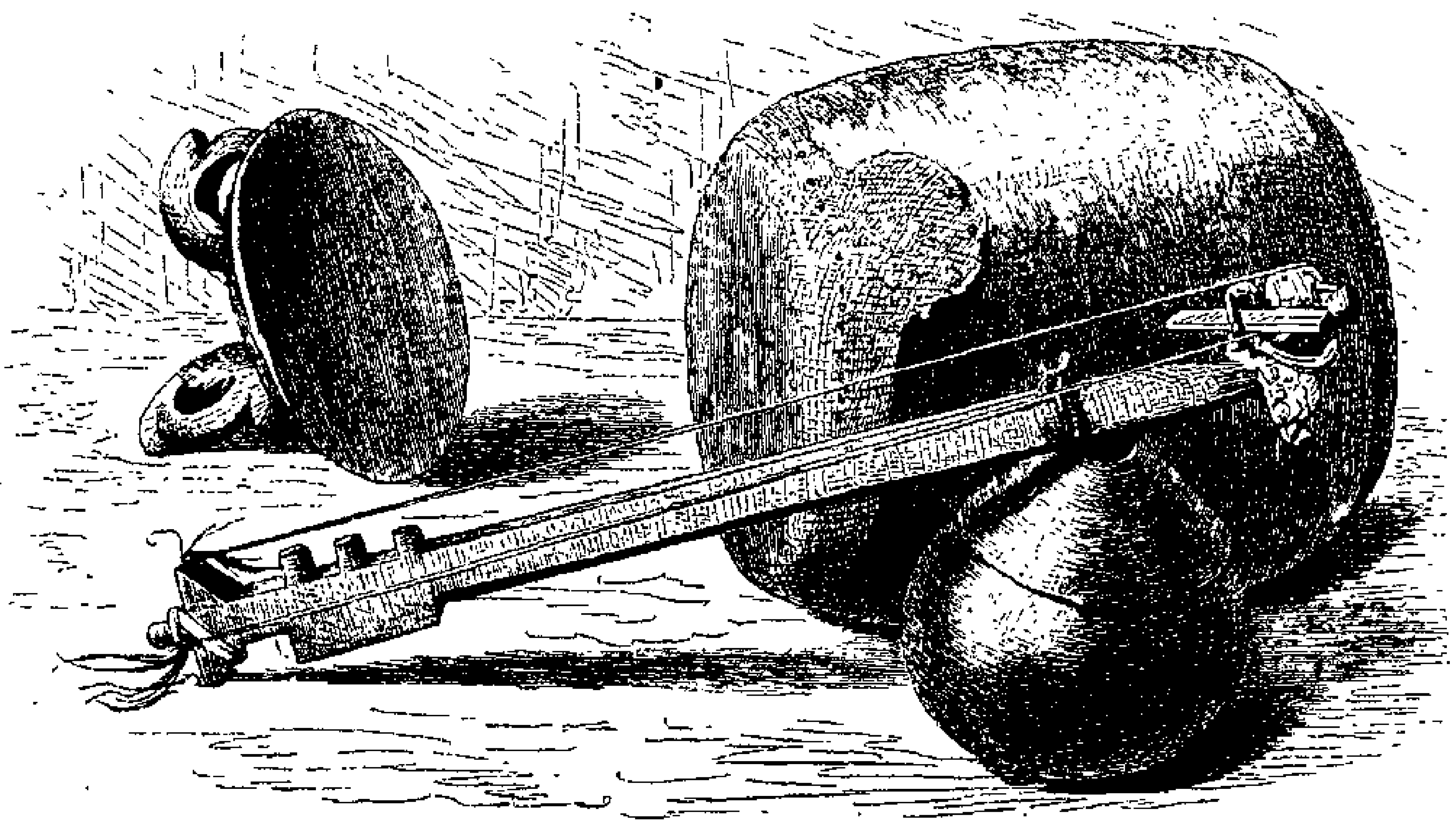


Wanika clubs. (Dr. Felkin's Collection.)

fields is a conspicuous achievement. They dwell, too, better in their firm tight huts of wattle-and-dab than do the nomads in their light erections of branches, and are more secure from beasts of prey and other foes, even though they may be more timid within their thorn fences closed with barricaded gates. They bring tobacco to the coast, and are the people for industrial activity and trade. May we not look for the salvation of those two contrasting races to the blending of them together into one polity? It would be the same state of things as in Unyoro and Uganda, where the quiet industry of the agriculturist made fruitful by the mobility and capacity for rule of the pastoral tribes, has produced the most flourishing states of Central Africa.

The influence of the herdsmen upon many external characteristics of these small negro peoples testifies to their imitative faculty, active even under oppression, and leading to ridiculous mimicries; their great shields and spears often

suit their unwarlike character but poorly. The women have adopted from the Masai the brass and iron spirals round neck, arms, and legs, the skin round the hips, while the men have taken the inadequate clothing and the red paint of the warriors. The tattooing is peculiar. The Wakamba have a round mark in the middle of the forehead, the Wagueno a black line across the forehead to the root of the nose, and, in addition, the huge wooden ear-plugs, ornamented with iron, distending the lobes of the ears to an inch and a half, as well as equally large earrings set with pearls. Among Wasambara and Wagueno we find the upper incisors filed to a point, and the middle ones knocked out.



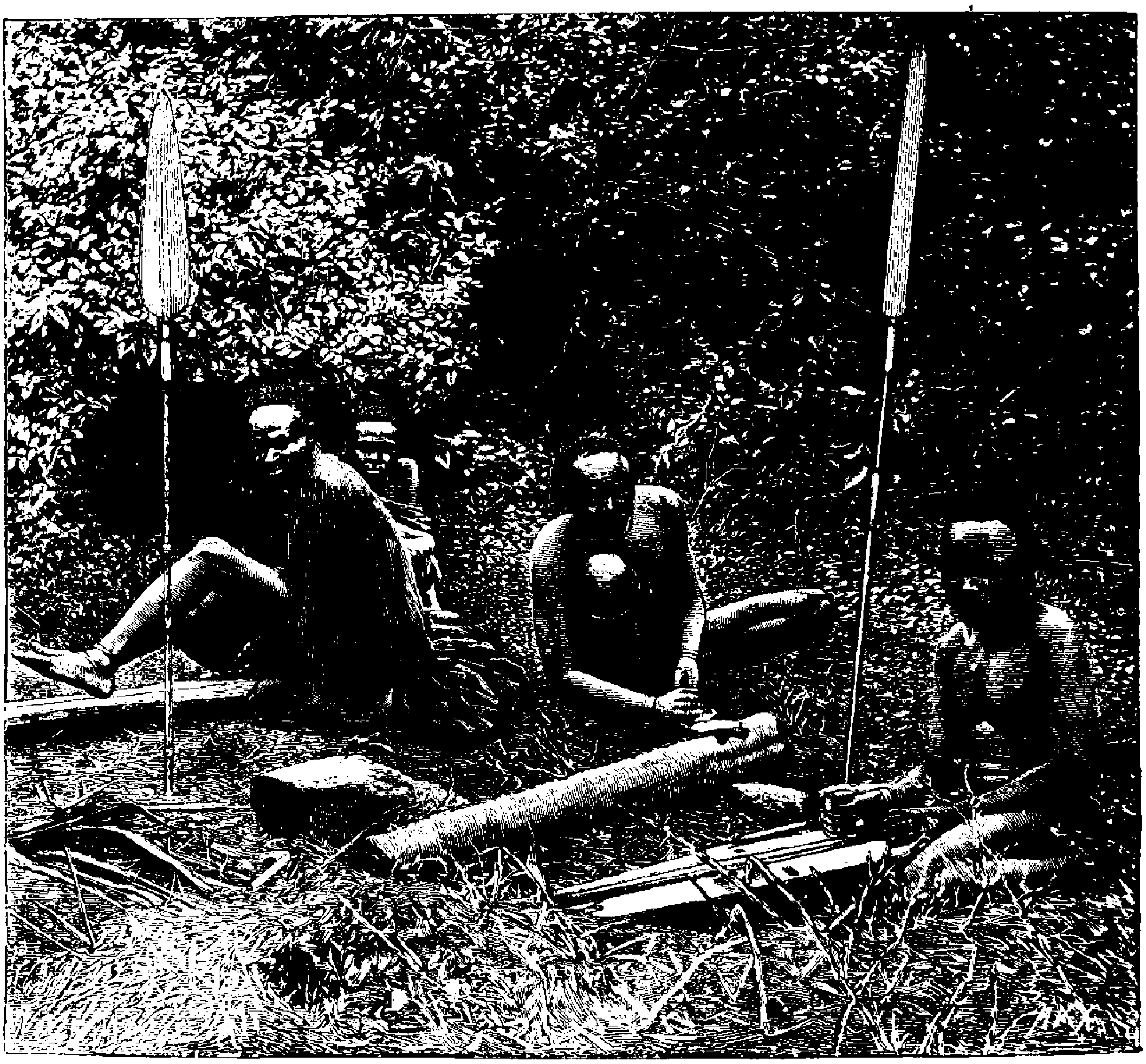
Wanika stool, drum, and violin. (Munich Museum.)

To these dependent fragments of peoples belong the Wapokomo, among whose foes the Sultan of Vitu also is to be reckoned. Their hard-pressed situation is the chief cause which has made the Wapokomo cowardly; in their hands their ten-foot spears are as little formidable as are the poisoned arrows which they get by barter from the Waboni. They are all the more industrious in agriculture, fishery, and navigation, and they also hunt a little in the forests on the Tana. Even the Gallas, who to the north of the Tana were plundered of their abundant herds by the Somalis, and therefore became herdsmen for others, and on the Sabaki actually took to tilling, look contemptuously down on the Swaheli-like agricultural Wapokomo, their subjects, though less so on the Galla-like hunting peoples tributary to them, Waboni, Wasanya, and Walangulo. The Waboni are a shifting people of hunters in the north of the Vitu country; they know nothing of agriculture, and have consequently to fall back in great measure upon the roots and wild fruits of the forest. Like and akin to them are the Watu, who live more to the south.

The inhabitants of Usambara lastly deserve mention. The chief stock, the Wasambara, or as they call themselves, Washambà, are a type of men of middle height and powerful build. The tribal mark is a slightly depressed scar in the middle of the forehead; their original leather clothing has been almost wholly supplanted by imported cotton-stuffs. Their weapons are swords, spears, and

feeble bows, with arrows of which the head is made of either iron or poisoned wood; in the north the missile club is common. Firearms are already found in large quantity, and shields are no longer in use. Agriculture is active, especially the culture of beans.

The pastoral tribe of the Wambugu in the north-west of the country is equally a Bantu people, but with a strong Hamitic blend. To some extent they serve



Jagga sword-furbishers. (From a photograph by Dr. Hans Meyer.)

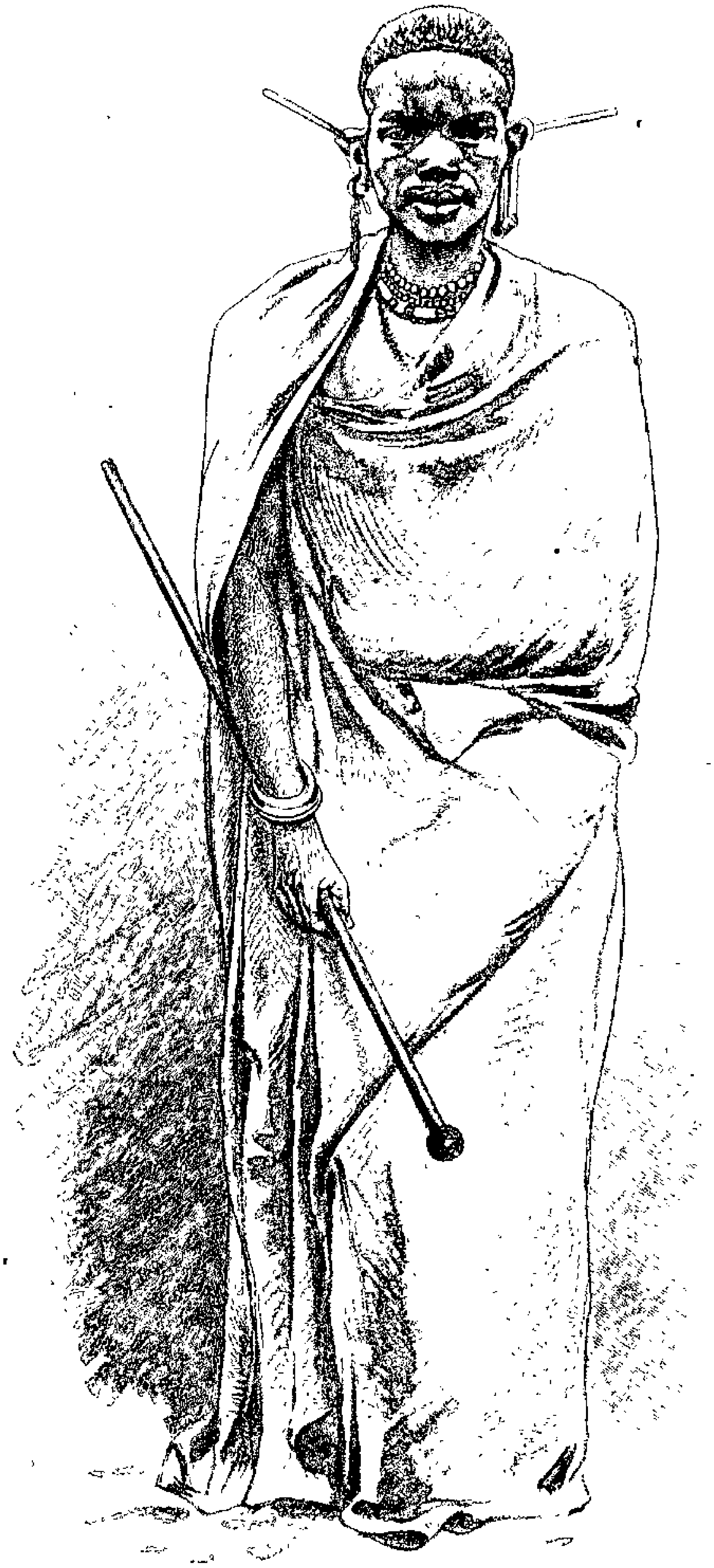
the chief of the Wasambara as guardians of his cattle. Both their more finely-shaped features and their leather clothes put them nearer the Masai. The Wasambara are ruled by a not very numerous foreign tribe, immigrants, according to the legend, from Nguru or Jagga, the Wakilindi. Till 1867 the ruling family resided at Fuga, since that date at Masinde. They are hated among the people, and thus have already had to fall back on the friendship of foreign powers, beginning with the Arabs. The fall of the Arab supremacy has altered their position, and thus here too German colonisation has effected a revolution which it is to be hoped will permanently better the lot of the industrious agricultural tribes of East Africa.

On the fertile and healthy slopes of Kilimanjaro in the well-watered belt between 3300 and 6500 feet, the Wajagga have maintained themselves in

A Jagga warrior. (From a photograph by Dr. Hans Meyer.)

independence. As a genuine mountain people they are broken up into numerous small tribes, twenty according to Hans Meyer's estimate, with an average area of 20 square miles, and a total of 46,000 souls. Their weapons are excellent spears, used for thrusting only, which go in the way of trade to the neighbouring peoples. Many of the broad-bladed Masai spears in our collections come from the smithies of the Wajagga, the Arushas, and their like. The remarkably long blades were once broader, and as Hans Meyer reports, the fashion of having them narrower came in only in 1887. Both models in fact only appeared after the introduction of European iron-wire, which has given a great stimulus to the iron industry; the older short-bladed spears still survive in the more remote districts of Kilimanjaro. Besides the spears, they have long swords in leather sheaths dyed red, and shields of the Masai pattern. Skin clothing is still found; the girls wear strings of beads round the hips, from which depends a flap of cloth [illegible] of the size [illegible]-card, while the married women are more fully clad. The [illegible] states, quite insignificant, are the domains of their chiefs,

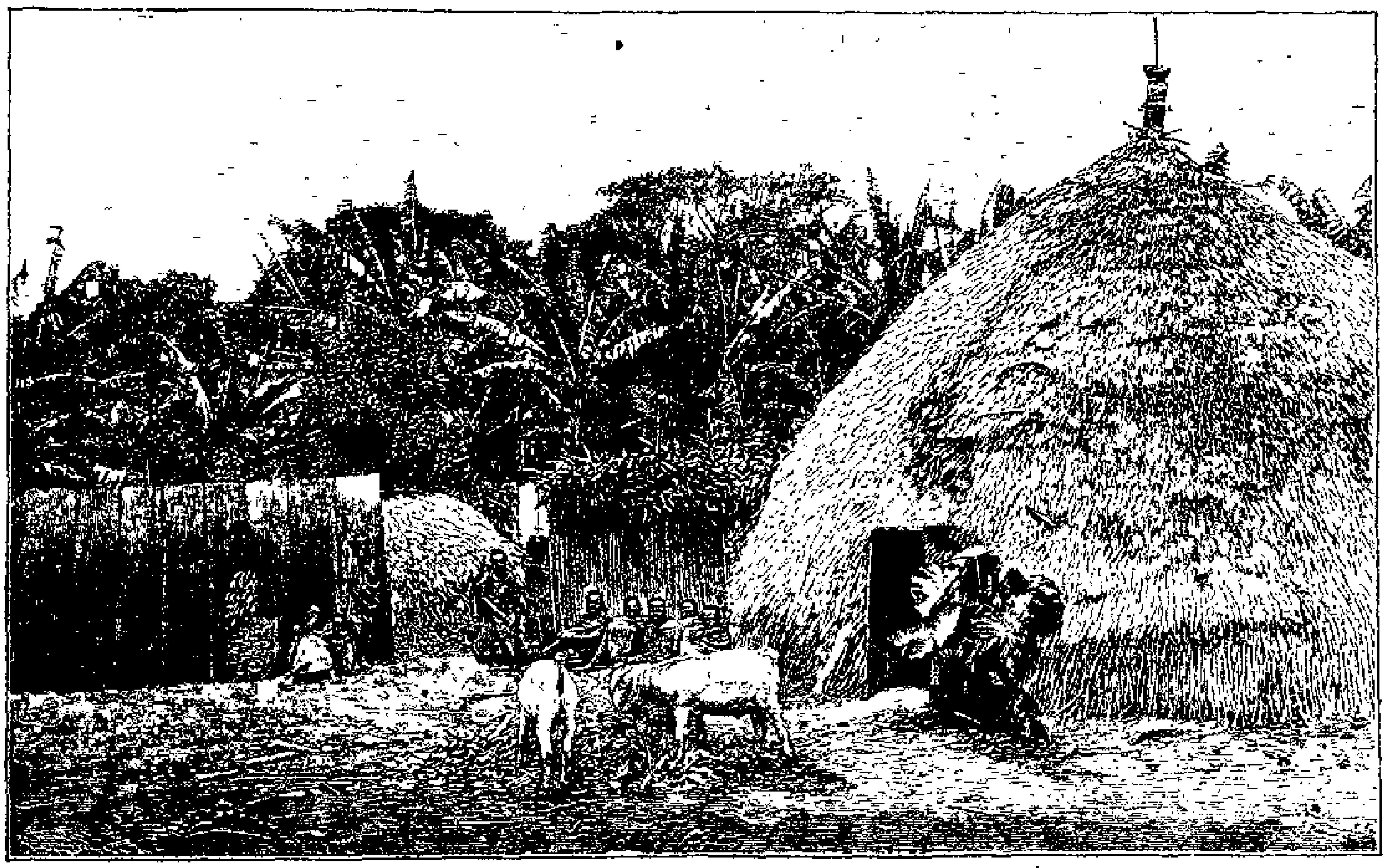
who are the sole owners of the cattle. Hence the chief object of the countless feuds is cattle-lifting, while the fields of subjects are not intentionally devastated. The boundaries are protected by trenches at the points where passage is easiest. To the Wajagga belong also the Wameru, who live scattered among their plantations on the south slope of Mount Meru. They come more into relation with the Arushas.



Mareale, the Jagga chief of Marangu. (From a photograph by Dr. Meyer.)

The Wagueno and Wapare stand both locally and ethnographically between the Wajagga and the Wasambara, and have, moreover, felt the influence of the Masai more deeply than either of these. Their famous iron industry—here again the smiths have a special position among the people—is not up to that of the Jaggas. Their beautiful mountain country has been impoverished and in parts denuded of inhabitants by the Jagga inroads. As another group which through peace, industry, and prosperity, has lost many of the genuine Jagga features may be mentioned the Wataveta, who inhabit a well-known culture-oasis on Kilimanjaro. In language they are also distinct, since their dialect is that of the Wagueno and Wapare. Settlements of the Wakuafi, that pastoral tribe resembling the Masai, who were compelled by their victorious fellows to adopt a settled life, occur in several spots on Kilimanjaro, especially in Arusha, in Taveta, Wakuafi live under the Wajagga. Wandorobbo

too, wandering hunters, and on occasion servants to the Masai, live in slightly-built huts near Useri on the eastern slope of the great mountain. With their kinsmen the Midgu and Walangulo tribes, subject to the Somalis and Masai, they have been looked upon as a last remnant of genuine African aborigines, subjugated by immigrants from the north-east. Can we, however, take so high a point of view in judging of races which change their place of abode for so many reasons? It must be noted at the outset that "Wandorobbo" in a Masai[1] mouth has become a general expression for hunting tribes of any origin, and then we have to remember how widely these isolated agricultural and industrial colonies of negroes have spread through this country. In the neighbourhood of Lake Naivasha, Fisher found



A Jagga hut, goats in the foreground. (From a photograph by Dr. Meyer.)

Waseguyu tilling the fields of the same stock as has its home near Tanga on the coast. "They must have been driven hither years ago by some great famine." Similarly Höhnel refers the present position of the Wandorobbo to "failure of harvest or similar causes" which may have driven them some decades ago from their homes west of the Baringo. They speak Masai, and whatever their political dependence may be, they are in any case economically dependent in a high degree, since they cannot live on hunting and honey-seeking alone, and are at times compelled to buy cattle of the Masai. They hunt elephants with harpoon-like javelins, poisoned with the inspissated juice of the *morio*-tree. Thus they are never found very far from the Masai; but there are Wandorobbo who have got rid of this dependence by going into trade or into the service of settled tribes.

In the last few years other tribes similarly situated have been discovered by O. Baumann in the district between Kilimanjaro and the Nile sources. The Wafiomi with a language apparently quite peculiar, belonging neither to the

[1] "Ndorobbo" in Masai means people without cattle, *i.e.* without property, and thus denotes a social distinction corresponding to the ethnographical position.

Bantu nor (like Masai) to the Nilotic group; and the Wambugwe who speak a Bantu dialect, are both agricultural tribes, living in *tembes* south of Lake Manyara. Towards Ugogo, south of these, dwell the Wanyaturu, equally speaking a Bantu dialect, who in contrast to the powerful, capable Wambugwe, have gone down in the world. The Wanege are a hunting people, roaming between Iraku and Usukuma, and the Wassandowi, their next of kin, are a branch of them which has settled; both speak an apparently peculiar language with clicks.

Seyyid Barghash, Sultan of Zanzibar, d. 1888. (From a photograph.)

In the equatorial portion of the east coast the Arab element is strongly represented; but it has not formed such permanent combinations with the settled Africans as in Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia. Its field of operation lay more scattered, and the points of rendezvous for the Arab trading and conquering expeditions shifted their position frequently. As long as the Arabs were still pagan, they founded no regular states in East Africa, gave no laws, did not come on to the scene as conquerors or colonists; but merely set up warehouses. Even in Arabia they had no political unity, but were divided into many tribes at enmity with one another. Not till they became Mohammedans did their trade relations assume a political character, and at the same time they took a firmer footing on these coasts, with which they undoubtedly had long been acquainted. Mukdishu, Kiloa (founded in the year 365 of the Hejira), Sofala, were already established settlements when the Portuguese penetrated to these coasts in 1498, and Vasco da Gama sailed from the Swaheli coast to India with Arab pilots. Still earlier, doubtless, Arabs had settled on the Comoro Islands and in Madagascar. At the end of the seventeenth century the Imaum of Muscat laid a conquering hand on the coast, acquiring Mombasa in 1698, and later, with Zanzibar, the sovereignty as far as the Mozambique coast. This made the country between the Equator and Cape Delgado a dependency of Muscat, till in 1858 the inheritance was divided, and a separate Sultanate of Zanzibar was set up under Seyyid Mejid, who became known in connection with the discovery of the great lakes. The

centre of the whole dominion was the island of Zanzibar, with an area of 614 square miles, and containing, together with Temba, 165,000 inhabitants, of whom more than two-thirds are negroes free and in service, and 6000 are Hindoos, in whose hands is the greater part of the trade. The remainder consists of Arabs in a varied medley. They are the dominant race here and on the opposite strip of coast, important to this fortunate island as the fulcrum and starting-point of those commercial undertakings—political too—which long before the arrival of Europeans brought Arab traders and Islam to the lakes where the Nile rises. Nay the Sultan's direct influence extended even to the further side of Lake Tanganyika.

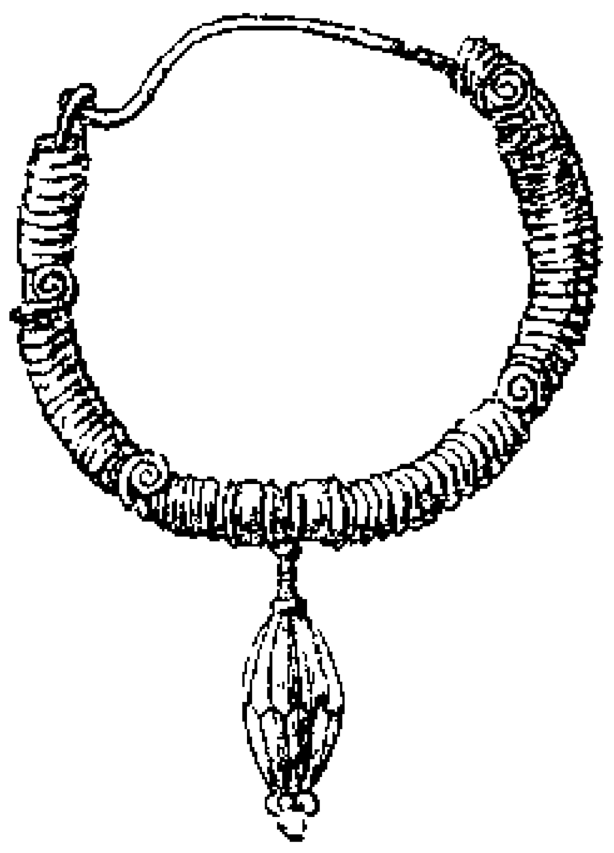
As a trading town and as a point whence great political and moral influence emanates, Zanzibar has left all other places between Cape Guardafui and Algoa Bay far behind. The influence of the Arabs on the coast and in the interior was based in the first instance on their brisk trade, and secondly on their personal superiority and higher culture. The traffic with Arabia and India was carried on in two-masted vessels, mostly Arab craft with Arab crews, which came with the north-east monsoon, and sailed back on the south-west. In earlier ages this traffic embraced a wider area, as is proved by the numerous specimens of old Chinese porcelain which Lenz saw in Arab houses in Lamu. Between the island of Zanzibar and the mainland only native barks plied, which brought over the ivory, copal, orchilla, caoutchouc, above all the slaves, to the island, whence the goods were shipped for India, Arabia, and Europe.

In the foreign population of Zanzibar, Arabs, Hindoos, Banians, Persians, Negroes, Swahelis, Malagasies, Comorese, are especially represented. The Arabs are the masters of the island, and often own large properties, extensive plantations, and many slaves. In their hands the trade with the interior of the continent chiefly lay, and every year numbers of them journeyed to the interior with great caravans and a numerous following, took up their quarters in Tabora, Ujiji, or some other trade-centre, and sent out their best slaves to buy ivory and fresh slaves; the goods obtained were collected in their headquarters, and after some years they returned to Zanzibar, to get rid of their stores and buy fresh stock with a view to further trade. It happened and still happens not uncommonly that those superior slaves who were sent out by the Arabs became, with their masters' help, independent, and founded branches of the Zanzibar houses further in the interior. Or again, in some cases they squander the goods entrusted to them, or lose them in some of the numerous rapid vicissitudes of that trade, and do not dare to return to Zanzibar. Then they settle where they are and form little colonies, such as are found in Karagwe, in Uganda, or even, like Tippoo Tip's, in the Congo district. In Uganda especially their influence is felt both politically and in a religious aspect.

The Arab influence in the interior does not always make its appearance with the support of wealth and power. The beginnings of many a merchant-prince of this country are more apt to lie very low down. There are other caravans beside the great trade caravans commanded by influential traders, well armed and copiously supplied with goods. The love of travel and the wish to earn money impel other people to undergo the labours of this long journey. In Usagara, Cameron met with the little caravan of a blacksmith, who was pressing on to Unyanyembe in order to make his fortune by repairing weapons for use in

the conflicts with Mirambo. Also "a motley crowd, who had joined for mutual protection. It consisted of small detachments led by slaves of Arabs and poor free men, who could get together only two or three loads and slaves to carry them, but who were pressing on full of hope towards lands of fabulous wealth, where, as they understood, ivory was used to fence the pig-sties and make gate-posts."

Quite two-thirds of the population consist of negroes. To these belong in the first place the so-called Wangwana, who form an indispensable constituent of the caravans. The name signifies "masters," in contradistinction to the slaves in the plantations. These Wangwana are not always born in Zanzibar, but often come as slaves from the interior, having established themselves in the country and learnt Swaheli. Some of them have gained their freedom, but most are slaves, who surrender part of their pay to their masters in return for permission to enter the service of European travellers. They profess Mohammedanism, or have at least undergone circumcision in order that they may be "clean," that is, qualified to kill meat for their masters. Most, however, have very little idea of the teaching of their religion, and seldom or never say the prescribed prayers. For two years Wilson had many of them in his service, and never saw one pray, except once when they were overtaken by a terrible storm on Lake Victoria, and the boat nearly swamped. Although almost all of them come from the interior, they look down with sovereign contempt on their black brethren, and call them Washenzi, or savages. But in character they are such genuine negroes that in comparison with the Arabs they show their affinities very clearly. When the Ngwana returns with full pockets from the interior, he buys himself a complete new rig-out and a walking stick, and for a short time plays the man of fashion; he eats and drinks of the best, and passes his nights carousing with his friends. When he has got rid of all his money, as generally is the case in a few weeks, he sells his clothes, wears clouts again, and is only too glad to get another job.


Swaheli nose-ring of brass. (Berlin Museum.)

The Watudimu or labourers are said to be the original inhabitants of Zanzibar, who possessed the island before they were conquered by the Arabs. They live in little villages scattered about the island, and speak a dialect which is essentially different from that of the town. They stand to the Arabs in a certain relation of dependence, which yet is not slavery, and physically they can no longer be treated apart. Once it may have been otherwise; now they are racially no more peculiar than is the craftsman class, which reminds us more of the West African craftsman castes than of an independent stock. As such it can be regarded only by superficial observers.

Not separation but mixture is the stamp of the ethnography of the small islands off the Zanzibar coast. The same is true of the coast region. Here we come across the characteristic collective notion implied in the term Swahelis. How they came into existence, and what they are, is described by Otto Kersten, as follows: Owing to the mixture, going on for nearly a thousand years, of the Arabs with the negro tribes of the coast, as well as to the introduction for centuries past of slaves from nearly all the tribes of East Africa, specially

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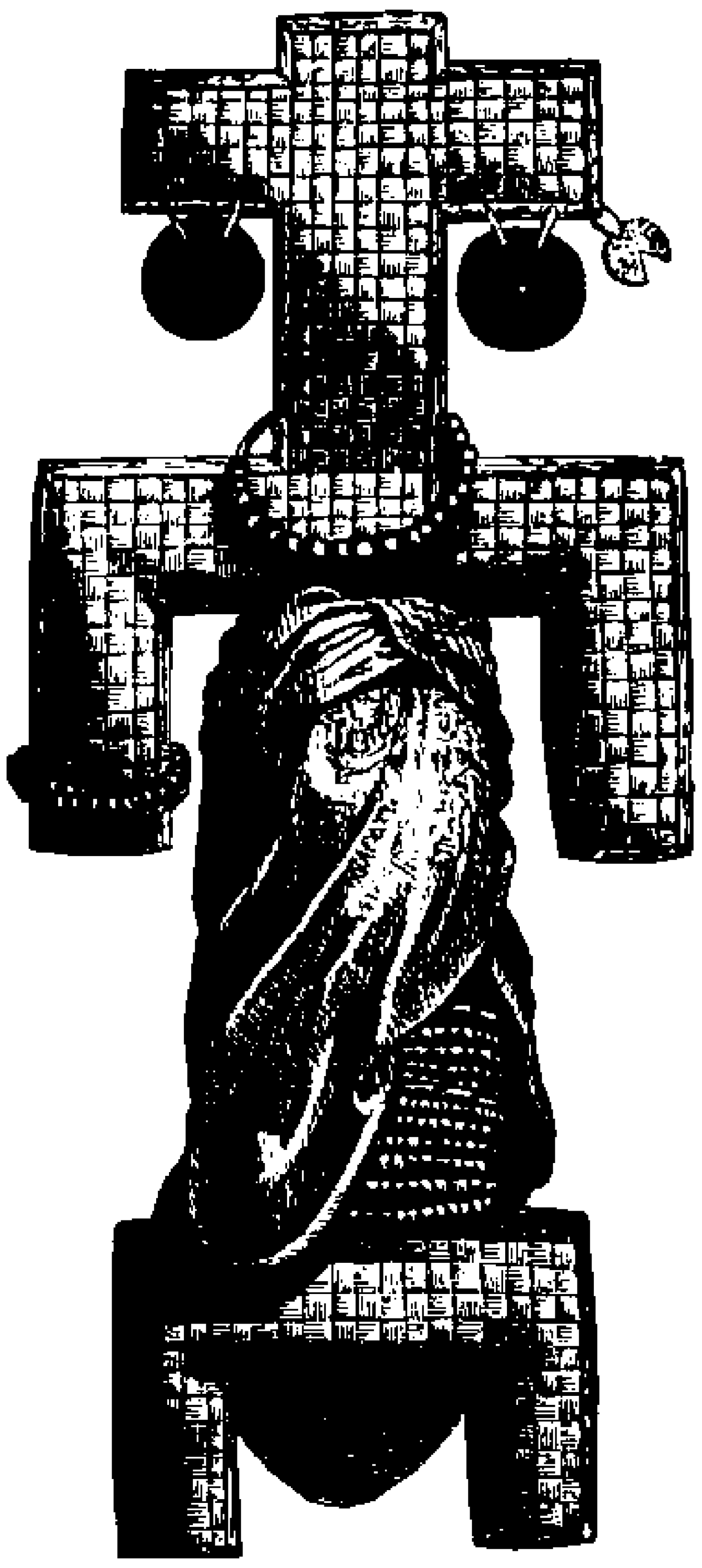
from the south, there gradually arose a population so variously blended that at last no strict distinction could be maintained among its component parts. Brought from a distance, the negroes soon adopted the local language and customs, forgot their origin and their home, and at last called themselves too Swahelis, as if their forefathers had lived long in the land. Among what are called Swahelis are to be found accordingly every shade of colour and every intermediate stage of physical build from the supposed primitive inhabitant to the immigrant Arab; and as among these one seldom meets a man of pure blood, so are there only few uncrossed families among the negroes who have been settled for generations. But not only in physical characteristics can traces of this mixture be plainly noted. They occur in the language, in the total nature and being, alike of individuals and of the whole community. The influence of the higher upon the lower race has not been in every respect favourable; the Swaheli people is not yet homogeneous enough to show the good qualities of a true mixed race, which in an existence of centuries has become completely fused without further accession of foreign blood. In general the Swahelis are powerfully and handsomely built, fleshy rather than spare, of pleasant, often even beautiful countenances, with decidedly Semitic features. Ethnographically their connections are pretty much with the Arabs. At any rate the well-to-do Swahelis—those, that is, who own at least four slaves, and do not live on the produce of their labour, may be reckoned among the Arabs. This mixed Swaheli race has made its correspondingly mixed language. A Bantu dialect permeated with Arab and Indian scraps, into which even English and German words gradually filter, is the means of communication over a great part of East Africa. Stuhlmann found the Swaheli language and dress even among the Wakussu on the Nyangwe. A true trading race in their talent for trade, dislike to hard work, and pliability carried to the point of cowardice, they are found, like Jews or Armenians, singly or in small companies in every village, with every chief, as the opportunities for trade serve—in former times naturally with a special eye to slaves. Under their Islamite varnish they have remained genuine negroes, as their legends and proverbs especially show.

Between them and the tribes which from the point of culture still rank as negroes, stand coast-tribes of the type of the Wamrima, strongly blended with Arabs, and often closely bound to them politically. In contrast to the other Arab half-breeds they have parted from the Arabs a long way socially (formerly also politically), and therefore turn into negroes more quickly. The Omanis speak of them not as kinsmen, but *aajam* or members of the family. They form a narrow fringe on the coast, where they were formerly ruled by their own chiefs under the sovereignty of the Sultan of Zanzibar; they lead a lazy life among their plantations, with the produce of which they supply the island of Zanzibar and the shippers, while leaving their wives and slaves to till them. Formerly their chief trade was the plundering of the caravans that went through their territory, especially those coming from the interior with ivory and slaves, under the pretence of affording them protection. In this way is explained the disproportionately large number of small ports on this coast. Each chief tried if possible to have one of his own, not least with a view to facilitating the exportation of slaves. "You land," says Burton, "and ascend by a narrow footpath worn through the thick jungle and the millet fields which press upon the tattered palisade, a dwarf

steep bank, on whose summit the settlement lies. Inside the fence are a dozen pent-roofed houses of wattle and dab, divided into three or more compartments by dwarf party walls of the same material; each messuage is jealously separated from its neighbour by large enclosed 'compounds' or courtyards appropriated to the women and children. Under the long and projecting eaves are broad earth-benches, divided by the entrance, and garnished with mats, . . . Around the larger habitations cluster masses of hovels, and the characteristic African hay-cock huts." Only the richer Wamrima dress in Arab fashion, the poorer go like the negroes. Seldom does a Mrima appear in public save with spear or staff. It is the exception for women to veil their faces. They wear a button of silver or bronze, or at a pinch a bit of manioc through the left nostril, and stretch their ears with a bit of wood, or copal, or betel-nut, to the point of deformity. Their modes of hair-dressing are manifold; some shave the hair over ears and forehead, others lay it in rolls till the head looks like a melon. Here too, locks stiffened so as to project like horns are found. The hair, which has not lost all its woolliness, adapts itself to this genuinely African passion for strange modes of dressing.



Swaheli doll, or idol, of plaited grass. (Berlin Museum.)

Among the Arabs, too, in East Africa pure-blooded descendants of the immigrants from Oman have become even more rare. Even the members of the reigning family have the mulatto type strongly marked. Through the process of blending even the Arabs of the latest immigration are already losing their delicate complexion and their fine shape of feature, while the descendants of the first immigration on the coast can hardly be distinguished from the original inhabitants. It is not universally accurate to represent the Arab half-breed of this coast as physically and intellectually degenerated; but in the third generation he is in point of fact hardly less of a negro than the dark tribes of the interior. Forehead, eyes, and hair often show the nobler breed, while the negro characteristics appear in cheek-bones, thick lips, and retreating chin. Again, even Creoles of pure blood, born on the island or coast of Zanzibar, exchange the more energetic temperament of the Arab into an effeminate one, as is also found in the Banians on this coast. They are described as lazy and dissolute, though intelligent and cunning, and their history does not contradict this. The cultivation of the Arabs on the east coast of Africa also bears the colonial stamp. When seven or eight years old, says Burton, he learns in a three years' "course of instruction to read the Koran, and to write in an antiquated character somewhat more imperfect than Cufic." Besides this he learns a few prayers and songs. "He then begins life by aiding his father in the shop or plantation, and by giving himself up to intoxication and intrigue." Opium-smoking also has been introduced by Indians. When at the age of seventeen or eighteen he begins to feel the effect of his excesses he takes a wife, and henceforth buries himself in his business and his family, seldom

visiting Zanzibar, "where the restraints of semi-civilization, the decencies of oriental society, and the low estimation in which a black skin is held, weary and irritate him." But he never leaves off wearing a turban and the long yellow gown in token of his Arab descent.

The part played by the Arabs in the trading-places like Tabora, Ujiji, or Nyangwe, created certainly by them, though with abundant help from the Wangwana and above all from the Wanyamwesi, has come about from the trade relations. Hardly any of the Arabs in the interior went there with the intention of founding a colony. They are all only wandering traders, who for various causes have become attached to the trading places of the interior. Among these emigrants we find bankrupts, runaway criminals, political fugitives, and other people who have good reasons for keeping away from Zanzibar and the coast. Others remain in the interior from cupidity. Trade is the occupation of them all—by preference the once closely allied branches, the ivory trade and the slave trade. But among the Arabs settled in the pastoral districts there are some who own large herds and extensive plantations. Their influence upon the culture of interior Africa is not insignificant. Wherever they settle they try to grow their vegetables and fruit trees. Thus they have introduced melons, bananas, mango and lemon trees, pineapples, pomegranates, and more particularly maize and rice. In their headquarters they rule like princes, and some keep hundreds of slaves. When Stanley was at Nyangwe, Tippoo Tip came in with seven hundred armed men. Their houses are fortified. Ujiji and Nyangwe are in their original nucleus assemblages of such fortified Arab homesteads. In Uganda even twenty-five years ago they formed a small colony close to Mtesa's residence, and the mission can tell tales of their influence.

Considering their limited means, their progress was amazingly rapid. In 1871 they began to settle in Karema, on the south-east shore of Lake Tanganyika among the Wasipa, where ten years later they were playing a part in politics. Speke found a great difference between his first visit to Unyamwesi in 1857 and his second in 1861. On the former occasion they were all traders, later they had become landlords with large estates and companies of well-armed slaves. Their encroachment on the domain of politics, now become inevitable, for two decades governed the destinies of a whole great country like Unyamwesi, and more or less the whole district between the Indian Ocean and the Upper Congo. And the rising of 1888 and '89 has shown how bold they are, and what an influence they exert upon the population. Their policy is to sow discord and turn this to their own advantage. When they have kindled strife, they have usually drawn profit therefrom, being intelligent and having the superiority in weapons. In the last few years their power has been much broken owing to the operation of the officers of the Congo State.

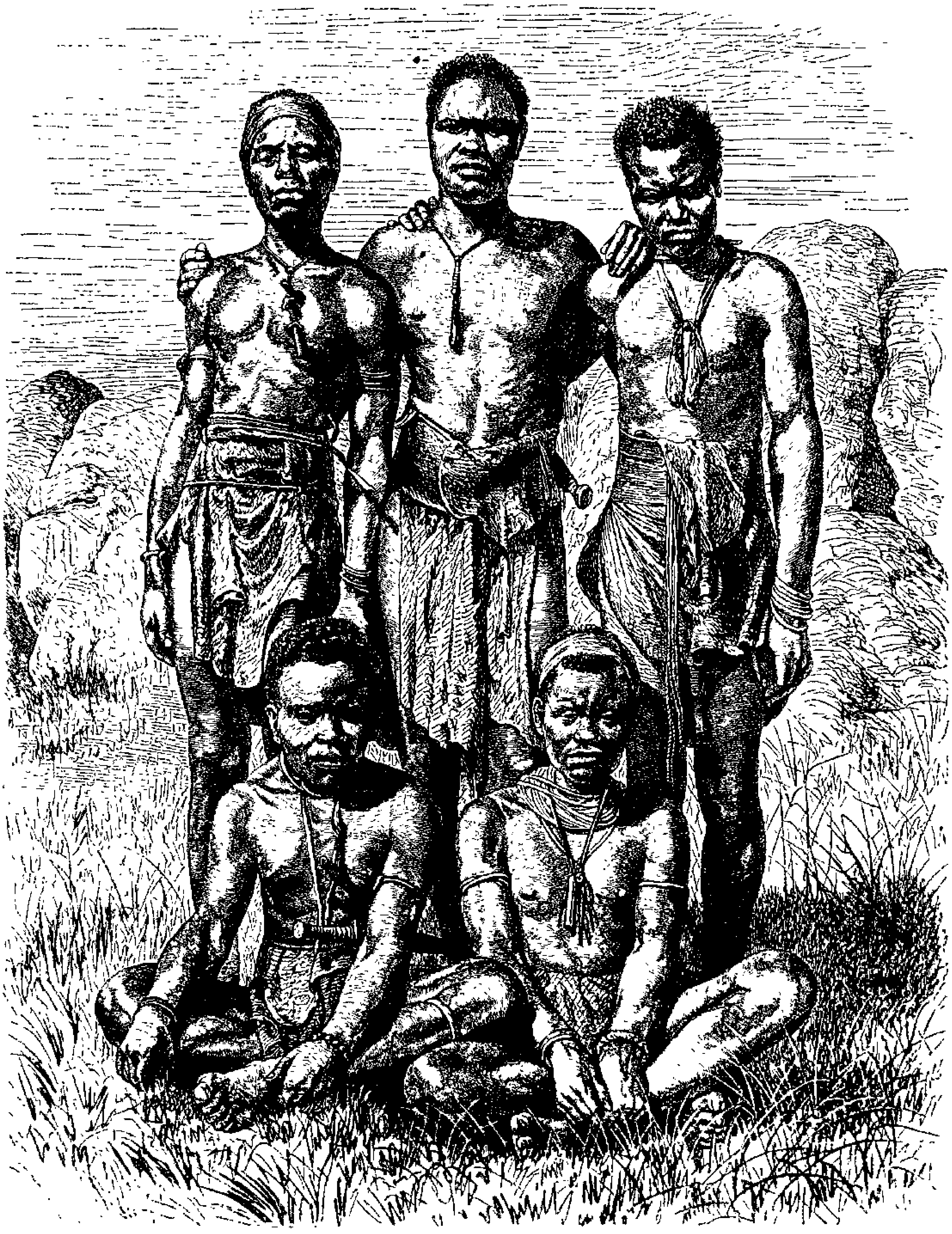
## § 7. THE ZAMBESI AND LUNDA PEOPLES

Difference between South and Central Africans; historical position of the Zambesi region—The transitional races, Ovambo, Makalaka, Bakuba of the Tioge, and Bashapatani—The Bayeye—The Barotse Empire—The Batoka, and the breaking up of them by the Makololo—The Ganguellas—Transition to the western races—The Luchazes—The Ambuellas: limited cattle-breeding; iron industry—The Balunda and the Empire of Mwata Jamvo—The Lukokeshas: legend of the origin of the Lunda Empire; the popular assembly; Cazembe's country.

THE Zambesi is not only the boundary between temperate and tropical South Africa; in its lower half it forms also the line of separation between the races of South and those of Central Africa. Whatever difference may prevail between Northern and Southern Bechuanas, peculiarly as the South-Eastern Kaffirs may strike us, a residual sum remains of points common to the South Africans which contrast them with the men of all Equatorial Africa. The Zulu stock, always as predatory cattle-breeding nomads, forms a bridge across a limited region only. This fact does not upset the rule that Southern and Equatorial Africans are undoubtedly offshoots from the same stock, but diverge from each other in important matters. The differing external conditions account for a good deal. Agriculture takes the place of cattle-breeding. What a difference is there between the Kaffir prince whose highest duty is to watch and keep together the herds numbered by tens of thousands, and a Mwata Jamvo who has two or three presented cattle carefully tended as articles of value. What a difference in way of living between the Bamangwato south of the Zambesi, half of whose food is milk, and the Manganja to the north of it, who as a rule never taste milk. And this is only one feature. In the warmer climate more favourable conditions encourage the cultivation of manioc, cotton, tropical fruits, in the east even of rice. The ground-nut begins to be plentiful. In boat-building and fishing the superiority of the Central Africans to their water-shunning brethren south of the Zambesi is incontestable. But they have advanced further in all industries, thanks no doubt in part to their more peaceful dispositions, but still more to the neighbourhood of the ancient and long-undisturbed centre of all arts and dexterous work in the Congo basin. The rigid military organisation slackens as we go north, so that shield and spear are no longer the determining feature in the armament, and the beautiful bows with terminal knobs shown on pp. 253 and 347 make their appearance. Clubs are carved into a greater variety of forms. The leathern shield so conspicuous among Bechuanas and Zulus, essentially belonging to the East African highlands, is lacking altogether. Among buildings, the rectangular huts, departing from the typical African conical shape, appear first on the Zambesi; and in general these races with their admirable materials are cleverer at building than the South Africans. Among the multitude of articles, we may notice the great variety of musical instruments. The *marimba*, double bells, wooden drums, first occur here. Leather and hide disappear more and more from the clothing, and are replaced by bark cloths and fabrics of native fibre. In brief, we are on the threshold of Central Africa.

When Livingstone, first of scientific travellers, entered this region from the south, the still recent conquest by the Makololo had pushed the boundary of

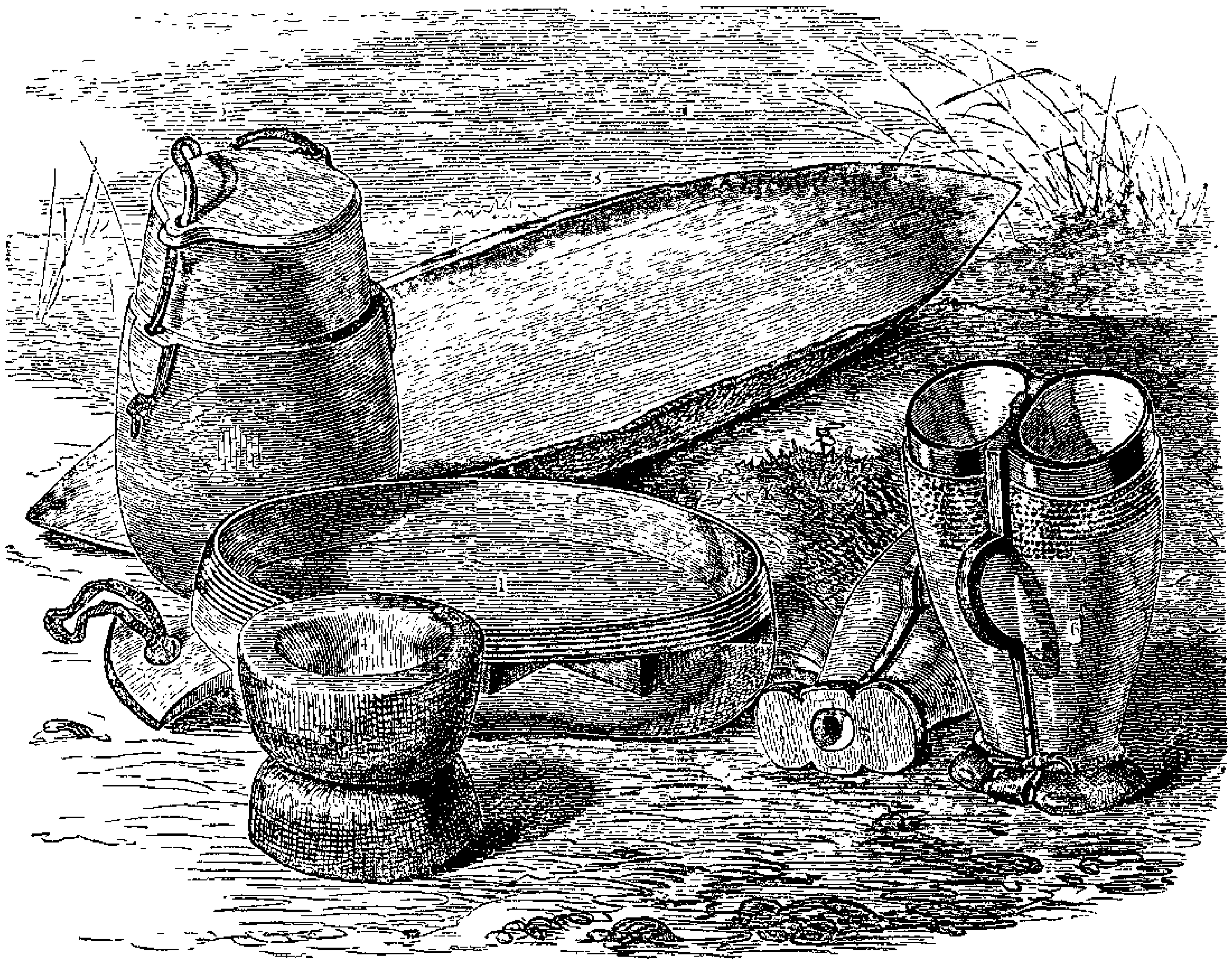
culture to the north; but it was the same boundary as that of which we are now conscious on the Zambesi. From his description it is obvious that in the Lunda



Ovambo men. (From a photograph belonging to the Barmen Mission.)

country he crossed the most important racial frontier with which all his journeys brought him acquainted. Even in bodily frame he was struck by a far more marked negro character. He calls the Balunda "real negroes, having much

more wool on their heads and bodies than any of the Bechuana or Kaffir tribes." Darker and lighter individuals are found among them, "but," he adds (and we call attention to the observation just because it contradicts the false assumption of a considerable bodily difference between Kaffirs and more northern negroes), "while they have a general similarity to the typical negro, I never could think that our ideal negro, as seen in tobacconists' shops, is the true type. . . . There are also many good-looking . . . well-shaped heads and persons among them." If, however, the Zambesi forms the boundary between cultures in the east, in the



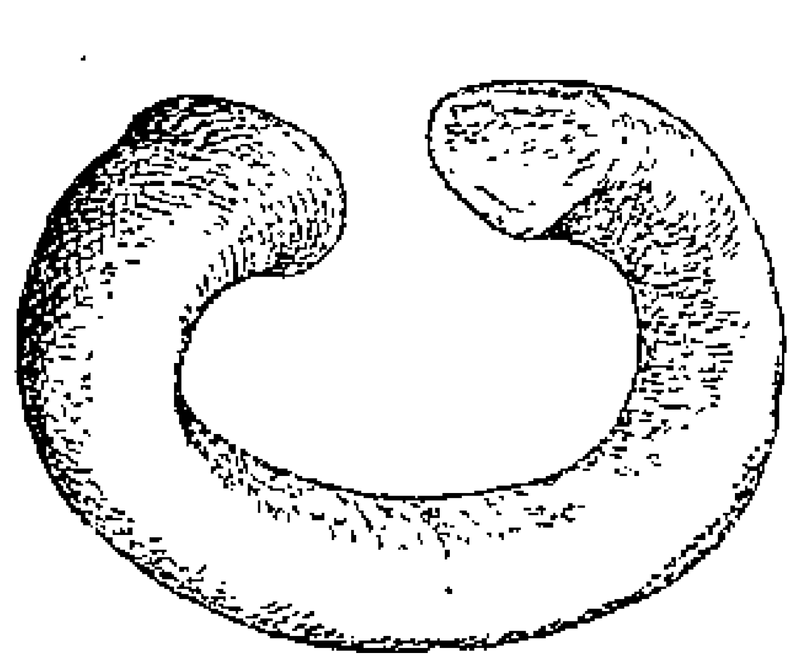
Wooden vessels and implements of the Ovambo: 1, dish; 2, pot; 3, shovel; 4, bowl for fumigation; 5, 6, double jugs for straining beer—one-eighth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

west the departure from the South African type begins much further to the south. As everywhere, the transition is gradual. But if we may again take the predominance of agriculture over cattle-breeding as the most decisive mark of the boundary, in the west we find this racial division on the border of the steppe-country proper immediately north of Damaraland. The inhabitants of Ovamboland carry us imperceptibly across to the tribes of the Zambesi basin.

Passing northwards through the plateaux of Damaraland, one descends almost abruptly, near the 18th parallel of latitude, from the thorny mimosa-scrub upon undulating corn-bearing plains. The contrast is sharp and pleasant. "Vain," says Andersson, "would be any attempt to describe the sensations of delight and pleasure experienced by us on that memorable occasion, or to give an idea of the enchanting panoramic scene that all at once opened on our view. Instead of the eternal jungles where every moment we were in danger of being dragged out of

our saddles by the thorns, the landscape now presented an apparently boundless field of yellow corn dotted with numerous peaceful homesteads and bathed in the soft light of a declining sun. Here and there arose gigantic, wide-spreading, and dark-foliaged timber and fruit trees, while innumerable fan-like palms, either singly or in groups, completed the picture. To us it was a perfect Elysium." This is the country of the Ovambo. The whole district is fertile, although there is no superfluity of water. It is one of the steppe-countries with a rainy season sufficient for the crops; the Ovambo hold water in high esteem.

The name Ovambo is used to denote the inhabitants of the tract included by the Cunene, the Kubango, and the parallel of 19° South or thereabouts. It is that used by the Hereros, but is obviously only a corruption of the name by which the people call themselves, "Avajamba," or "Ovajamba," "the wealthy." The Cunene can only be regarded as a political boundary, since the Uumbanja settled to the north of it must be akin to the Ambo tribes. To the north a zone of forest, according to the Ovambo account uninhabited appears to form the frontier between the Cunene and the Kubango. The Ovambo themselves are divided into eleven larger tribes. They are not only the first agricultural people met with in West Africa by one coming from the south; they are also one of the most active and peaceable among the agricultural races of Africa, and, as might be expected from this, they form a comparatively dense population. Galton reports that in a distance of three miles he was able to count on the average thirty homesteads, although the hilly nature of the country does not permit of a wide view, and he assumes that there will be thirty or forty souls to each homestead. There are no larger places in Ovamboland, only groups, insignificant in number, of these homesteads, since the people everywhere live amid their fields.



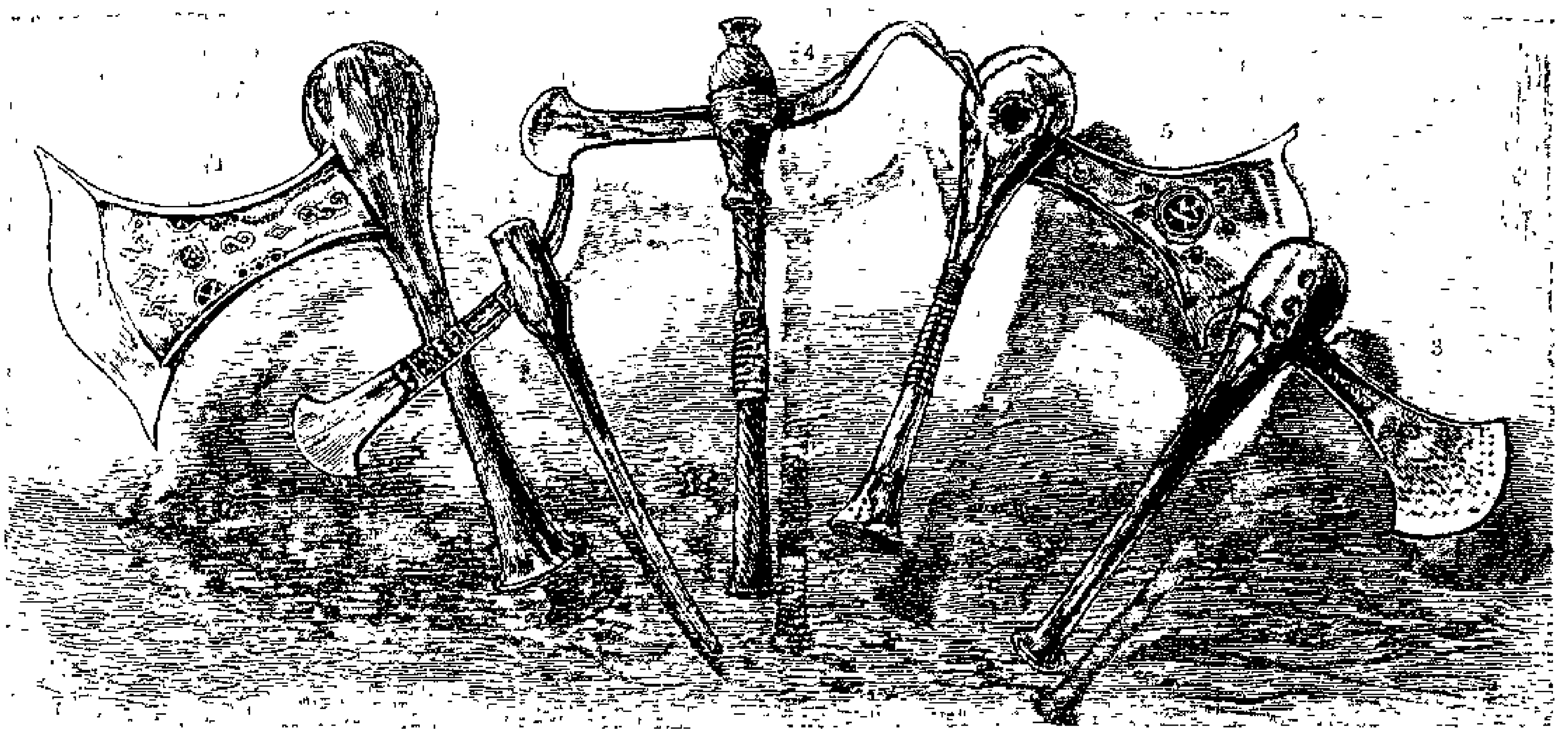
Ovambo leg-ring of copper.
(Berlin Museum.)

There is no essential difference in physique and colour between the Ovambo and the Ovaherero, but the former are perhaps even nearer to the mountain Damaras; ugly, bony men, with strongly-marked features, very muscular. Their language differs only dialectically from that of the Hereros; "bring fire" is *ella omulilo* in the Ambo tongue, *et omuriro* in the Herero. Yet they understand each other with difficulty.

Of the agriculture, which is the dominant feature in the life of these tribes, the mainstay is two species of millet, *durra* and *Eleusine*. Beans also are grown everywhere, maize but rarely, the southern limit of this crop being formed by a line from the Cunene and Kubango to Lake Ngami. The fields, interrupted only by footpaths, are often several miles in extent. It is eminently worthy of remark that the Ovambo employ dung to manure their fields. The crop when harvested is kept in peculiar beehive-shaped baskets somewhat over a yard in diameter, which are set on rough tripods, the point downwards. Roofs of wattled twigs are erected over these vessels, and a man's wealth is estimated by his rows of these grain-holders, as in Europe by the size of his barns. Next to corn, tobacco is the most important agricultural produce. A part of it is paid as tribute to the paramount chief, and it also forms the circulating medium of the Ovambo. It is pounded in wooden vessels, and is said to be of indifferent quality. Gourds

and water melons are likewise grown. Cattle-breeding is also considerable, though the dearth of pasturage makes it necessary to send the beasts to pastures distant some days' journey, whence they only return after the harvest, to feed off the stubble. All cattle are the king's property, which makes it easy to understand that the people do not devote themselves with any great zeal to breeding.

The diet of the Ovambo consists principally of thick millet porridge and milk. They always add salt to it, contrary to the Hereros, who never do so. Beds of salt occur in their territory in the form of so-called salt pans. Millet beer, not very intoxicating, serves them for drink, also a brandy-like fluid obtained from the fruit of *Sclerocarya Schweinfurthiana.* April is the great time for this drink, which, says Schinz, "turns the natives into very devils, and makes residence amid the scene of unbroken drunkenness a hell for Europeans."

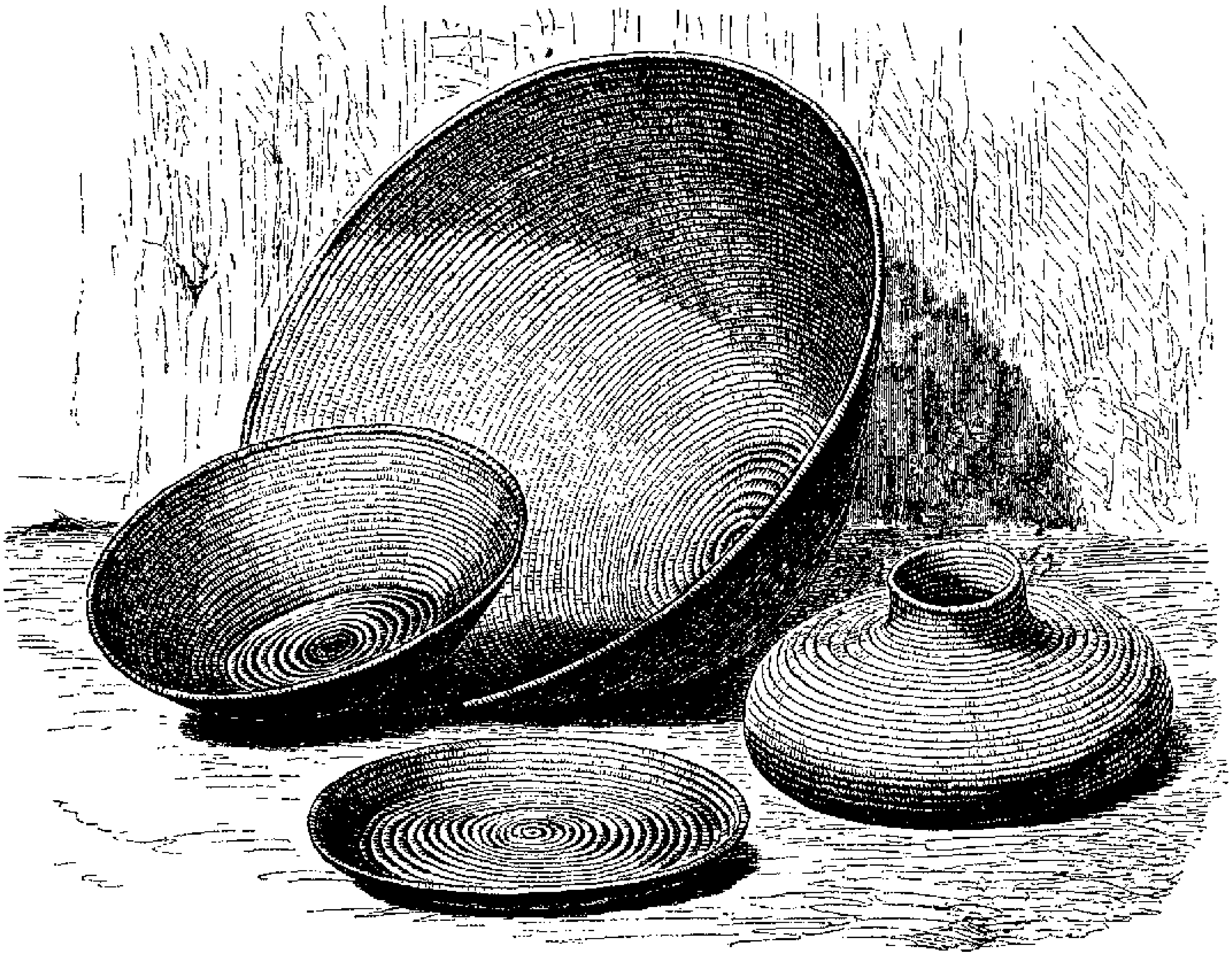



Axes: 1 and 2, Bassonge; 3, Lupungu (one-eighth real size); 4 and 5, from the Zambesi (one-tenth real size). (Berlin Museum.)

Their dwellings are surrounded with palisades, within which huts, granaries, courtyards, stalls, are huddled together. A single gateway leads into this congeries of huts, a village in itself. The king's residence, which in the time of Galton and Andersson covered a space over 100 yards across, was like a labyrinth owing to the multitude of palisaded roads leading in every direction. An open space covered with a light awning serves as playground for the young people. The huts are circular.

The utensils and weapons of the Ovambo are well wrought. Dishes, spoons, and cups of wood are found. For tilling the ground they use only a short hoe. Among their weapons the most noticeable are the dagger-knives, with hilts and sheaths of wood and leather, sometimes ornamented with sheet copper or copper wire beaten flat. Their regular weapons are assegai and knobkerrie; bows and arrows, which have become rare, are like those of the Ovaherero; they are 5 feet or so in length and are made from the supple leaf-stalks of *Hyphaene ventricosa.* The arrows have heads of bone or iron, invariably poisoned, says Schinz, with the milky juice of an apocynaceous plant. The quiver is carried under the left arm by a thong passing over the right shoulder, while the dagger hangs from the belt or from a thong round the upper arm. But

for the most part they simply carry their arrows in the hand. The spear, with its 6 or 7 feet of length, is rather a thrusting than a missile weapon. The women also carry a weapon—a long dagger, intended solely for defence. Although no ores of iron or copper are found in the country, the Ovambo can show both metals, since the ores are brought to them by the Bushmen who live in the mountains. From iron and copper they manufacture the chief articles of their trade—knives, spear-heads, arrow-heads from the former, rings and beads from the latter. On their journeys they carry these in small woven baskets at either end of a long pole. An unfinished assegai blade, or a yard of iron beads on a string, was, when Andersson was there, sold for one ox. The most important article of



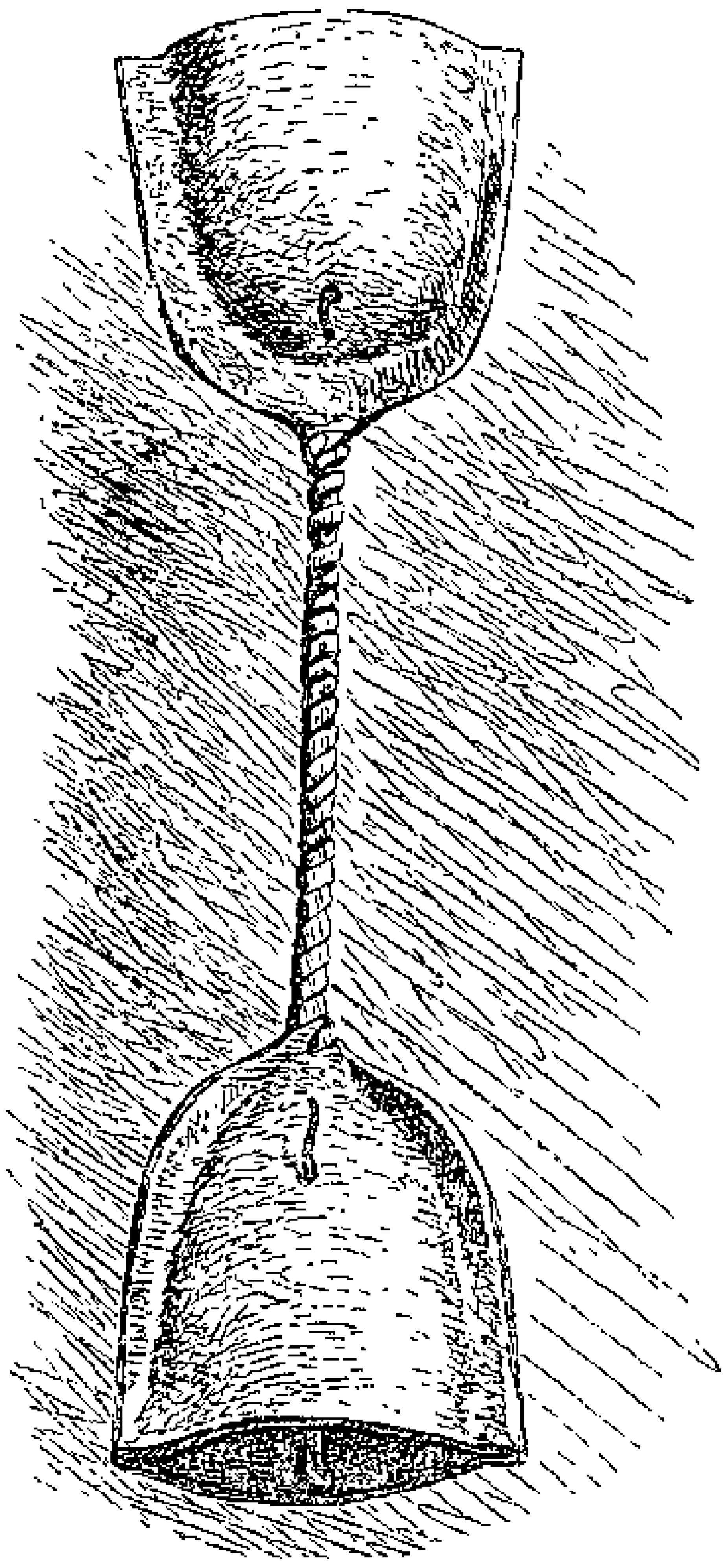
Ovambo dishes; plate and bottle, of plaited work—one-seventh real size. (Berlin Museum.)

their export trade used to be ivory. On the further side of the Cunene they meet with black traders, speaking Portuguese, and barter ivory for beads, iron, copper, shells and cowries. Such articles as they obtain in this way, and do not themselves need, they trade away to the south and east. Next to cattle they set the greatest store by beads. In former times it was only from the neighbouring Damaraland that foreign traders used to come into their country; seventy or eighty Damara women attached themselves to Andersson's and Galton's caravan, all on their way to Ovamboland, some to get work, others to find husbands, others again to sell their shell-belts; getting corn, tobacco, beads, and so on in exchange.

The dress of the Ovambo contrasts in certain noticeable peculiarities with that of the neighbouring tribes, but shows most resemblance with that of the Damaras. A broad leathern belt, from which depends in front a triangular double apron of tanned ox-hide, encircles the hips of the men. The hind-quarters are

adorned with two stiff projecting leathern tails. The women wear an apron of leather, over which fall fan-wise numerous pieces of sinew strung with bits of ostrich egg-shell. Both men and women when grown up knock out one of the middle front teeth in the lower jaw. The women wear their hair as long as they can, and increase its bulk by smearing with fat and red ochre. They wear copper arm and leg rings, weighing often from two to three pounds. Copper arm-rings are the distinctive ornament of the chief's wives.

The Ovambo are fond of music and dancing. As soon as it grows dark, the population assembles to dance in the chief's courtyard; torches and palm branches make an especially picturesque scene. A popular show is also afforded by the dances of the Bushmen, who form a kind of body-guard to the chief; with their wonderful gift of mimicry they generally imitate the movements of some animal.



Double bell of iron, from Central Africa; locality unknown—one-fourth real size. (Collection of the Church Missionary Society, London.)

As to the character of the Ovambo, we hear little that is good. Schinz calls them humble and submissive towards the strong, proud and arrogant towards inferiors; and ascribes these characteristics as well as their obstinate adherence to old traditions to their despotic form of government. Of their sense of honour, praised by Andersson and Galton, he could discover nothing, thinking that only the strictness of the laws had for the time suppressed the tendency to theft. Proportionately unlimited is the praise which he bestows on their chastity and their family life. They are, too, more courteous than *e.g.* the Hereros.

The chief Nangoro had 106 wives. Wives are bought with cattle. In the ruling house the succession goes to the son, failing him to the daughter, of the first wife. As to other political conditions, and especially as to the history of the Ovambo, we have no information. We only know that they are respected and feared by the Hereros on account of their wealth and power, and that these do not venture to interfere with the trade of the Ovambo. Galton met several Hereros from Omaruru on their way back from Ovamboland, where they had been to propose compensation for certain thefts. The Ovambo themselves have various strangers under them who seem to be partly in the position of slaves. Hereros are employed as cowherds, and Bushmen, who go about in rich attire, and in the south-east levy tribute from Hereros, seem to form a kind of standing army. While the Hereros are despised, so that no Ovambo woman ever marries a Herero if it involves leaving the country, the Bushmen are on the best of footings, and are, as Galton says, naturalised. They do not, however, seem to be quite independent. When Andersson says: "A great number of Bushmen live among the Ovambo, to whom they stand in a kind of vassalage and relationship," he indicates a relation such as that of which we have given fuller details at p. 300.

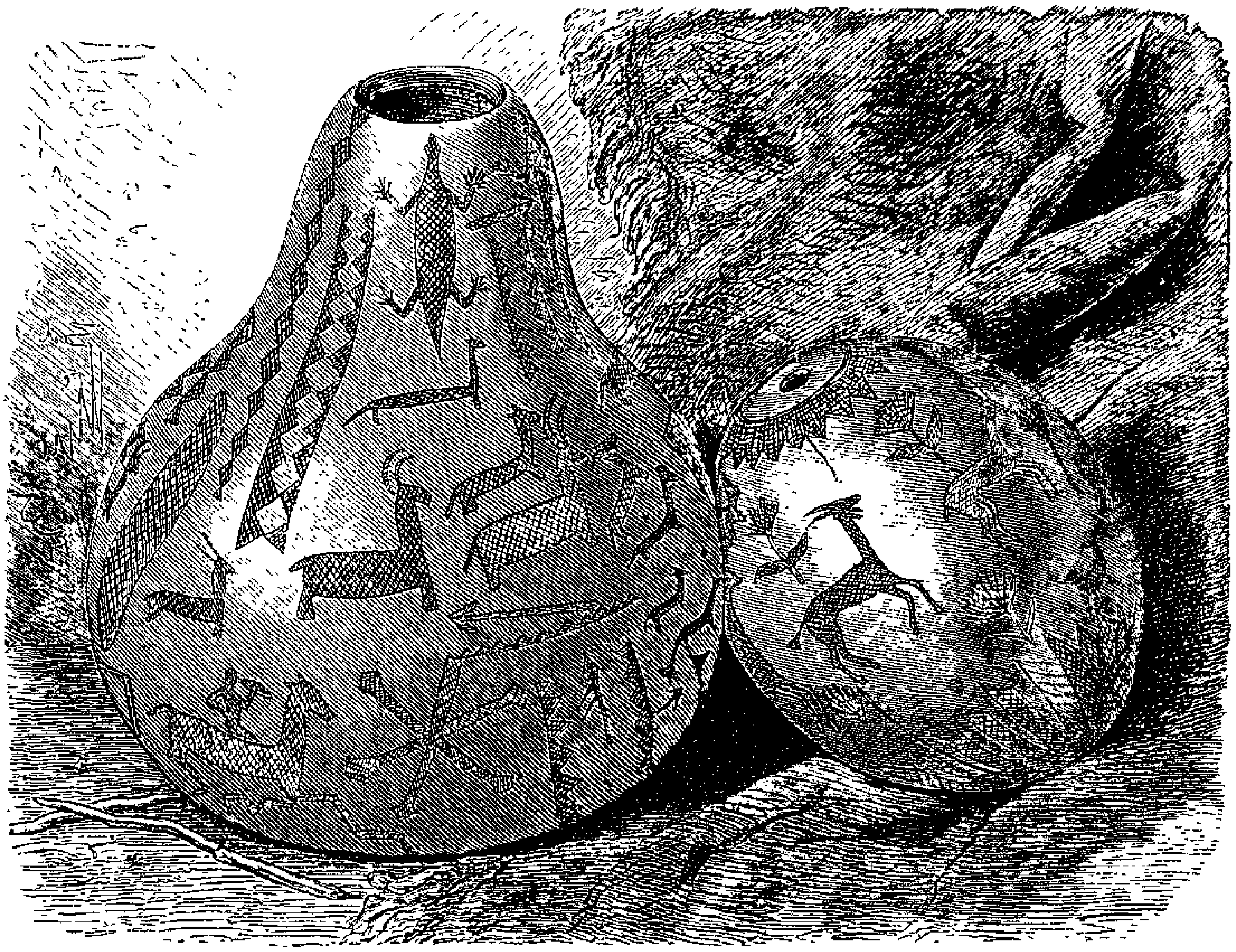
We may append here some account of a stock equally belonging to the

region of transition between South and Central Africa, the Bakuba, who dwell north-west of Lake Ngami up along the Tioge. They recognise their kinship with their tribe-fellows on Lake Ngami, but consider themselves far superior to them. They keep themselves strictly apart from the Bechuanas, and do not admit that their name is "Bakoba" which in Sechuana means "slaves," but say that "Bakuba" is the name they apply to themselves and their kinsfolk. By their neighbours on Lake Ngami they are called Baveko. They form a fairly dense population, and their chief place, marked on the maps, after the chief who ruled there thirty years ago, as Lelebe's town, lies in about 18° S. They are agricultural, and seem, though their country teems with game, to be no very keen hunters, since the most urgent request made to the first European visitors was to shoot hippopotamus and elephant for the natives. As they stand in apparently frequent communication, through the trading tribe of Mambari, with the Portuguese on the west coast, they have firearms in plenty, and can even part with powder to the Ngami tribes. Their sole articles of export are ivory and slaves. They seem to get from the Ovambo the great quantity of massive copper rings with which they load their limbs. The Baveko go little out of their country, though their intercourse among themselves is very brisk. They are among the most passionate of smokers, and may almost always be seen going about with their pipes more than a yard long, which, says Green, they value so highly that a man would sooner give away one of his wives than his pipe. Among accomplishments, wood-carving is specially mentioned; good examples being the human heads or animal figures carved on tobacco-pipes and knobkerries.

The nearer we approach, coming from the south, to the plains of the Zambesi basin with their more copious rainfall, the more important we expect agriculture to become, and the more noticeable its effect on the character and life of the population. If this theoretic law does not everywhere correspond to the facts, the relation of the Nyassa tribes to the conquering Zulus enables us to discover the causes of many a departure from it, and at once to recognise why here on the edge of the plateau larger empires necessarily came into existence, just as on the south border of the Sahara. The river region of the Zambesi is inhabited by a mixed race of conquerors and conquered, and if, here and there, as in the overthrow of the Barotse by the Makololo, we see the process of conquest still going on into our own times, we draw our conclusions at least indirectly as to similar processes in past time elsewhere. There is no evidence of any novelty in these conquering raids, it all goes to show that here too history is repeating itself with wearisome uniformity.

In some races of the Zambesi it is thought that remains of former invasions and displacements can be observed with especial clearness, since they show a more intimate blending of South and Central African customs with a predominance of the latter. Among these are the Makalaka, who in agriculture are inferior to no other Zambesi stock, and were far superior to their former lords, the Makololo. Their cattle-breeding, on the other hand, is insignificant; and moreover that part of the people who are subject to the Matabele are forbidden by them to keep cattle. They dig and smelt a great deal of iron, and are good smiths. Their chief weapons are spears, four or five of which they always carry in their hands, and large shields. Their clothing consists partly of skins, partly of a cloth of baobab-bark: the first bark-cloth with which we meet in the south.

They are sharply distinguished from their neighbours on the east by the fact that they leave their teeth uninjured, and by the absence of lip and nose perforation. The women shave their heads, leaving only a cap-like growth on the scalp. They handle their dug-out canoes, 13 or 14 feet long, in excellent style. Once they built better huts than now; at present they live between the Matabele and the Barotse, broken up and impoverished, and in great measure are no better in this respect than the Bushmen. It is noticeable that even in this situation they are conspicuous for cleanliness. They wash hands and face in the early morning, and



Barotse calabash and ostrich egg with engraved figures. (Munich Museum.)

take a bath at midday. As of cleanliness, so of comfort they have a better notion than Bechuanas; and besides this, their skill in the manufacture of ornament is praised. Their form of greeting is a ceremonious clapping of the hands accompanied with equally ceremonious words, and lasting a minute or so. Their customs of courtship and of the marriage ceremony strongly recall those of the Bechuanas. If they are unjustly accused of theft, they declare themselves innocent by an oath on the fire. In contrast to their neighbours, the men take a greater share than the women in the labour of hut-building and in field-work. Livingstone contrasts the great respect of Makalaka children for their mothers with the more limited development of this feeling among the Makololo.

While these Makalaka have their dwellings on both sides of the Zambesi, to the south of that river, in the mountains about the point where the Quagga River joins it, live the fragments of a people called by Chapman Bashapatani, by Father Terorde, Manansa or Basapatum, obviously a branch of the Makalaka. Common

to both are the shaving of the head, the skin-clothing of the women, the preference for agriculture, the almost complete absence of cattle-breeding, the constant accompaniment of speech with hand-clapping, and the love of music. They also never go out of their huts without a bundle of spears, and carry a battleaxe as well. They have, however, learnt to imitate their neighbours in filing out their upper teeth, and sometimes in wearing a rod with beads threaded on it through the septum of the nose. In respect of morality they are perhaps the most debased people of this region.

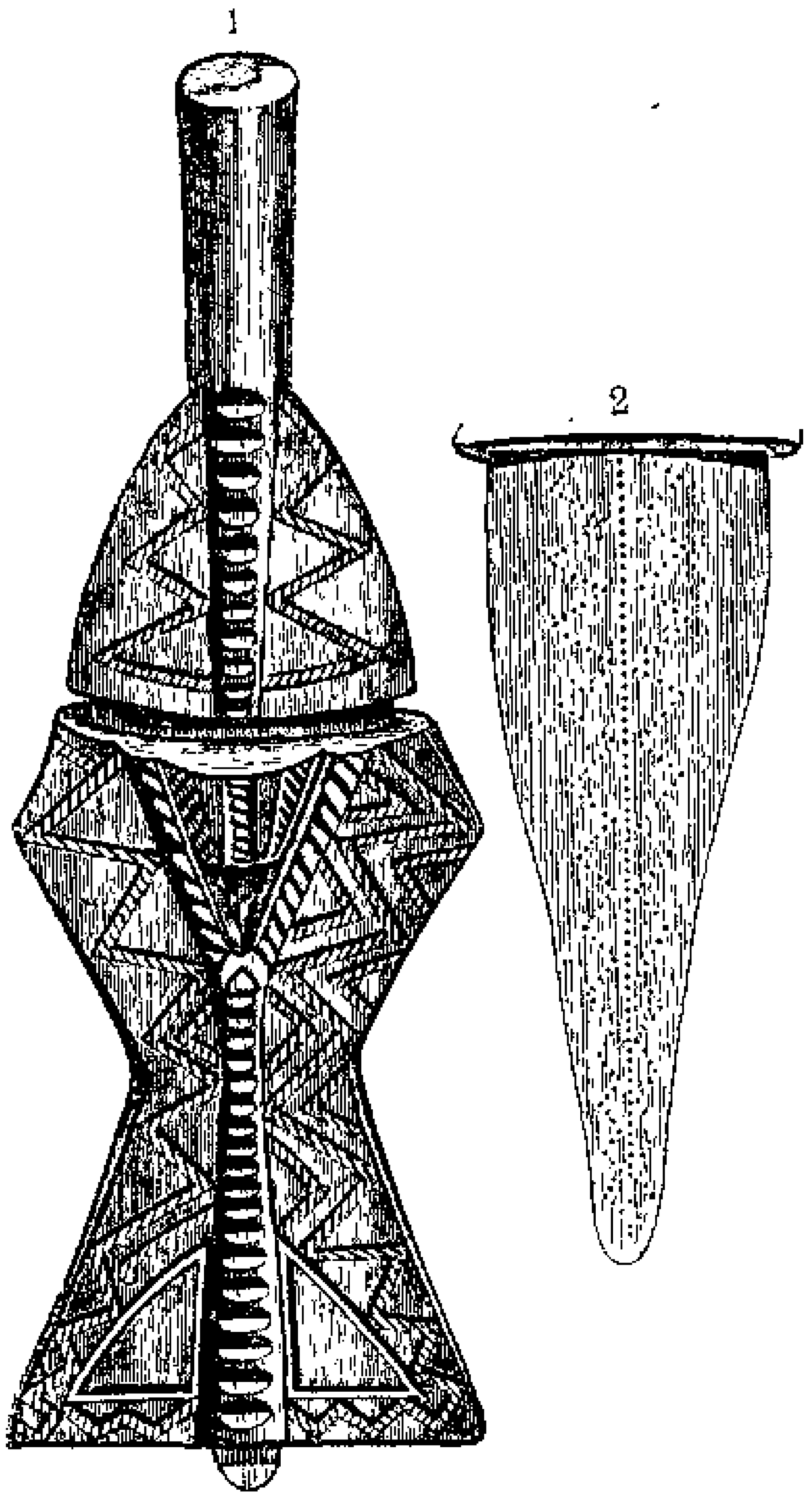
In contrast with these South Africans who have been pushed to the northward, the Bayeye of Lake Ngami are obviously the remains of a race that has been driven south, or has remained where it was and has been surrounded and is now ruled by Bechuanas, reminding us in several points of Hottentots or Bushmen. The Bayeye, also called Bakoba and Makoba, live on the north and north-east shores of Lake Ngami, and in the network of its tributaries upwards towards the Chobe. The name Bayeye ("men") is that given them by themselves, while the designations Bakoba and Makoba, that is "slaves" or "servants," were applied to them by their rulers the Bamangwato. Their appearance recalls the Ovambo, while their language is like the Herero. Some clicks remind us of the long vicinity of the Bayeye to the Bushmen. Their whole position amid the other peoples who are grouped round the lake-basin indicates that they have been settled here for a long time; for they are the genuine lake and river people who have forgotten, in the shelter of their swamps and dykes, how to fight. The Bechuanas were doubtless not the first from whom they earned the unwarlike name of Bakoba. According to one legend their forefathers made themselves bows of *ricinus* stalks, and when these broke, gave up bow-making altogether. Shields they first adopted from the Bechuanas, wherefore they ascribe their subjugation solely to their original lack of those arms. Small spears with barbs are the only weapons in the use of which they show any skill. Livingstone called them the Quakers of Africa. In Lechulatebe's time a Bamangwato chief was in a sort of way governor of all the Bakoba; they did not only pay tribute, but as regarded the chiefs of the ruling race, they were not much better than outlaws. A northern division of them was at the same time fleeced by the Makololo.

The Bayeye always build on river banks or islands, which in this country means that their houses stand in water for a great part of the year. But they seem to have long been used to damp. From much wading in the water the soles of their feet are so soft that it is painful to them to go for long on hard ground. Only part of them cultivate, and this is left to the women; but the men are proportionately clever in managing their dug-out canoes. They live in these more than in their huts, keep up a fire in them almost constantly, and cook and eat in them. They are equally expert in fishing whether with the hook, the basket, or the net of *hibiscus* fibre. For linen, a kind of flax, the *ife* (*Sansevieria*) stands in quantities ready to their hand close to the river-bank. They are practised in fish-spearing and in hippopotamus-hunting, and they dig so many concealed pitfalls for beasts on their way to drink that it is dangerous to wander about in the neighbourhood of their villages. The water itself supplies in its plants an abundance of food; of the lotus they eat the root, the stalk, the leaves, the flowers and the seeds, of some rushes the seed and the root, the latter part especially of

the *Tsetla* (*Juncus serratus*) which in famine years forms also the chief article of food for the Bechuanas. The women, with extraordinary *sang froid*, dive after these roots in the water teeming with crocodiles. Bad years for the Bayeye are those in which the water is high and the roots too deep. Before their subjection by the Bechuanas they are said to have been rich in herds, now they have only goats and fowls.

The Bayeye huts are beehive-shaped and covered with mats. Even in the 'fifties the men had adopted the Bechuana dress, while the women wore the Herero bead-belt. Like their masters they practise circumcision.

The formal transition from South to Central Africa is marked by the frontier of the Barotse Empire, the history of which, up to the accession of Sepopo, we have given in describing the Basuto tribe of the Makololo. We may add that since 1892 the "Barotse kingdom" has opened its territory to the South African Company. It is the first of the great kingdoms of Central Africa which we enter as we pass from the temperate region into the tropics. Here we have no longer the military despots of the south-east. Although they too are despotically organised, the despotism is not supported by a nation of soldiers, toughened and drilled, but rests mainly upon the cowardice and abjectness of the tribes over which a chief of an insecure dynasty brandishes the whip and the axe of arbitrary rule. The population of these states has no internal cohesion, since there is no question of any welding or fusing force. According to Holub, eighteen largish tribes, subdivided into eighty-three branches and secondary tribes, live in what he calls the Marotse-Mabunda kingdom. Any tribe, whether strong or weak to-day, may be the ruling tribe to-morrow, for none excels another materially in culture, none has any great superiority over another in intrinsic force. Nothing so well shows the lack of any force of their own in these tribes as the fact that the transitory lordship of the Makololo has left behind it very deep traces in the speech and customs of the governed. Since then, the Basuto language has become the language of government throughout the kingdom, and the once subject people are proud of the drop of Basuto blood which they fancy flows in their veins. In its relation to the state the population is composed of rulers, slaves, and tributaries. The rulers are almost exclusively the Barotse on both sides of the Zambesi in fertile lowlands. To the north and north-east of them dwell the Mabunda. Both these regard most of the other peoples of the realm as subjects. All taxes and tributes come in to the king, as the absolute lord and owner of the land and its inhabitants. Other sources of revenue, beside confiscation of goods, are the king's estates, which are farmed partly by whole colonies of his subjects appointed to that task, partly by his many wives, who are provided



Barotse dagger; 1, in the sheath; 2, the blade—one-third real size. (Berlin Museum.)

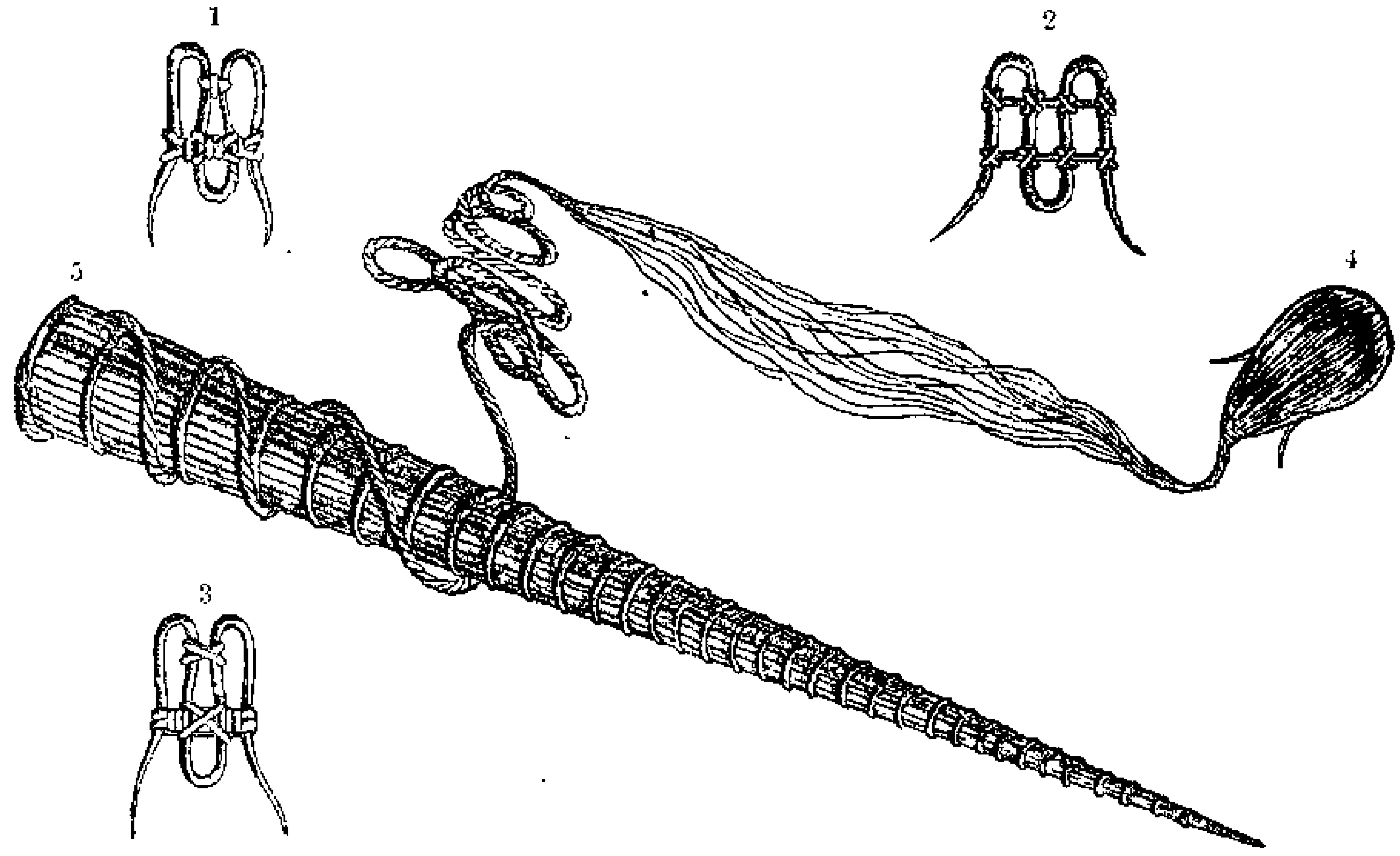
with numerous suites. Finally the sovereign has a quite secure income in the right confined strictly to him of being the only merchant in the country. Sepopo has often bought from white traders waggon-loads of goods to the value of £3000 to £5000. As the first trader of his country the king is at the same time trader for his people, and in this lies a copious source of political influence; for all these coveted beads, guns, powder and lead, knives, brandy, coloured cottons, pass through his hands, and he gives or lends what he himself does not want. Lending is the rule with guns, which always remain the king's property. A kind of Master-General of the Ordnance is consequently one of the first personages in the king's court; it may be said incidentally that the same person is president of the workers in metal, which recalls the artisan castes of North-West Africa. The whole trade with the west coast and the south has risen greatly in the last forty years—Livingstone's epoch-making journey from Sheshcke to Loanda was made essentially with a view of opening up a direct trade-route to the Atlantic; and for some time the Mambari, natives of the west coast who have come every year to the Chobe and the Zambesi, to do business in slaves and ivory by direction of their Portuguese masters, have been the people of most influence with the chiefs between Benguella and Mozambique.

Serpa Pinto made a distinction in the Lui kingdom, as he calls the Barotse kingdom, between ministries for war and for foreign affairs; but Holub sets up a whole hierarchy of courtiers and officials in various classes of rank. Beside the king stands a more select council, consisting of executioner, six witch-doctors, the chief boatmen, the inspector of weapons, and some police officials; while the general council is composed of court dignitaries and the chiefs, superior and inferior, living in the neighbourhood. We must not, however, conceive of strictly separate authorities with definite functions, as Serpa Pinto seems to do; for a despot like Sepopo gradually had all the members of the larger council put to death. The select council is more of a "tobacco parliament," translated into African, or a beer club, than a council of state.

Arbitrary encroachment on the domain of justice is naturally only to be expected in the closer surroundings of the despot; over the greater part of the kingdom his rough fist is less felt. There the village headman, or *kosana*, administers justice. Yet under Sepopo, if the distance at all allowed of it, all more serious cases were laid before him and his council. Men's lives were there held cheap, death was always at hand, and not in form only was the executioner the chief dignitary of the court. Murder, avoidance of the realm, conspiracy with an enemy, sale of honey and ivory, theft committed on the king's property, and most especially the suspicion of witchcraft, were inevitably followed by death, which in the last instance was *pro formâ* preluded with the farce of an ordeal. An accused person looked upon himself as already condemned if there was any ground for him to be regarded unfavourably at Court. Many therefore tried, on getting merely an inkling of an impending summons, to save themselves by flight southwards across the two rivers. Others killed themselves when they saw that even if they could prove their innocence by vomiting the poison, they would be accused afresh and burnt. Those who fled were sometimes cut down by their pursuers, sometimes brought back for execution. Condemned men who had fled but returned of their accord, and pleaded for a respite by the intercession of white men or of some friendly chief, were admitted to mercy no doubt on their

arrival at Sheshcke, but condemned again a few days later. In sharp contrast with this arbitrary treatment is the consideration with which theft is treated. As a rule the thief is only punished when convicted on his own confession or through witnesses, and, moreover, the burden of bringing the culprit to justice falls on the person robbed. Scuffles resulting in wounds and other lighter offences are punished with hard labour on the king's fields, or with slavery. When the king feels no special interest in an accused person, or bears him no ill-will, he leaves the verdict to the council.

If we turn to the individual lives of the people of this kingdom, we must first caution the reader that the description has to be drawn in a very great measure from the better-known tribes of its southern half. The northern tribes, as yet little known, must, however, have many points of agreement with the Lunda



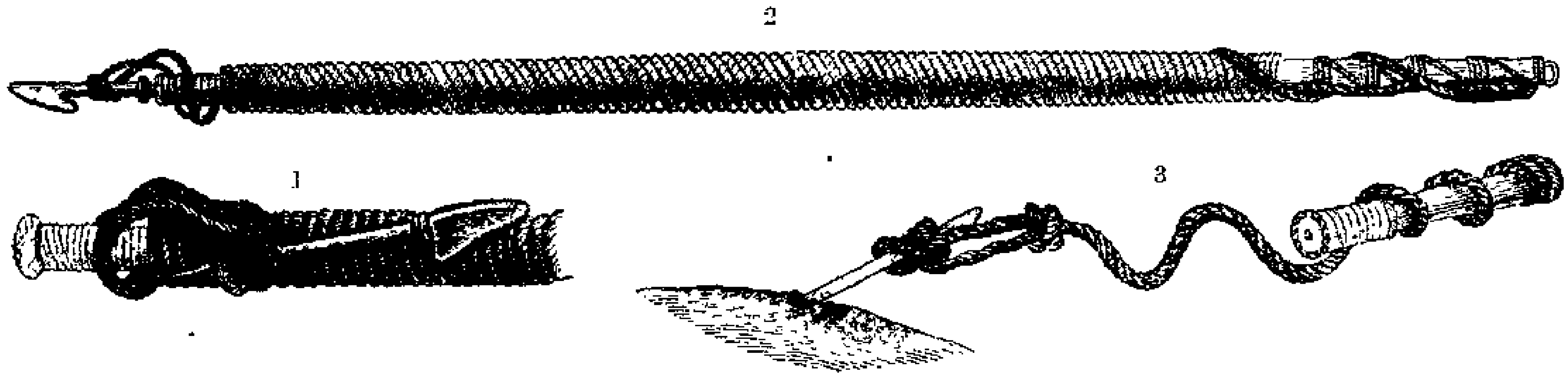

Barotse crocodile-tackle ; 1 to 3, hooks of various shapes ; 4, baited hook ; 5, float. (After Holub.)

peoples. We will return immediately to the Batoka and their kinsfolk who dwell to the eastward ; the Makalaka we have already considered.

The clothing of the Barotse inclines to that of the southern rather than of the northern tribes. The men wear as a rule leathern aprons or little skins on a belt. Only those tribes that come often into contact with white men use cotton. In their *kaross* cloaks too the tribes of the Barotse kingdom differ materially from those which live for the most part south of the Zambesi. They like the circular form, as of a Spanish cloak, reaching to the hips. Married women wear a petticoat falling to the knees, usually of ox-hide, with the hairy side inwards, the outer side being dressed with a sweet-smelling bark. A great deal of the need for ornaments is met by amulets to be worn on the body. People coming from the south here first meet with the universal fashion of wearing a large number of iron, brass, and more rarely copper rings one above another on arms and legs. The material for these, mostly brass and copper wire, is brought from abroad. These rings are most frequent actually in Sheshcke, among Barotse and Makalaka, diminishing rapidly towards the north and north-east, where home-made iron rings prevail. From ivory are carved rings as thick as the finger, divers little boxes, rods, and plaques, which are attached to the hair. Hair-pins

of hippopotamus tooth and long wooden combs are in use. The Batoka were formerly the best iron-workers in the Barotse kingdom; now this is said of two branch-tribes of them, the Matotele and Mangete, from whom the Batoka in their turn get their iron implements.

Their woven work does all honour to the inhabitants of the Barotse-Mabunda kingdom. The simplest kinds comprise spherical bags for corn, made of grass or baobab-bark; also baskets, in the form of cylinders closed below, and provided with a handle of wood or leather at the mouth, wrought of bark, and sewn together with bast. Woven work in the narrower sense of the word are the *Makuluani* baskets made from parts of the leaves of fan-palms. They are pleasantly and variously shaped, and with their close-fitting covers thoroughly fulfil their object as chests or lockers. Among the best bits of handiwork are the *makenke* baskets woven by the Barotse from the root fibres, difficult to work, of a shrub-like maple; one kind is provided with a cover that grips with a groove. The ornament is




Barotse hippopotamus harpoon; 1, packed up; 2, ready for casting; 3, cast. (After Livingstone.)

woven in with dark fibres. Among kitchen utensils the handleless vessels made of clay stand at the head; their shapes are simple, but very regular. Some are distinguished by darker and lighter ornaments, others by being polished, though not glazed. The urn-shaped clay vessels used as corn-holders attain gigantic dimensions. While pottery is mostly women's work, the wooden vessels are made by the men, chiefly Mabunda. All wooden vessels are burnt a deep black, inside and out, with hot irons. The dry shells of various kinds of gourds, which are frequently worked into vessels, are also often adorned with burnt-in designs, ("poker-work") as in the cut on p. 546.

In weapons they show a greater variety than is found in South Africa, in presence of which, knowing what their conservatism is, we are impelled to think of the manifold effects of their ethnological medley. As the wooden club serves for attack, so a wooden staff two yards and more in length, bound spirally at both ends with iron, is used for defence. The shields, manufactured of strong ox-hide, must have been first introduced by the Makololo, for they have the shape of the Bechuana shields, and even now are not widely spread. Of the southern tribes of the kingdom the chief weapons are pike and javelin, far superior to those of the Bechuana and Makalaka. Chiefs' assegais, 4½ to 6 feet long, are the mark of the higher dignitaries. The hand assegai is distinguished by a longitudinal rib, ground out half way between the middle and the edge, and a short, firm shaft, the butt end of which is weighted with a ring of iron as thick as the finger. The fighting assegai, 5½ to 7 feet long, is light, with a long shaft, and is used as a missile. Short and long hunting-spears with barbs are also in use. The elephant-spear is entirely of iron, made thicker or broader at the butt, and provided in the

middle with a short leathern cover. The Barotse daggers are distinguished for their pretty work; the sheaths and handles are made of hard wood, sprinkled with carvings, and burnt as black as ebony. Battle-axes show numerous shapes among the different tribes of the kingdom. They are better-looking and lighter than those to the south of the Zambesi, and better wrought. While in the Bechuana, Kaffir, Makalaka, and Matabele axes the thin blades often sit loosely in their helve, these are fitted as firmly as possible into the helves of hard wood. No less astonishing than this multitude of warlike weapons, for those accustomed to the uniformity of South Africa, is the variety of musical instruments, serving ends partly warlike, partly peaceful, with which whole bands are equipped among the Zambesi tribes.

In hut-building too the people of this region achieve conspicuous success. Naturally this is true only of those tribes who possess fixed abodes, not of those who stay merely for a short time periodically in some place chosen by themselves or enjoined upon them, for harvesting, fishing, or hunting. The villages are built as close to the rivers as the yearly inundations allow, and as a rule are surrounded by a ring of hamlets, where the serfs live who have to till fields, cultivate the crops, or tend the cattle for their masters in the immediate vicinity. The villages are kept materially cleaner than those south of the Zambesi, a fact, like that of the greater personal cleanliness, most obviously explained by the great abundance of water. The royal dwellings are surrounded by an elliptical fence, and are embraced on the outside by two concentric circles, each of which contains six or eight premises inhabited by the chief wives. Next come, in a wider circuit, the royal storehouse, the kitchen department, and the hut of the royal musicians, while in a fourth and outermost circle stand the council-house, kept in the European style, and the huts of the men and women servants. The chiefs live in a wide concentric circle around the intricate group of royal residences, each having the distance and area of his site duly measured.

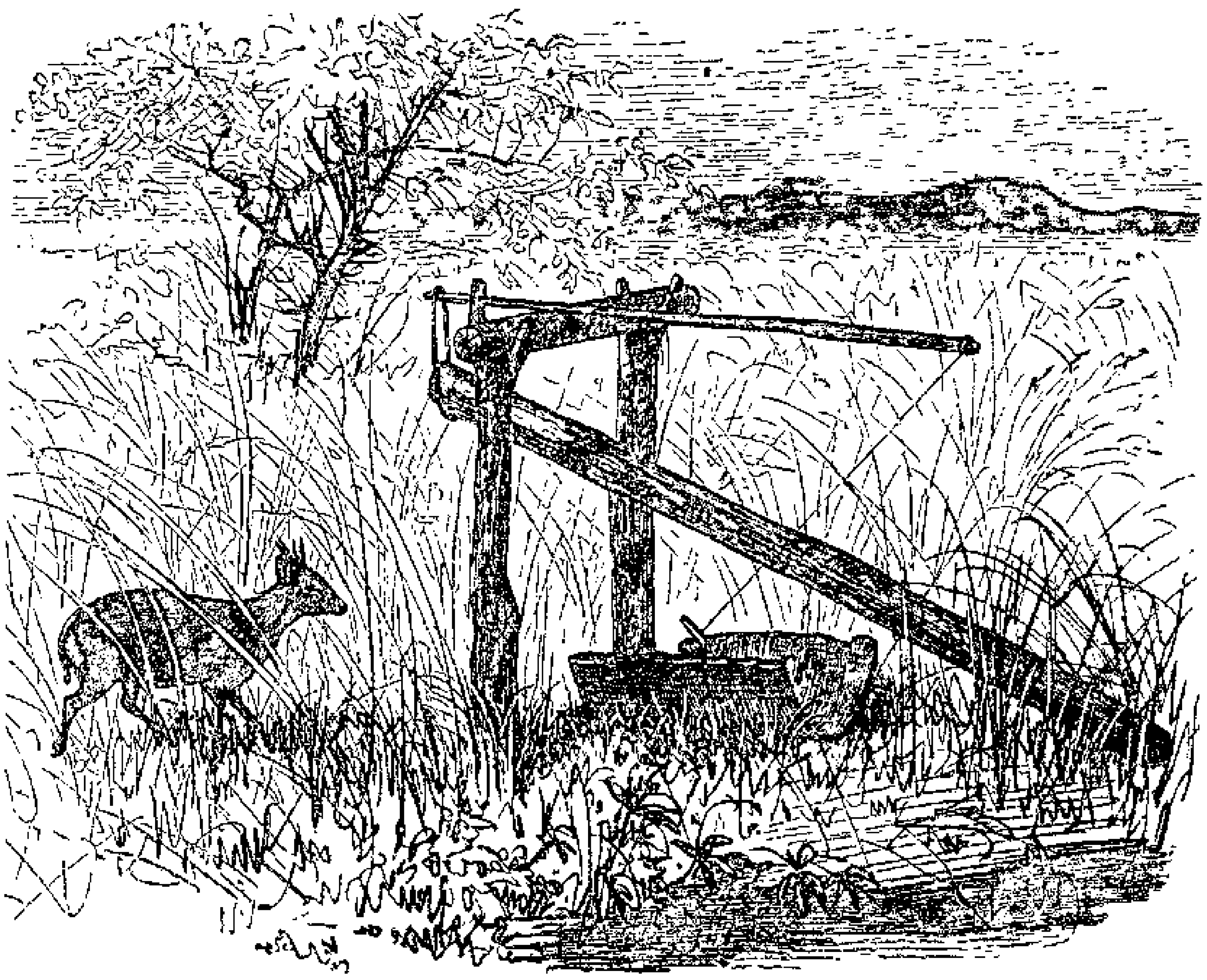
The chief occupation is agriculture, which is paying above all things in the fertile lowlands of the Middle Zambesi, an inland delta which like that of the Nile is yearly inundated and spread with fresh fertilising mud. During the inundation the Barotse withdraw to the encircling heights, and when the water goes down they go down also, cut trenches to let the water run off, and plant. The women are the chief workers, and take a specified share of the harvest. The chief crop is "Kaffir corn"; beside this are grown millet, maize, melons and gourds, ground-nuts, two kinds of beans, sugar-cane—but only for chewing to quench thirst—and tobacco. The last is formed into hard balls, loaf-shaped or conical, which are perforated and carried on strings. Cotton is grown and manufactured only in the east. According to Holub a family of five persons plants for its own needs two or three pieces of ground of five-eighths to three-quarters of an acre. On account of the prevalence of the *tsetse* fly cattle-breeding is impossible over the southern third or so of the country. Fishery is extensively carried on, especially in the Zambesi, and for hunting the water-antelope Sepopo kept on the stream a raft propelled by forty paddles.

Like the Makalaka in the south, the Batoka or Batonga in the east, who inhabit both banks as well as the islands of the Zambesi from the Falls to the Kafue, vary in many respects from the Barotse and the Mabunda, their next of kin, and form the natural transition to the Nyassa and Tanganyika tribes. When they have kept their blood pure the colour of their skin is very dark. Beaten by

the Makololo at the Zambesi Falls, when that people marched northward, they split into two parts; the western Batoka remained subject to the Makololo, while the eastern became independent. Livingstone found the two sections separated by an uninhabited strip of land six days' journey across, where traces of destroyed villages and herds were plenty. Before the Makololo came they had been plundered and decimated by Singola, a conqueror from the north-east. Of him legend relates that he took a number of forge-bellows with him and made the arrow-heads red hot before shooting them. After being enthralled by the Matabele in the 'sixties, the Batoka were, in the 'seventies, hard pressed by the Shakundas, a robber-tribe of fugitive Portuguese slaves; and in 1877 Selous found their country quite ravaged by these. Each decade brought a new foe. On account of the similarity of their language to that of the Mozambique negroes, those who lived on the south side of the river, and on the Quagga River, were called by the European traders and hunters who advanced thus far, "Mosbickers." Chapman, on the other hand, found a great resemblance between their speech and that of the Hereros.

The Batoka men cover their nakedness only with a narrow strip of leather; but the women are clad in leather or cloth, set with beads and shells in pretty patterns, with a prejudice in favour of triangles. Small collar-like skin-cloaks are worn only as an exception. The women adorn the cartilage of the nose with a stick covered with beads, while the men wear rings in their ears. The striking out of the upper front teeth at puberty is a custom which Sebituane could never with the severest penalties succeed in abolishing. They want to be like the oxen, whereas, if they have a complete bite in the upper jaw, they are like zebras. The ornament of the head is manifold, the hair, supplemented by that of animals, being gathered up sometimes into a high knot or bunch on the crown, sometimes into a tassel hanging down over the ear, like that of an old-fashioned smoking-cap. Formerly all Batoka are said to have woven their hair across the crown like the crest of a helmet. In the east the lower part of the head is shaved all round, leaving only a kind of hemispherical cap in the middle, which is dyed red. Among the weapons are mentioned short poisoned javelins of wood, weighted at the end of the shaft with balls of clay and buffalo-dung. The Batoka expend much labour on their fields, which they surround with pitfalls as a protection against buffalo and elephant. The abundance of cattle that existed before the inroads of the Makololo and Matabele is well-nigh annihilated; only fowls and dogs remain. But the art of tanning with bark has stayed with the Batoka since the time when they bred cattle extensively. They get salt, and trade downstream with it, obtaining in exchange chiefly goods brought by the east-coast Portuguese. They were also good workers in iron, in the time of the Makololo sovereignty even paying their entire tribute in hoes, so that all the hoes used in those days at Linyanti came from Batoka forges. At present all industrial arts are decaying; the hut-building too is extremely primitive. Only pottery shows any cleverness, and they understand how to prepare a tissue from the wild cotton. In better days they must have been successful elephant-hunters. On the grave of the Batoka chief Sekote, Livingstone saw a fence of seventy elephant-tusks, with the points turned inward, and thirty more on the graves of his relations. At the same time he saw a village paling with fifty-four Matabele skulls stuck on it. The Batoka form of greeting recalls that usual further westward: they throw

themselves on their backs and roll from side to side, smacking themselves on the hips and shouting "Kina Bomba." From the political point of view the various hostile inroads have terribly disintegrated them. All their large villages have broken up into smaller, where they believe themselves to be in less danger, and many fragments of tribes have retired to the hills. Isolated dwellings, elsewhere in these regions quite unusual among natives, have consequently become frequent among them. Curiously enough the Zambesi, which in places forms the boundary between Barotse and Matabele, does not limit the Batoka; and of the subjects of the Batoka chief Sichori, who owns villages on both banks of the river, those on the south pay tribute to the Matabele, those on the north to the Barotse.

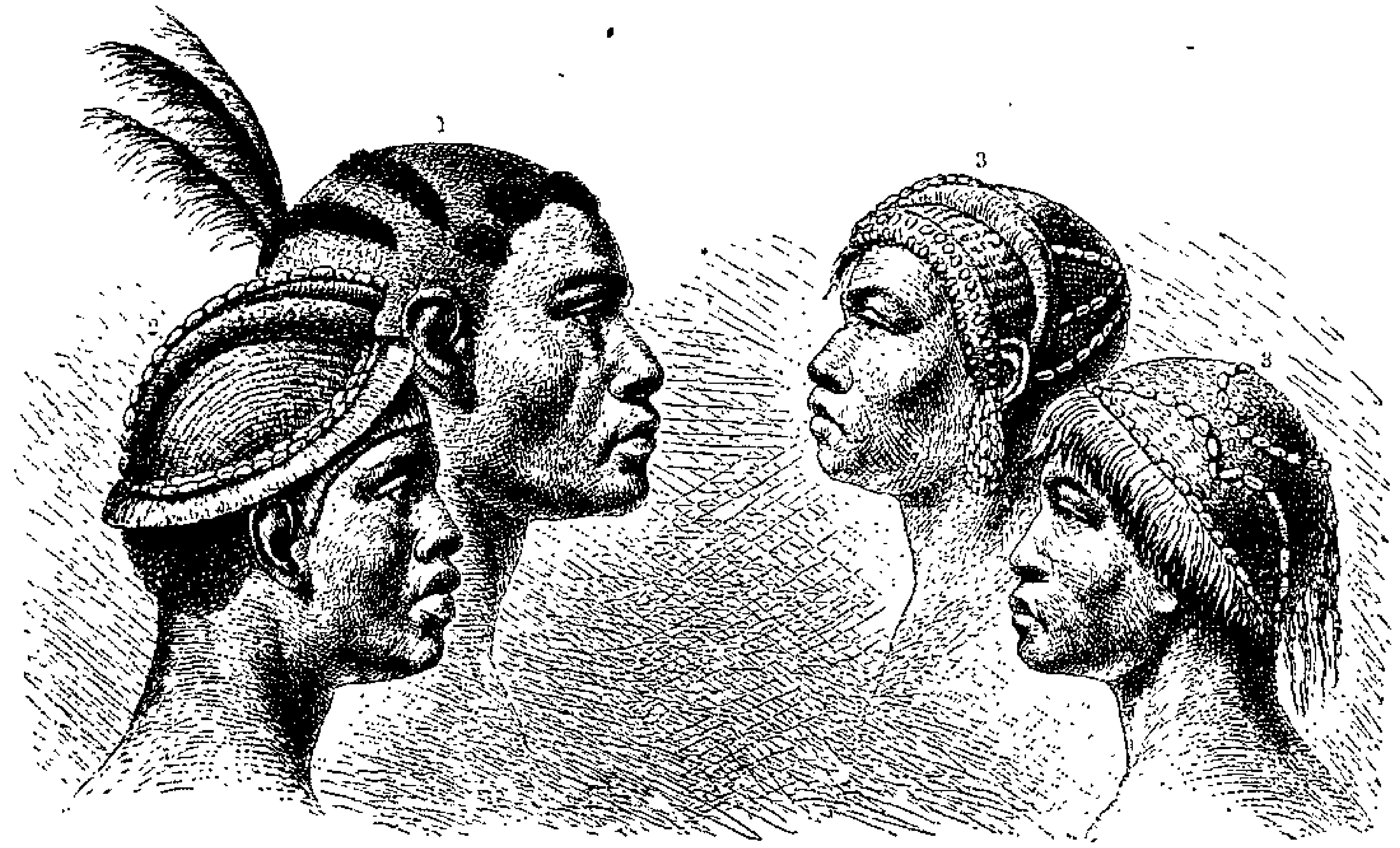


Pitfall for smaller game, used by the Luchazes. (After Serpa Pinto.)

To the east the Barotse kingdom is divided from its neighbours by no natural boundary. Here upon the territory of the subject Batoka abuts a zone in which Batoka have maintained themselves in independence under their own chiefs. Northward from them dwell the energetic opponents of the Barotse, the Bashukulompo, for valuable information about whom we have to thank Holub. In these people we seem to have before us a mixed race, the components of which have been completely fused, though the points of a pastoral race can still be distinctly recognised. A small part of this people dwell south of the Lumge, the great mass to the north of it, between about 27° and 29° East. The arrangement of their huts, standing in a circle round the cattle-pens, quite recalls the Zulu villages. Great herds of cattle afford not only the chief part of their food, but also of their clothing. The men go naked, the women wear a skin about their hips, less often a cloak of ox-hide, while girls under twelve content themselves with a belt from which thongs depend like a fringe. The monstrous pointed *chignons* of the men are characteristic. The hair of the women and the slaves is worked into them; and these structures, which can grow to a length of 3 or 4 feet, average from 1 foot to 18 inches. Their chief weapon is a javelin 8 feet long.

Politically, complete disintegration prevails, every village being in strained relations with its neighbours; which explains the distrustful, unfriendly character of the Bashukulompo, which is dangerous to every trespasser upon their territory. In war they kill the women by choice, so as to weaken the hostile tribe permanently. Trees decorated with skulls stand as ensigns by the huts of the chiefs. Yet a certain trade-intercourse prevails; the village of Diluka, for instance, is an important market for the skins of the game which is taken in quantities in pitfalls.

Several years ago some other peoples to the westward belonged so far politically to the Barotse-Mabunda Empire that they paid tribute to Sepopo. Among these the transition to the west-coast tribes can be recognised in the decrease of cattle-breeding, in the vigorous iron industry, in the brisk trade, and the square

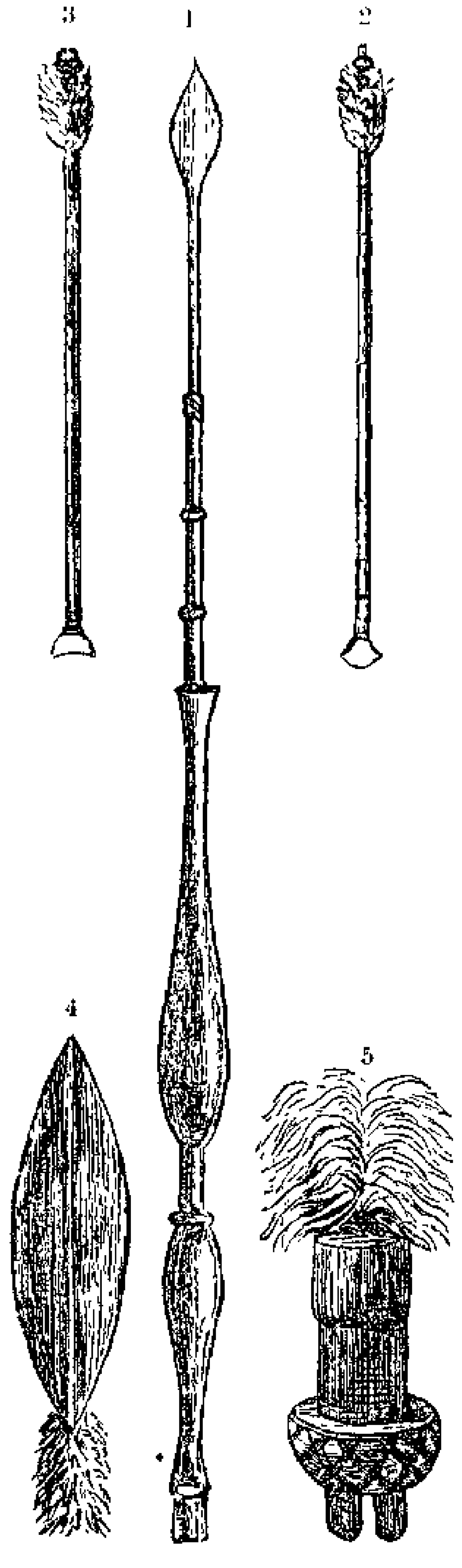


Kimbande Ganguellas: 1, man; 2, woman; 3, girls. (After Serpa Pinto.)

form of hut. In other directions certain peculiarities, as *e.g.* in the shape of the bows, such as Veth brought from the inland regions, reminds us of the Kassai peoples. The most important of them are the Ganguellas, the Luchazes, and the Ambuellas.

The Ganguellas consist of a number of tribes to the south and east of Bihe. Westward they push forward as far as the region of the Upper Kubango, where Serpa Pinto came across the first Ganguella village in the Zambos' country. East of Bihe they command all the passages across the Kwanza, but their chief territory lies to the south. Though language and customs are the same throughout, there is a difference in political forms, and therewith in national names, and we find leagues of tribes under the names, Nhemba, Kimbande, Massaka, Ganzello, beyond the Cunene, and as far as the borders of Ovamboland. These tribes are described as devoted to agriculture, with few cattle, as clever workers in iron, and to some extent as traders, matching the Bihe people in smartness and activity. The Kimbandes are said to plant and spin cotton, like the Luchazes to the east of them, whose clothing, however, is often made of bark cloth. The habit of cutting a triangular gap between the two front upper incisors is universal. Among the

Kimbandes, painting of the face with green in cross and longitudinal stripes on forehead and cheeks occurs. The dressing of the hair varies from tribe to tribe, the most curious being that of the Kimbandes, in rolls across and along, giving their heads the look sometimes of the Bavarian "caterpillar helmet," sometimes of fantastic ladies' hats. Firearms have spread already over the greater part of these tribes. Some battle-axes and ornamented clubs, passing over into the Kioko style, form part of the equipment of their warriors, together with bows, arrows, and spears. An isolated feature is the occurrence, to which Serpa Pinto testifies, of the oval Zulu shield, suggesting affinities with the Nyassa region. The Luchazes use flint and steel to get fire, obtaining the flints from the Kiokos to the north, with whom they have many points in common.



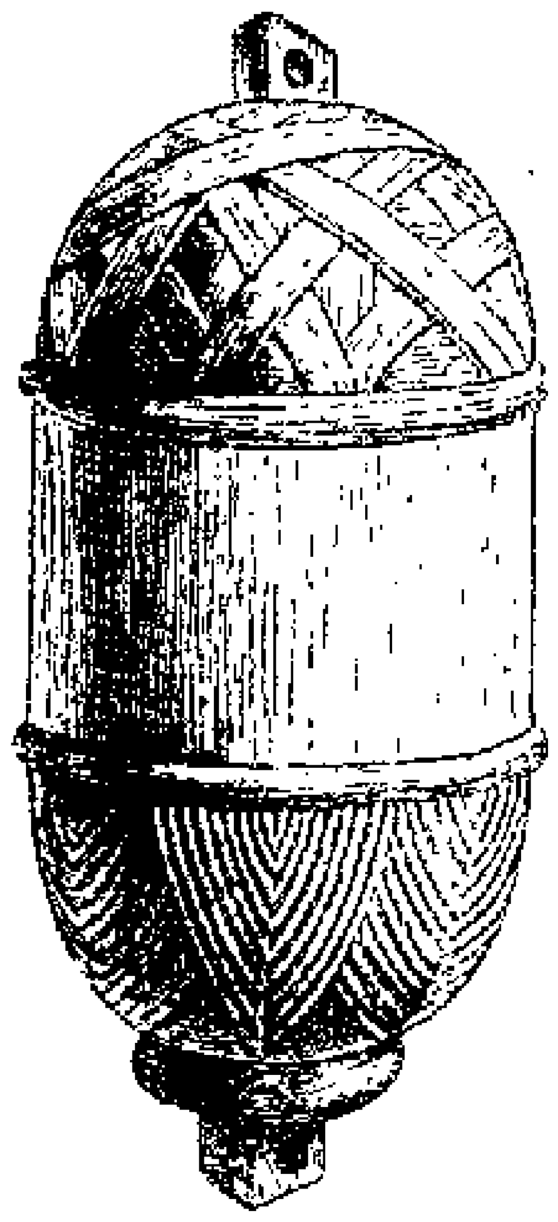
Ganguella weapons: 1, pike; 2 and 3, arrows; 4, arrow-head; 5, shaft-end of arrow. (After Serpa Pinto.)

Next to the Luchazes on the south-east come the Ambuellas, who inhabited the whole district of the Upper Kwando, where the two are much mixed up. They speak the same language as the Ganguellas. Certain peculiarities mark them as the transition to the Zambesi peoples. They are agriculturists in a much greater degree than the more westerly members of their stock. As one comes from the westward, one meets first in their territory with extensive plantations not in the forest, but in the open, and connected with these is their denser population. On the other hand, cattle-breeding is even less developed with them than with the Luchazes, who at least keep goats, while among the Ambuellas only dogs and fowls are found; the reason just as with many Makalaka tribes, is to be sought in the frequent attacks of enemies. Many Ambuella villages are built on piles in swamps, the huts small, rectangular, with pointed roof. The Ambuellas are clever boatmen and fishermen. They make their own spears and arrow-heads of iron; and themselves weave on looms the cotton which they grow. Their salute is a loud smack on the breast.

If in the Barotse kingdom we saw a political structure in which the force of southern conquerors had united with the peaceful culture of tropical tillers of the soil, we may expect similar conditions to explain the rise of an empire which once embraced the greatest part of Central Africa on the southern border of the Middle Congo region. This is the empire of Mwata Jamvo, of the existence of which Portuguese traders in Angola heard as early as the end of the sixteenth century, when slaves were brought to the coast who spoke of a people called Matiam, a powerful ruler, and a capital one hundred days' march into the interior. In 1846 a Portuguese trader, Rodriguez Graça, made for the first time the journey described by the traders for their own purposes as extremely dangerous, to Massumba, the capital and residence of the reverenced king. Lopez do Carvalho followed him in 1870, and Dr. Pogge in 1875, and to the latter we owe the first

detailed description of the curious negro court. Max Buchner was able, in 1880, to supplement materially these reports and descriptions. Westward this kingdom with some vassal-states reaches almost to the Kwango, southward, to latitude 12° South. On the east its relations to the kingdoms of Mwata, Cazembe, and Cazongo is not clear, but both these rulers are reckoned as akin to the family that rules in Lunda. Still greater is the uncertainty in the north, when the frontier of 1880—the date has to be specified, since these frontiers are "fluid"—extended in the eastern half to about 8° South, in the western to 5° South, and where, as we now know more certainly from the statements of Wissmann, L. Wolf, and others, more densely peopled regions formed a barrier to the Lunda chiefs' desire to expand.

Among the numerous peoples of the Lunda kingdom no other than the so-called Bantu element seems to be represented. The "dwarfs" live further to the north. No visitor to Mussumba has seen at that place—although persons from all parts of the kingdom came together there—people of essentially another race or culture. When Buchner asked after dwarfs, a hunch-backed cripple was presented to him. Of all these peoples the genuine Lunda people, or people of Lunda,[1] is the most widely spread, and most influential owing to its sovereignty over the rest. Livingstone draws attention to lighter elements, and Pogge found Mwata Jamvo light brown, while Lukokesha was even lighter, "like a mulatto woman." The Lunda people in general seem, to a traveller coming from the coast, handsome, tall, and with lips but slightly everted. Next to the Lundas, the Kiokos are the most important people. In recent years they have constantly come more into the foreground. Immigrating hither from the westward, as clever hunters, smiths, and traders, they seem of late years to have disturbed or even split up the political cohesion of the empire.



Luchaze tinder-box. (After Serpa Pinto.)

The dress consists among the poorer people of a piece of skin or some native fabric wound round the hips, while the better-to-do wear only *fazenda* (cotton materials) from the coast. With men this forms a covering from the hips to the knees, or covers the calves, but the women usually wear it much shorter, so short indeed that to Livingstone they often appeared little better than nude. Rich ladies allow a strip of *fazenda* to hang down behind as a train, which is occasionally carried by a slave-girl. More for ornament than for covering they also wear a bit of *fazenda* or of leopard skin over the breast. Belts of black leather are highly esteemed. The women file the two middle upper incisors into a semicircle, and knock out the corresponding teeth below. Tattooing, which they practise more than the Kiokos or the Songos, extends over the breast, arms, and belly. Painting of the whole body with white clay, mostly in square figures or white dots and crosses, is usual all over the Lunda kingdom. On ceremonial occasions the body is also smeared with oil. The men achieve the limits of the possible in fantastic hair-dressing. Those of high rank wear wigs, sticking out before and behind in tufts and horns, made of beads to which a special value is attached, as Mwata Jamvo

[1] The Lunda people call themselves Karund, in the plural Arund. The singular Kalunda has, says Buchner, passed by mistake into German African literature as the name of the people.

makes presents of them to his chiefs. He himself sticks a red parrot's feather in his wig. As the Lundas on the Lulua embellish their head of hair by running through the back of it a stick a foot long with a bunch of feathers, so also the beard is plaited with straw till it is a foot long. The women keep their hair short, and in addition shave a triangle out of it in the middle of the forehead, with the apex towards the scalp. On festive occasions they plait beads into their hair. The slaves also wear their hair short like the women. The custom of sticking bits of reed through the nasal septum or the ear-lobe is not universal, and similarly the copper and iron rings usual in the Kasai country on the arm and lower leg are less common in Lunda. A great part is played by the *lukano*, an armring bound with elephant sinews. Strings of beads are frequently seen, also horns and other talismans; and men often wear a crescent-shaped piece of wood on the head as a diadem.

A Malanshe girl. (From photograph by Dr. Max Buchner.)

Apart from muskets, which ten years ago only the great people possessed, the Lunda weapons are large casting-spears made entirely of iron; also small lances with wooden shafts and barbed points, and arrows with iron heads of many shapes, or wooden heads, four-cornered and notched, not uncommonly poisoned also. The Lunda people think that their poison is less powerful than that of their cannibal neighbours to the north, and that in their fights with them, most of their losses are caused by scratching their feet with poisoned thorns. The bow is still of the South or East African shape, though the Kasai shape makes its way in from the north. Among other parts of their equipment for war is the well-known article between sword and knife, carried in a wooden or leathern sheath by a cord strung over the shoulder. A little axe, carried on the shoulder, is a weapon of luxury prevalent in Western Lunda, and among the Kiokos. Dagger-like one-edged knives, carried point upwards between the belt and the skin, serve for everyday use.

The Lunda people have no superfluity of furniture. In their huts we find mats, head-stool, earthen pots—the largest of which is the vat in which the palm-wine ferments,—calabashes, and agricultural tools, and among the more wealthy, woven baskets. In woven work they are not very expert, and obtain simple mats as tribute from their northern subjects. The masses of European fabrics may have smothered the weaver's art in Lunda. The Tupendes and the Baluba still weave. As smiths they are inferior to the Kiokos, from whom Mwata Jamvo selects his private smiths. Besides iron, copper and brass, the most precious metals in Lunda, obtained from the west coast, are worked for ornamental purposes,

and the smiths make fine brass wire for binding round armlets. Clubs and chiefs' sceptres are cleverly carved from wood, and trinkets from ivory.

The musical instruments are the *marimba*, the piano of the negroes, the negro-guitar, the drum, and the *kinguvu*.[1] This last, a narrow wooden drum with longitudinal slit, made of a single piece of wood, and beaten with india-rubber clubs, is the instrument for official announcements. Bands of two *marimbas*, and one *kinguvu* which precede the sovereign and other grandees, or serenade persons of rank, were found "not at all bad" by Pogge. The form of greeting is clapping the hands, also, before great people, prostration and strewing of dust. Whistling and howling are also some of the demonstrations of respect used by the people towards the nobles. Towards Mwata Jamvo devotion goes very far, his courtiers rub dry with their hands the places where he spits, and a sneeze of the sovereign is hailed by those round him with yells, whistling with the fingers, and so on.

The inhabitants of Lunda are almost pure agriculturists. If as a rule only the women till the ground with their short-handled iron hoes, the men do go now and then to the fields to give a little help, or to superintend. The most important products are, manioc in the first place, then sweet potatoes, ground-nuts, yams, beans, maize, millet, bananas (though not many as yet), sugar-cane, pine-apples, tobacco, cotton, hemp. The oil-palm and wine-palm are used, but not cultivated. The garnering of field-crops is curiously enough understood here only to a limited extent, if at all, while further to the west it is attended to carefully by the Songos, Kiokos, and other peoples. At most a few corn-cobs or ground-nuts are put up under the roof of the huts. There are no cattle. Pogge relates that the late Mwata Jamvo had a herd of several hundred head; but in the interval of anarchy, between his death and the election of his successor, the people killed them all.[2] His successor most wished to replace them, but had never managed to do so, although Lunda would be well adapted for cattle owing to its excellent pastures lying eastward of the Lulua. The great men ride on slaves' shoulders, and even the women do not despise this mode of conveyance. Goats, fowls, dogs, are found, and more rarely black sheep and pigs. Just as further to the south, the smallest mammals, above all rats and mice, are favourite articles of food here, hunting on a larger scale being unproductive owing to the poverty of the land in animals. Besides fish, the Lunda people eat caterpillars and locusts. Millet-beer, *garapa*, is universally drunk, also palm-wine, both being among the regular presents to guests. Maize is not used for brewing. Tobacco is generally grown only to meet private needs, and is smoked in a water-pipe, *mutopa*, consisting of a small bottle-gourd filled with water, and a clay bowl.

The oven-shaped huts of Lunda, with their flattened rounded roofs reaching so nearly to the ground that they seem to rest upon it, are made of guinea grass, laid over a framework of palm-leaf stalks, and are generally not over 6 feet 6 inches high. The huts of Mwata Jamvo and his great men are divided by partitions into smaller rooms. Poor people content themselves with one hut, while the rich have whole blocks of them—their own, those of their wives and slaves, and store-huts, all as a rule surrounded by a rectangular fence of living plants. In this way Mwata Jamvo's palace forms a little town in the middle of "the Mussumba." The villages in Lunda are distinguished by a comparatively large degree of order.

[1] *Ki*, says Buchner, is an augmentative or respectful prefix, this drum being the property of the king.

[2] [A chief with whom Livingstone stayed had thirty, running very wild.]

being built more or less connectedly and regularly. A broad straight road intersects them like a high street, often with a primitive square framework of wood, or gate, to which a fetish structure is appended.

A *Lukokesha* with her maids of honour. (From a photograph by Dr. Buchner.)

The Lunda kingdom is an absolute feudal state. The chiefs, *Mwata, Mona, Moene*, can act independently in all their internal affairs, so long as Mwata Jamvo pleases. Ordinarily the greater and more distant chiefs send their tribute-caravans once a year to Mussumba; but those who live at a great distance often omit payment of tribute for a longer time, while the smaller chiefs near the capital pay

several times in the year. Some send ivory; Cazembe used to send salt and copper; the more northerly districts bring woven goods; other chiefs, slaves and skins; while those living nearer the coast offer cloth or *fazenda*, and powder. Beside the tribute, military service is required. So long as these conditions are fulfilled, Mwata Jamvo does not trouble himself about the filling of their thrones when vacant, which takes place on different principles in different parts of the empire. However, in order that the relation may not become too lax, he keeps at his court sons or relatives of his tributary chiefs, and possesses, moreover, in his dreaded police a means of punishing disobedience.

Next to Mwata Jamvo stands, as the chief dignitary, the *Lukokesha*, an unmarried woman. At the election of a new Mwata Jamvo she has the decisive voice, she counts as the mother of all Mwata Jamvos and their relations, has her separate court, and owns certain districts which pay tribute to her. Both the Mwata Jamvo and the Lukokesha must be born of one of the former Mwata Jamvo's principal wives, the *Amari* or the *Tamena*—a trace of mother-right; both are chosen by the four supreme councillors of state, and while the election of the Mwata Jamvo must be confirmed by the Lukokesha, so must hers be by him. Buchner has appropriately denoted this curious relation as the formal interweaving of two states and state-authorities in one country. As to the origin of it, and of the Lunda empire, a former Mwata Jamvo related the following story. There dwelt in Lunda a chief called Jamvo, with two sons and one daughter. As he was one day weaving a mat, with a pot of water required for his work standing in front of him, his two sons came in. Thinking that the vessel contained wine, they asked for some; but when he gave them water, they got angry, a quarrel arose, and they fled. Thereupon Jamvo repudiated his sons, and handed over the *lukano* to his daughter—Luesh-a-Nkunt, Buchner calls her. She remained unmarried, and after his death took over the government. At the same time there was living in the east a great chief, Tombo Makulo. He had four sons, and the first and fourth of these, the "son of the state," and the "son of the weapons," migrated westward, and then founded kingdoms, called after their titles, Kanyika, and Mayu. The third son, Kibinda, was a hunter, and had neither title nor dignity; but coming on a hunting expedition to Lunda, he obtained the hand of the princess who was reigning there, and took her father's name, to which after many successful wars the prefix "Mwata," that is "great father," was added.

From this so much is clear, that before these strangers came from the east, Lunda, then no doubt much smaller, was under female government. Real historical dates came into the story at the point where Luesh-a-Nkunt's brother, being angry at the stranger's coming, migrated westwards beyond the Kwango, and there founded the state of Cassange. According to the accounts in the history of Angola, this movement led to a collision with the famous Queen Shinga, who had been baptized in 1622. Both the people of Lunda and those of Cassange have, according to Buchner, concordant traditions as to the origin of their states and the kinship between them; but the peculiar dignity of the Lukokesha seems to have been developed to preserve her interests and those of her friends. Since then the female element in the government has predominated at one time, the male at another, according as one or the other half of the ruling pair were the superior. A tendency to mitigate the excesses natural to the chief ruler is not

alien to this institution of the female secondary ruler. Buchner relates a case in which the Lukokesha of the period successfully counteracted the Mwata Jamvo's somewhat too extensive passion for executions; and reports from the latter part of the 'eighties inform us that a Mwata Jamvo had been put to death at the instance of the Lukokesha, who seems herself to have since then fallen a victim to internal tumults.

Mwata Jamvo has several wives, but Lukokesha has only one consort, upon whom she hangs all the finery possible, while she herself goes very simply dressed. In this "Shamoana" as he is called, the fiction of the Lukokesha's sovereign position is obviously continued in an original way, since he is designated as a woman. This "man of powerful build," introduced himself to Buchner with the characteristic words: "Look here, I am only a woman indeed, but I am wife to a great person." The ruling pair are surrounded by a court of dignitaries, *Kannapumba*, as well as by an aristocracy of free inhabitants, *Kilolo*. Four *Kannapumbas*, the chief dignitaries, owing to the fact that on them is conferred the power of choosing the Mwata Jamvo and the Lukokesha, exercise a considerable influence and all more important questions take counsel together with the sovereign pair. The dignity can be conferred by the chief only on the sons of *Kannapumba* by free women. From the aristocracy or *kilolos* are appointed ambassadors and executive officials, the police, *lukuata*, leaders of elephant-hunting parties, *kibinda*, and headmen of districts. To these belong all the sons of Mwata Jamvo by free women; a number of them constantly accompany the sovereign, especially to prevent him from getting drunk or smoking, since in an irresponsible condition he might commit cruelties. Individual *kilolos* have huts in the palace-precinct, and perform the service of chamberlains, but neither they nor any one may see the sovereign eat or drink on pain of death. To the inferior part of the court belong fetish-doctors, smiths, artists in hair, cooks, musicians, and the like; and the executioner has his place here, without taking so prominent a position as in other negro empires. Pogge was struck by his moustache, the only representative of that adornment in Mussumba. The court contains also strong slaves on whose necks the sovereign rides, also the bearers of his chair.

As the last and largest, if not the most active part of the machine of state in Lunda, should be mentioned the popular assembly, in which every *kilolo* can freely express his views. These assemblies are respected by most sovereigns, since they are by no means disposed to undervalue popularity. Mwata Jamvo appears in this assembly—informs it, for instance, when he thinks of undertaking a campaign. Business of state is concerned in the first place with the prosperity or otherwise of the capital, with averting evil magic and arranging for good, with superintending the morals of the married women, the punishment of offences against the king and the nobles, against good behaviour and property, with the conduct of the wholesale trade to the west, with war, raids, and slave-hunts. The last of those matters go hand in hand, and make up the great part of the "foreign policy." But they belong unfortunately in another part no less to internal policy, since the expeditions which are constantly taking place, consisting as a rule of 200 to 400 young men from the capital, free and slaves, do not always aim at the villages of foreign tribes, but are often enough carried on within the limits of the kingdom. The yearly expedition, the returns of which form a regular item in the budget, never goes more than a short distance from the

capital. The Lukokesha, carried like the sovereign in a *tipoya*, accompanies the expedition, which is "mounted" with great pomp, as a designed announcement of the permanence of the warlike and predatory system. The booty taken by the slaves on these raids belongs wholly to the sovereign, and therewith half the prisoners taken by the freemen; occasionally a considerable receipt. The ruined slave-stalls at Kimbundu show to this day the bulk to which these hunts once inflated the slave-trade.

Under the department of foreign relations falls the traffic with the trading-caravans which come to the Mussumba. The court entertains them, indicates their camping-ground, and takes them under its protection, without imposing upon them the full severity of the local laws. All their proceedings are under the immediate supervision of Mwata Jamvo.

When Mwata Jamvo is ill the people are summoned to banish the evil spirits from their lord's couch by means of magic. If he is near to death, his successor, who as a rule has already been agreed upon, repairs to the Lukokesha in company with the four chief dignitaries, in order to obtain her approval, and while the predecessor is being buried, the newcomer solemnly takes possession of the insignia of his rank: the *lukano*, that ivory ring bound with elephant sinews, which can also be conferred as an order, and is worn by the Lukokesha as well, a breast ornament of metal and beads, a great bunch of red parrot-feathers, a sickle-shaped iron sceptre, and a carpet. The new ruler attends the funeral; the deceased is borne in his chair, adorned as for a festival, to the Kalangi river. At the river the great procession performs all kinds of ceremonies and magical rites, new fire being made by rubbing sticks, and distributed throughout the Mussumba. Then the corpse is brought to Enzai, the sacred place where all the twelve Mwata Jamvos are buried in a circle, and is interred in a sitting position in a square pit, which is covered with a roof of palm-leaf and heaped over with earth. During the ceremony a boy and a girl are slain at the entrance. Then the new sovereign passes the night in the open, and mourns his predecessor for eight days in a separate hut. On the ninth day the Lukokesha and the dignitaries bring him away to the *kipanga* or precinct, which has been newly erected in place of the old one, now burnt down. There the Lukokesha and the whole court settle afresh, so that with every change of government there is also a change of capital. But the capitals or Mussumbas of the various Mwata Jamvos have never been far apart, all lying in the fertile plain between the river Kalangi and Luisa. In Cazembe's country these transfers have taken place even upon the death of other notable men, for example, of Lacerda.

The Lunda empire is the largest of a series of small negro-states, which live just on the same pattern, and in more or less distinct dependence upon it. The analogy of Mwata Kumbana with Mwata Jamvo is complete. The former likes to be called Mwata Jamvo, and wears in the same way a *lukano*, in his case a ring of human sinews an inch and a half thick; but hard by his village lives a subordinate chief of the real Mwata Jamvo, who represents him and sees to the payment of the tribute to the capital, through a *kilolo* who is attached to him. The greatest and most distant of them is Cazembe, the lord of the most easterly state tributary to the Lunda empire. It is like that in its political organisation; its centre being the spot marked on the older maps (and some recent ones) simply as "Cazembe," which lies in a hollow about 10 miles in diameter between Lakes

Moero and Bangweolo, but nearer to the former. Here the seventh capital at present stands; the huts surrounded with rectangular fences, and containing barely 1000 inhabitants, being scattered without any order over a square mile or two. Cazembe's palace is surrounded by a reed fence, and many human skulls are stuck on the gate-posts.

Cazembe himself is a kind of lesser Mwata Jamvo. When Livingstone was received by him, he sat in front of his hut on a square stool, with leopard and lion-skins spread under it. He was dressed in female fashion, in blue and white cotton with red embroidery. On his hands, feet, and head he wore bead-work, and a crown of yellow feathers towered over his head. All the chiefs came shaded by gigantic parasols, and sat to right and left of him. There were also bands of music. An executioner with a broadsword, and bearing on his back an instrument like shears, for taking off ears, was there also; likewise a dwarf or court-fool, coming from some uncertain place to the north. An earless councillor recited the deeds of the travellers and their wishes; after which Cazembe moved off with dignity to look at the presents, two pages bearing his train. Numerous courtiers were without ears and hands, testifying to the caprice of this ruler, who yet was so powerless that the Arabs joked about his weakness before him, and even with him. The cruelties of that Cazembe had by the beginning of the 'sixties reached such a pitch that his once thickly-peopled country had become uninhabited. It is thus no wonder that while Pereira spoke of 20,000 warriors, a somewhat high estimate no doubt, Livingstone in 1867 doubted if he could still set 1000 men on foot. He had become quite poor since the elephant hunters had deserted him, because he would on no condition divide the takings with them. Spiritually too he was poor; an evil conscience tormented him, and if he dreamt of the same man two or three times, he had him put out of the way. Of late, according to Sharpe, Cazembe's power and the number of his people seem to have gone up again. The splendour of his court too was considerable; especially striking were a number of men in leopard skins, with great wooden masks.

Cazembe's dependence on Mwata Jamvo's empire has often been doubted. Irregularities in the payment of tribute occur, such as we have heard of from more recent visitors in other tributary states of the Lunda empire. Cazembe had paid no tribute for three years when he sent, in December 1875, another caravan with slaves, copper, and salt, to Mussumba. The reason is said to have been attacks by beasts of prey on Cazembe's town, causing the loss of men, which the witch-doctors averred were a punishment for Cazembe's disobedience towards Mwata Jamvo. But at the capital Pogge heard the following story:—One Mwata Jamvo sent a great expedition, accompanied by many grandees, to the eastward to look for salt; and they found a great quantity of salt. But on returning, they lied to their lord, being afraid that if they told him of the salt-country he would compel them to go thither with him, and they did not want to desert their own land. But a slave who had been in their company told Mwata Jamvo of the salt country, and he made that slave commander of an armed force, with which he conquered the land and governed it as tributary chief.

END OF VOL. II

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